REPORT ON MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

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Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

The distinguishing mark of the major spiritual forces in history is not that they were immediately accepted, nor, certainly, that they did not arouse controversy. Rather it has been their capacity to meet, in some divinely appointed way, the deepest needs of the age in which they emerged, and to set men's feet firmly on the road of moral and spiritual advance. Moral Re-Armament is in the great tradition of such forces.

In drawing any comparison with past ages, three factors stand out which make our own era unique. First, the entire world is now the stage on which the great issues are decided, not just one part of it. In a material sense the world has become one. The travail of our age is that it become one in a spiritual sense as well. Hence any spiritual and moral force that is effective today must be global in its impact.

Secondly, the issues are, if anything, more crucial than before because of the immense power available to man, either for creativeness or for coercion and destruction. In former centuries the failure to solve similar problems led to a partial breakdown of civilisation, and the return of barbarism on a local and temporary scale. Today the possibilities seem to be a long-drawn decadence under police-state systems on a world scale, or the devastation through atomic war of those areas which have formerly been the most advanced.¹

¹Cf. Professor Robert J. Moon (atomic scientist at the University of Chicago) (page 174) "We are in the twilight of mankind, where man's story as written by man alone is near its end. We must find a force that will make atom bombs impossible. Unless we find this force there is no way to prevent total destruction. One cobalt bomb could spread an undetectable radio-active dust (Cobalt 60) which destroys life within two weeks. It could bring about the eclipse of the Western civilisation." There have been epochs like ours—the later Classical Era, for example—when moral standards have declined and materialism, bitterness and hatred have correspondingly increased. But a third factor has now come in to aggravate the situation: the appearance of militant ideologies, which draw their strength from the divisions and bitterness which they exploit. They stand for the supremacy of the human will and the denial of God, and have raised powerful organised forces for gaining world-domination.¹ Unless we can meet the moral needs which give rise to these divisions and weaknesses, they will continue to be exploited until we are either enslaved by modern tyranny or go down in common destruction.

Some people complain of the Church's failure, and protest that it should be meeting these needs. But who compose the Church? We are all responsible, and we all must learn to understand the new age into which we have moved.

"Christians who are not ideological," as Bishop Jonzon of Sweden puts it,² "will become more and more unrealistic and irrelevant." Something has to happen "to make our Christianity real and relevant." It has to go out to the 90% who are outside the Church, to inspire them also with the only idea that is adequate for this age, a revolution under the Cross —"to make the Cross a living reality for people who have ceased to understand our traditional pious expressions."

It must attract also the atheists, and win even the most militant materialists, to a part in this spiritual revolution. A force is needed superior to the bitterness of class war and racial antagonisms, one which will bring the most diverse elements together and forge unity through remade men.

Surveying our world in this perspective one is bound to ask, how is the Spirit answering these clamant needs? Where is the advance force, responsive to a divine strategy, dealing with the realities of our age, and operating to bring the answer,

¹Cf. Bishop Rendtorff (page 28).

²See page 24.

as it must be brought, on a global scale? 1

Dr. Buchman has categorically stated the aim of Moral Re-Armament in the following terms: "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."²

This full-dimensional answer alone is adequate in the face of the oncoming forces of materialism, which have made such spectacular gains during the past half-century. It has ended moral defeat in countless lives, reunited homes and re-kindled faith. "It has made bad men good and good men better more rapidly and on a more international scale than any other movement," was the verdict of Canon B. H. Streeter, after close investigation of this work for several years.³ It has gone beyond personal conversions to bringing an answer, through changed men, to class war, national divisions, racial antagonisms, and has given new inspiration to many in the Churches. It has done this by building up a world-wide force operating on every continent in accordance with a strategy which aims to out-general the strategy of materialism.

Human scheming cannot answer the strategy of materialism, which, both of Right and Left, is already well advanced. Today its focus is found in militant atheism, which historically stems from the complacency of the Christian forces in the face of

¹Dr. Karl Adam, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Tübingen University, wrote in an article in the Tübingen *Theological Quarterly* (1952): "The man who opened the eyes of the whole civilised world to the fact that purely political and economic means were inadequate to meet the situation was the founder of Moral Re-Armament, Dr. Frank Buchman. He did so with the most sensitive insight into the needs of human nature and with exceptional power and thoroughness. He further revealed the necessity for a *new*, *better and superior* ideology to be put in the field against the Communist ideology which held the masses in its power. This better ideology would grip and direct not only the social instincts of man, but the full depth and breadth of his whole nature."

2 Remaking the World, page 148.

³Quoted in Remaking the World, p. 214.

moral evil and material oppression. It has already gained so much ground that it has become impossible to preach the Gospel freely in many lands (and even in the West, to reach the working millions demands an entirely new language in which to convey the historic Christian truths.) Its long-range aim is to deprive this country and all countries of their Christian tradition, their spiritual experience and their moral standards.

Only an inspired world-wide strategy can answer materialism, a strategy which comes through divine guidance to those who are prepared to listen to God and eliminate the moral blocks to their contact with Him. Through such people the Holy Spirit can work effectively across the world.

The striking growth of the forces of Moral Re-Armament since the war, and the way in which its focus has moved from nation to nation and continent to continent, suggest something more than human agency at work. In 1946 the world training centre of MRA was established at Caux in Switzerland. A year later the largest non-military force to enter Germany brought MRA to that demoralised land. Many German Marxists, often of twenty years' standing, recognised in it a superior ideology to class-war.1 This, and a similar response among management and politicians, helped to avert the coal strike in the winter of 1949-50, designed to obstruct the recovery of Europe and hinder the Marshall Plan. Similar action was equally effective in the mining and industrial areas of Northern France. The new spirit in both countries worked for their mutual reconciliation, and helped prepare the soil in which the seed of the Schuman Plan could come to fruition.²

The decision of World War II opened large areas of Asia as well as of Europe to Moral Re-Armament. Five hundred leading Japanese have been to MRA Assemblies at Caux and Mackinac: their verdict is that if the West applies Moral Re-Armament, "all Asia will listen." The force of two hundred which Dr. Buchman took to Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Persia in 1952-53 was everywhere received by the Heads of ¹See page 165. ²See page 14. State, Prime Ministers and statesmen, and the plays whereby its message was introduced were thronged by audiences, often five thousand strong, night after night.

Since then MRA has played an increasingly effective role throughout Africa, bringing French and Tunisians together,¹ undergirding the nascent democracies of West and Central Africa,² providing the means of morally rehabilitating hardcore Mau Mau³ and of tackling racial bitterness in South Africa.⁴ Moral Re-Armament has been answering the racial problem, not by domination or protest, but by a new dimension of unity which, as an African member of parliament said of Caux, " enabled us to be ourselves in a multi-racial society."⁵

This effective world-wide strategy has drawn the fire both of the Nazis before their defeat⁶ and more recently of Moscow. Sensing a vital threat to its own strategy, particularly from MRA's impact on Asia, Moscow denounced it in 1952 and 1953 in a series of broadcasts as "supplanting the inevitable class war by the eternal struggle between good and evil," and warned that, "in addition to building bridgeheads on each continent, and training cadres capable of spreading this ideology among the masses, Moral Re-Armament has now started on on its decisive task—total expansion throughout the world."

Materialists of whatever hue have felt their position shaken, for MRA brings the answer to anti-Communism just as it does

¹M. Mahmoud Masmoudi, Minister of State for Tunisia, in his message to the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly in Washington, 1 January, 1955, thanked Dr. Frank Buchman and MRA " for the magnificent part that MRA played in bringing France and Tunisia together."

²See pages 75 ff. and 100 ff.

³See page 114 ff.

4See pages 85 ff. and 92 ff.

⁵See article by J. Z. Savanhu, MP, in African Parade, January, 1954.

⁶A war-time Nazi document denounced Moral Re-Armament as providing "the Christian garment for world-democractic aims." *The Times*, 29 December, 1945. to Communism. A few men in the anti-Communist ICFTU attempted to sway that organisation to condemn MRA in a hostile report which was neither endorsed by the Congress of the Confederation (the only body competent to decide such matters) nor by the Trade Union Congress of this country.¹

Anti-Communism aims at disposing of Communism by methods not dissimilar to its opponents'. The answer of MRA is a superior ideology,² which attracts Communists even of long standing by the quality of life of its exponents. MRA seeks to enthrone the Will of God at the heart of national and international policy. The aim of materialism is the reverse, since it seeks to perpetuate the rule of the human will and unremitting lust for power. In an age of drift and confusion, where men's minds are exploited by the many pressures of materialism in all its forms, MRA faces men with absolute moral standards and challenges them to change in their deepest motives and will.³ Moral Re-Armament is building a new world on the only sound basis possible; in pursuit of this aim its clash with materialist ideologies is incidental though inevitable.

One of the Christian leaders in Asia, Bishop Augustine Takase of Japan, said recently⁴ that MRA has brought to life the "power which is born from the Gospel." He says that "Frank Buchman has recaptured the precious inheritance of

¹Sir Lynden Macassey, QC, wrote in a letter to *The Times*, 13 October, 1953. "A definition of the attitude of the ICFTU to MRA can only be given by the Congress of the ICFTU, the policy-deciding authority. The report was never submitted to or voted on by the Congress. Its circulation, has therefore, aroused many world-wide protests. To quote only one, a group of British national trade union officials at once cabled the chairman of the British Trade Union Congress, saying that 'the implications in the report were untimely, unjust and untrue.' The report generally follows the Moscow attacks on MRA."

²Cf. Mr. John McGovern, MP, page 8.

³Professor Toynbee (*Study of History*, Vol. V, page 439, Vol. IX, page 462) suggests that the historic contribution of Moral Re-Armament to saving civilisation may be, in the first instance, in recalling Western man to a sense of sin.

⁴See page 39.

the ancient treasures of Christianity and has created in the MRA force the spearhead fighters of the Church."¹

The all-inclusive, universal character of MRA is due to the fact that "the Cross of Jesus Christ is at the centre of all activities."² For the Cross of Christ, even in the mid-twentieth century, draws all men unto it. Non-Christians are drawn into its orbit. The head of Catholic Action in Tunisia, M. Edouard Bloch comments on this; "Caux has the answer which in no way detracts from my Catholic faith, yet makes it possible for me to fight alongside men of other faiths on the common basis of the four absolute standards. I have no doubt at all that this way is written in the plan of God to bring man back to his true destiny of loving his neighbour and his Creator."³

"This manifestation of God's Holy Spirit is so mighty," says Bishop Jonzon,⁴ "that even people who are not Christians from the West, East and South are drawn into it and have a part in it. Thus they come under the influence of the Cross with consequences which no one can foresee. This does not mean a mingling of religions nor a religion above other religions, but does mean that people of different denominations and religions work together in fellowship for a common aim."

Dr. Kagawa underlines that "MRA is meeting the present situation in Japan in exactly the right way;" and the Metropolitan of India, the Most Rev. Arabindo Nath Mukerjee,

¹Dr. Karl Adam writes (op. cit.): "The four absolutes, the challenge to complete surrender to God, faith in the power of the Cross of Christ, and ' the quiet time ' which Buchman urges, are basic elements of the Christian life, they are Christianity lived out. That is why Buchman's message is in its very core a Christian message.

"One can understand why the Catholic finds no new truths at Caux. But shaken to his roots, he has to admit that in Caux Christianity has been more deeply understood and lived than in many Catholic communities."

²Bishop Gulin of Finland, page 189.

³See page 139.

⁴See page 27.

⁵See page 39.

speaks of the "wonderful piece of Christian work" that MRA is doing "among the people of our land."¹

It is to be expected that a force of the Holy Spirit, operating globally with an effective strategy, should challenge our contemporary world. Its answer is for everyone everywhere, yet not all are prepared to pay the price demanded. Opposition to Moral Re-Armament has come equally from the exponents of materialist ideologies and from those whose interest it is to preserve the status quo. MRA challenges any who cling to known confines of thought at the expense of the more adventurous paths which God opens up to meet the needs of the age.

At the same time there are many who are eager to study this work, and it is to assist them in that study that the material in this report has been collected.

The following chapters and documents (some of which have already appeared in the press of various countries) are factual and are the product of thorough enquiry. Those who have contributed different sections have not done so from some superficial or second-hand study, but after a careful and often prolonged experience of the work which they take upon themselves to describe. Nor is their knowledge limited to some aspect of the work twenty or more years ago, but is in every case fresh and living and up-to-date. It will be seen that contributions have been included from people of varied walks of life and from many parts of the world. In some small measure the universal appeal of MRA is thereby reflected in these pages.

I should like, in conclusion, to express my personal indebtedness to Dr. Frank Buchman, himself the most unassuming of men, through whose costly and unswerving allegiance to Christ, and to His direction, a light has been thrown on the road which may lead men and nations out of their disillusion and despair.

R. C. MOWAT

¹See page 37.

THE SCOPE OF MRA

We are in the midst of the breakdown of our civilisation—war in the home, war in industry, war between the nations. What is the future? Further disintegration, chaos, anarchy and dictatorship? Or the birth of a new society brought about by a revolutionary change in human nature?

The Holy Spirit is the most powerful Force in the world today. Man can split the atom. The Holy Spirit is uniting humanity through men who listen to Him and obey.

The basic struggle is for the wills of men. That is the ideological struggle. It goes on in your heart and mine every day. Armies and pacts and economic assistance are necessary. But the deciding factor is whether as men and nations we are guided by the voice of materialism or the Voice of God.

DR. FRANK BUCHMAN

MRA: A UNIFYING FORCE IN EUROPE

BY OLE BJÖRN KRAFT

Chairman of NATO, 1952-53, Leader of the Danish Conservative Party, Recently Foreign Minister of Denmark

We have emerged into a new period of history. People are infinitely closer to one another than ever before. We all understand this fact, but we do not all act as if it were true.

We are now living, as it were, in the same room; we have all things in common. In the past the different cultures have given richness to humanity, but in the years to come everything will be blended together. We shall be able—and, if we are to survive, we shall be obliged—to share fate, culture, knowledge, wealth, poverty, everything with one another. We must find unity as never before in history.

As a practical politician, I have been thinking how this will work out in daily life. I think especially of the problem of European unity which has so vexed the statesmen and the ordinary men of this continent since the war. Great work has been done towards European unity—and yet how frustrated we have all often felt about it. Co-operation can only become a reality when there is behind it a spiritual force capable of uniting us. I believe Moral Re-Armament has an historic mission as part of the great evolution of our times.¹

¹Mr. Kraft, addressing the MRA World Assembly in Washington, January, 1955, said: "Moral Re-Armament has the answer to the most burning questions of the day. I know of no stronger unifying force in the world, writing history day by day in the perspective of the future." He added that the greatest miracle about MRA is that it was "inspired and formed thirty years ago in time for it to expand its work across the globe and train its forces for this crucial moment."

I have had the opportunity to observe this way of life at work in different places and at various times in recent years. I was present in Hamburg last winter when a Moral Re-Armament force moved into that city as part of a large-scale programme for creating unity in Europe.¹ I was impressed that busy men in positions of great responsibility in industry, labour and civic life travelled across Europe to meet together, to apologise for and overcome past resentments, hatreds and mistrust and to plan constructively for co-operation and understanding.²

Such conferences can be very important, not least because they give the private citizen a chance to play a part in building understanding between nations. Many politicians like myself appreciate this. Minister Heinrich Hellwege, who is a Member of the German Federal Cabinet, was also at Hamburg. I heard him say an interesting thing, speaking of the days after the war when Germany stood alone. There was then one man, Dr. Frank Buchman, who had welcomed the Germans back into the family of nations by inviting them to the international MRA conference at Caux, Switzerland, where they met leaders from other nations. "We shall never forget that," said Minister Hellwege.

This effort to build European unity must first of all concentrate on bringing understanding between France and Germany. Three wars in seventy years have made this extremely difficult,

¹This programme began in Aachen on the invitation of Dr. Hellmuth Burckhardt, then Chairman of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Pool. At Thionville, the French Steel centre, M. Schuman took part. After visits to other important industrial areas in France and Germany, a joint force from France and Germany was invited to Luxembourg, seat of the Schuman Plan High Authority in April, 1954. Subsequently an invitation was issued to visit the Saar in May, 1954. The Committee of Invitation was headed by the Prime Minister and by the President of the Parliament, who said, "We have invited Moral Re-Armament because we consider it of tremendous importance and want to support it so that it will reach the people of the Saar."

²Speaking to a crowded audience in the Hamburg Opera House, Mr. Ole Björn Kraft said: "To-day the unity of Europe is a question of life and death. Co-operation can only take place when there is a spiritual force that can unite us. MRA is that force, capable of uniting all people, and first of all the people of Western Europe." (28 February, 1954.)

but also highly important. Fortunately, there are men on both sides of the Franco-German border, men with high political and industrial responsibilities, who appreciate that political and economic measures alone are not enough, but that moral and spiritual forces must be mobilised.

The German Chancellor, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, understands this. In a message to Dr. Buchman in 1951 he stated: "In recent months we have seen the conclusion of important international agreements. Moral Re-Armament has played an unseen but effective part in bridging differences of opinion between the negotiating parties and has kept before them the aim of peaceful agreement in search for the common good."

M. Robert Schuman has the same appreciation of the value of this work. When he was still Foreign Minister, he wrote the foreword to the French edition of Frank Buchman's speeches. MRA, he says, is creating "a moral climate in which true unity can flourish, over-arching all that today tears the world apart." To train men in building this unity, he continues, is "the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society."¹

I have myself been several times to Caux. It has been an interesting and refreshing experience. In Caux men and women from all over Europe and the world meet with a common understanding of the necessity of learning co-operation on an international scale.

The historic mission of Caux is to bring that new spirit to the peoples of the world, to send pioneers to achieve it, and thus make fruitful the efforts of statesmen. This new spirit is a challenge to everyone who thinks he understands the needs of his age.

¹Members of the French and German Cabinets, together with Ministers and other political leaders from Austria, Denmark, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland, wrote to Dr. Buchman in May, 1953: "We feel it our duty to lay before you the needs of Europe. Never has there been greater desire for unity, yet there are signs that old prejudices and nationalism are on the increase. The limitations of attempting to base unity merely upon the fear of a common danger were never so clear. The free world needs something positive to unite on and something great to live for, and in our opinion MRA holds out the hope of such a larger perspective."

THE NEED FOR A SUPERIOR IDEOLOGY

BY JOHN MCGOVERN, MP1

I have thought for a great number of years that there are problems concerning which we try politically to exaggerate differences that do not really exist, and that foreign affairs, the danger of war, and the banning of weapons could form the subjects of a joint council of both sides of the House and both Front Benches to try to reach common agreement about the steps that can be taken speedily to avert the tremendous catastrophe of another war. We only play into the hands of evil forces which seek to exploit differences to the advantage of one side when we engage in this deadly combat affecting the lives of millions of people.

There are, rightly, fundamental issues in politics which separate both sides of the House. These issues must be put to the test at elections and one has to secure sanction for changes or sanction to prevent those changes from taking place. But when we come to the state of world danger, I have come to the conclusion steadily over the years that there should be some common understanding. A policy should be formulated which would give the nation the opportunity of seeing our Parliament really in action in the best sense of the word and combining all the forces which seek to protect this country and the world from the tremendous danger of world war.

I have taken the opportunity of placing on the Order Paper an Amendment to the Address, to add at the end:

" but humbly regret that, while we have the overpowering financial burden of armaments, the tragic menace of war

¹Mr. McGovern, a life-long socialist, has for twenty-four years represented the Shettleston division of Glasgow. This chapter is taken from a speech during the debate on the Queen's Speech in the House of Commons, 6 December, 1954.

and the world fear of the hydrogen bomb, no provisions are made for the national and international acceptance of moral and spiritual standards of Moral Re-Armament as being the only approach that has never yet been put into practice by any Government and which could unite the family, the nation and the world and offer to Russia and the Iron Curtain countries a superior ideology based on moral and spiritual principles instead of bitterness, hatred, envy and class division, with its consequent brutal dictatorship, and as the real way to a new world of sacrifice and service under God's guidance."

THE FORCE OF MATERIALISM

I know that it will not be called, and I am not anxious that it should be. I have merely placed it there to formulate the basis of my thoughts, which are very clear on these issues.

The differences are not only political. They are moral and spiritual and they strike at the very roots of society. We have on the one side a force that is steadily undermining the power of the West. That force of Godless materialism presents its programme and policy in an aggressive manner throughout the world. It is forcing these issues, along with other problems, and driving ahead among the youth of the world. Yet we in the West, who claim certain moral and spiritual principles, keep these principles largely in the background. We are afraid to present them to the nation and say, "Here is the unifying process in which we are entitled to engage to bring about a solution of the problems of our day."

In politics, we have created in the hearts and minds of the youth of the day the impression that only materialism matters in life. I am not saying that of one side more than the other. We have all gone out at election time and have attempted to employ a system of mass bribery of the electorate. We have never considered whether the world could pay the price. We have advocated materialism and have neglected something else. I remember the late George Lansbury used to say in my youth, "You may work for a change of system and a changed world and you may get them, but unless you change the hearts of men you are defeated in your aim because they will not face up to their responsibilities in a moral and spiritual way."

I say, therefore, that in all this materialism which we propagate we neglect the real thing in life—the spiritual uplift of man to keep up with the material demands. We have created a vacuum in the hearts and minds of men and the Communists come along to fill that vacuum with the passions of bitterness, hatred, abuse, malice and terror. This hatred that is instilled into the hearts and minds of men in place of a moral and spiritual outlook is being turned in the direction the dictatorship wants and all the evil forces of mankind follow.

A SUPERIOR IDEOLOGY

Communism as we know it today carries within itself the seeds of its destruction. The Marxist phrase that capitalism has within itself the seeds of its own destruction is well-known, but that can equally be applied to Communism and it can only be changed by a further revolution. What revolution is there that can take place? I suggest that a moral revolution is the answer to this question. We have to rescue mankind from the abyss into which it is slipping.

I confess that I was very strongly and vigorously anti-Communist. Today I am not just anti-Communist, because of the change which has taken place in my own heart and in my outlook on life. I look to a higher ideology which will appeal to man, rather than to the brutal system of hatred, fear and terror that Communism produces.

It is no good making anti-Communist speeches or anti-Communist attacks to defeat Communism. There has got to be a superior ideology so that mankind can say, "Here is something superior to that offered by the Communist world and it is something which can stop the rot."

People can worship God in their own way and yet can unite around the moral and spiritual forces provided by Moral Re-Armament and, forgetting all their differences and antagonisms, present a solid phalanx throughout the world against the Communist creed.

WHAT KIND OF NEW WORLD?

Let us examine this still further. The danger of war comes from the fact that the Communists are fighting with the wrong weapons but for a new world. It is no good anybody thinking that there is not going to be a new world. There is, but what kind is it going to be? Is it to be dominated by fear, hatred, bitterness and godless Communism, or is it to be a world of moral and spiritual principles animating mankind and driving it to greater heights of a lofty character under God's guidance?

In my estimation this is a superior ideology and if it is presented to the people it can effect changes in mankind. It is the only thing that can stop the rot. What do the Russians say about Moral Re-Armament? They have broadcast about it sometimes twice in one programme, they say it has tremendous possibilities; it has a bridgehead in almost every country, and it is capable of world expansion. Therefore, Communism has marked it down as enemy No. 1 in today's struggle.

MRA: A WAY OF LIFE

Moral Re-Armament teaches that there is enough in the world for every human need if it were not for some folks' human greed. That is a very lofty principle. This is not a movement which one can join, because it is a way of life.

For a number of years, I was studying Moral Re-Armament. I remember that in my disturbed days from 1945 onwards I began to look at the struggle that was taking place in this country and in the world between political parties. Every single difference was magnified out of all proportion to the real issue. I began to see—and ultimately I saw after a number of years that in Moral Re-Armament we had something that was vital.

I discovered that if I was to change the world then I must begin by changing myself. I faced up to that responsibility. I made up my mind that every evil within me had to be eliminated. I then found it was necessary to unite my family who would help other families to unite, and by this process we would unite the nation in a common cause.

To me, the issue is very plain indeed. This superior ideology must be put over to this country and to the people of the world and we must get acceptance of it. A very powerful man in the Foreign Office told me not long ago, "Moral Re-Armament is coming up so much today from foreign countries and from Colonies that we cannot now ignore it. It is becoming a force."¹

ANSWERING RACIAL CONFLICT

I will give an illustration from Kenya. A change was brought about in the lives of men in the hard core camp. They were changed from Mau Mau adherents into supporters of Moral Re-Armament and were prepared then to co-operate with all to find a solution to the African problem.

A man called David Waruhiu, a Moral Re-Armament supporter, got word in Caux that his father, a chieftain, had been murdered by Mau Mau. The information was sent to him by a man called Bremer Hofmeyr, whose cousin had five Cabinet posts in the South African Government. Waruhiu went back and enlisted in the Moral Re-Armament movement of Africa. Shortly afterwards, he had to send word to Hofmeyr that his wife's father and stepmother had been murdered by Mau Mau and that the father, Gray Leakey, had been buried alive.

These were two Moral Re-Armament adherents. They did not say, "We must be bitter and hate and carry our anger to the extent of getting the people responsible." Waruhiu sought

¹Members of the Government of Eastern Nigeria were among those who sent their congratulations to Mr. McGovern on the the occasion of this speech. They said in a cable: "We welcome your amendment proposing adoption of MRA standards at Government level. Grateful for this new note of leadership from Westminster, Mother of Parliaments. We Ministers and Members of the new Parliament of Eastern Region of Nigeria consider MRA the essential basis for the development of our self-government. We respectfully suggest this spirit can renew uniting links of the Commonwealth in an age of divisive ideologies." E. A. Esin, *Minister of Welfare;* E. Emole, *Minister of Agriculture;* S. E. Imoke, *Minister of Labour;* M. E. Ogon, *Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Lands*. out the man who had planned his father's death to make him a changed man and Hofmeyr made similar efforts.

THE ONE UNIFYING FORCE

We in this country are not facing up to the responsibilities of our time. I believe in the creation of armaments to hold the fort, but, beyond that, we should strive with might and main to ensure that the armaments are never used. Behind the fort we must create the moral and spiritual environment which is necessary to save the world from the difficulties surrounding it. In the struggle which is taking place in the world Moral Re-Armament has been the one unifying force presented as a superior ideology.¹

I believe that if we cannot unite the population on that basis the world is lost and godless Communism will take over country after country, step by step. If we are serious, we must recover the minds and hearts of the youth of the world and get them to enrol under the banner of the superior ideology to answer Communism².

In a speech at the Caux Assembly, Mr. McGovern said (3 September, 1954):

"If one Government in the world would accept Moral Re-Armament as its philosophy, we could change the life of the world and dispel the dark clouds that are descending throughout our civilised globe.

"I have tried to change economic and political systems. But I have seen here that it is an impertinence to try to transform any nation, any party, any individual, unless I change myself.

"I may have preached the class philosophy, but I realise we are not in imperialistic wars any longer. We are in the last great struggle for human survival."

²The Hon. Richard Wood, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture, who spoke next in the debate, said, "I feel very proud to follow the hon. Member for Shettleston (Mr. McGovern) because there is hardly an hon. Member for whose sincerity, independence and courage I have greater respect. He was certainly talking about the most important things in the world. We must have some positive dynamic idea other than Communism to put in its place . . . (These are) the most important matters which the House ever has to consider." *Hansard*, 6 December, 1954. In his final speech for the Government, Sir Anthony Eden referred to "the Moral Re-Armament point of view most eloquently and powerfully put by the hon. Member for Shettleston."

CAUX—CENTRE OF HOPE

BY PROFESSOR SIR DOUGLAS SAVORY, MP

Caux is a beautiful place, 2,000 feet above Montreux, with glorious views of the Lake of Geneva and the Dents du Midi. It would be impossible to find in the whole world a centre better adapted for the purpose to which it has been applied by Moral Re-Armament. It was created in 1946 by a group of Swiss patriots as a centre for the World Assemblies of Moral Re-Armament. Since then, 73,000 people have taken part in its meetings and they have come from 118 different countries. These include a large number of Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament and leaders in every sphere of life. I look upon it as a great privilege to have paid two visits, which have left on me a very deep impression.

The great French statesman, M. Robert Schuman, when addressing the Assembly at Caux last year, said, "What impresses me more than anything else is how Moral Re-Armament is being applied between nations and in international affairs. I am accustomed to international meetings but they are very different from this Assembly. Whether it is in Parliament or in international conferences they normally end with great disappointments. Here we find nothing but satisfaction and a great hope."

Caux owes much to the realistic statesmanship of the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, Dr. Frank Buchman. MRA is not political—it is the Christian ideology made relevant to the needs of our age in every sphere, personal, industrial, political, racial, international. Dr. Buchman and Moral Re-Armament face up squarely to the realities of the age in which we live—to the new dimension of an era where materialistic ideologies move millions of people, and capture the minds and wills of men even in the free world, in spite of our traditional Christian faith and love of liberty. Caux deals with these issues at the root, in the lives of men whose actions can affect the lives of nations.

The daily programme at Caux is not a rigid one. It is planned day by day in the light of the needs and requirements of those who are present at the Assembly. Meetings of the whole Assembly are held in the morning and afternoon. Speakers, who have been previously selected, address the meetings, telling of their own experiences of what, through Moral Re-Armament, has been done, both in their own lives and in the life of their families, their industries and their nations.

Just as valuable as the meetings are the many opportunities of making personal friendships with those from different countries. One day at lunch, for instance, I was surrounded by workmen from a French factory, and it was very refreshing to hear from them the efforts which they had made to bring an answer to the causes of Communism. The next day my table was occupied exclusively by miners from the Ruhr. Again, the following day, I met a party of Italian workmen, who had come from a factory in Northern Italy. Moral Re-Armament had brought them new life, after they had suffered for many years from the tyranny of the Fascist regime.

I have also greatly enjoyed meeting distinguished men from other countries, some of whom I subsequently had the honour of entertaining in the House of Commons. For instance, I met the well-known Islamic scholar, the Ayatullah Modjtehedi of Nishapur, the personal representative of the Shah of Iran. Others were the Mayor and Mayoress of Bombay, who were loud in their praises of what Moral Re-Armament had done.

I was very pleased to make the acquaintance of Mr. Ole Björn Kraft, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs for Denmark, and it was a pleasure to give a luncheon in his honour at the House of Commons, which was attended by Dr. Frank Buchman, Mr. Peter Howard and Dr. Paul Campbell, who listened to the illuminating address given by Dr. Kraft, telling us what Moral Re-Armament had done not only for him but for his family, as well as for Denmark and for Europe.

In the evenings, plays are performed in the theatre at Mountain House, and I had the great joy of seeing for the first time *The Forgotten Factor*, by Alan Thornhill, which has now been acted all over the world and has had a powerful influence in reconciling employers with their workpeople.

I have not only been to Caux but also to Moral Re-Armament Assemblies at Miami and Mackinac Island, where my wife and I were delighted to make the personal acquaintance of so many American friends, to exchange ideas with them and find, I believe, the answer to a good many mutual prejudices.

Many basic issues of the post-war world are tackled and solved at Caux. First of all, that of national bitterness. It is one thing to appeal for unity but it is another to create it. An African leader said recently that many people talk about creating unity, whereas MRA goes quietly ahead and does it. It is quite certain that the unity of Europe is only a dream unless the traditional hatreds and mistrusts between France and Germany, for instance, are realistically and radically changed.

A senior German Foreign Office official said recently in Bonn to an acquaintance of mine, "Dr. Adenauer and M. Schuman have each told me personally that Moral Re-Armament created the soil in which Franco-German unity and our international agreements could grow. Many see the need for this unity now, but Frank Buchman was the only man who not only saw the need but fought effectively for it immediately after the war."¹

Caux makes these things possible, for there statesmen and men of all ranks of society from many lands meet in an atmos-

¹Mr. Hamilton Kerr, MP, wrote in the *Spectator* on this point (1 February, 1952): "One cannot create a spirit of partnership merely by creating a form of partnership. The Schuman plan will not work unless a new spirit is created among the French and German workers. It is for this reason that M. Schuman and Dr. Adenauer, both sincere Christians, have recognised and supported the work of Moral Re-Armament in the French and German industrial areas. It has certainly achieved wonders where it has made its influence felt." phere not only of honesty and understanding, but of change, where old prejudices and hatreds give way to the transforming power of the Cross. The reconciliations at Caux are not based on sentiment, but on realistic dealing with human nature. As Dr. Buchman has said, "Peace comes not by chance, but by change," and Caux is a place where the most difficult are remade.

Caux has been very successful in answering the class war. It has been shown that MRA has the power to win over revolutionary minds both of the Left and of the Right. As Peter Howard says again, "Listening to the voice of guidance opens the door of faith for the materialist. Guidance starts as a practical experiment and becomes a proved experience."

The unexpected and the impossible are the commonplace of Caux. It is a place of miracles in men's lives. That is why it is the centre of a glorious hope. That is the theme of the meetings, and of the plays and films, and of the songs the chorus sings in so many languages.

As Peter Howard has well put it, "Caux dares to seek the mind of God on the problems which the mind of man has created."¹

You meet there men of all races, and many faiths. But the experience presented to them in such varied forms, and the secret of the whole amazing organism of Caux itself, lies in the great, central experience of the Cross. That is what is lived out at Caux, in every detail of men's lives; that is why Caux is effective, and not only effective, but relevant to the needs and problems of the world today.

On each of my two visits to Caux I could not help being reminded of the beautiful words of Madame de Sévigné. She had been visiting Port-Royal, the home of Pascal, and she said, "Port-Royal respire la sainteté à cent lieues à la ronde."

¹In The World Rebuilt (1951), p. 121.

THE MOUNTAIN THAT DRAWS ALL NATIONS

BY DR. CHRISTIAN BARTHOLDY Head of the Inner Mission of the Danish Church

CAUX—its very situation is brilliant strategy. Is it the guidance of God's Spirit, or is it human wisdom? This question, which immediately comes to mind, is certainly a false "either-or." But then, so many people get annoyed because men of faith are stupid—and yet even more annoyed if they are wise.

In the first place Caux is located in Switzerland, in the heart of Europe, the headquarters of so much international work, that happy example of neutrality through a hundred years of wars. To be sure, the fact that they intend to defend their country to the last drop of blood, blow up all the bridges and close every pass, has something to do with the success of this policy. That is why the Swiss form the most respected small nation in the world.

In Caux one is high up in more than one sense, 3,500 feet above sea level and 2,200 feet above Lake Geneva, which spreads its shining, rippled mirror before us, mightily framed by mountains a mile high. Behind them are the snow-covered Dents du Midi, reaching out from the Mont Blanc range. Here it is amazingly still in the early morning, with only the little cog railway rumbling for a moment. To sit on one's balcony in the morning sun with this view before one's eyes is high adventure for a dweller on the plains. Here it is good to have "a quiet time."

But during the day Caux is a seething ant-hill. Endless introductions. "Have you met Mr. This?" "You haven't met Mrs. That?" This latter proves to be a lively old lady who has been for six months in India with the MRA team, has crossed and recrossed the country, and Pakistan as well, has eaten countless meals of rice and curry served on banana leaves, sitting with crossed legs on the floor. And then she has explained to them that the road to happiness in Asia is not Communism, but rather that the individual see himself as responsible, and share in the blame, and make strenuous efforts to find the will of God and do what he can to bring it about, making sure that he begins with himself.

EVIL IN THE WORLD TODAY

A hundred years ago people asked: "What is to become of me when I die?" There are not many who are interested in that today. But on the other hand, people in our day are deeply concerned about what will happen to their children in this evil world, or their nation, or their continent. A hundred years ago people were full of assurance about the progress of the world. The world could only go from good to better, but there was doubt whether one's self was good or had any prospect of becoming better. Today it is the other way round. We ourselves are of course good, there is no doubt about that. But on the other hand we face a fateful and uncomfortable riddle: "Why then is the world so evil?" A hundred years ago people feared the uncertainties of nature-earthquake, hurricanes, lightning and the rest, things that for the most part are now provided against so that fear of them has abated. But instead we are now tainted with fear in the depths of our being about the uncertainties of the Russians, fear of the next war. We know there is no limit to the evil that men can do to us.

THE ANSWER TO FEAR

Caux has an answer to this fear. It reminds me in a way of that mountain the prophet Isaiah talks about: There shall the nations flow and many peoples go there—because deep in them there is the longing for the day when God shall judge between the nations. Their swords shall they beat into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Here at Caux they really come, if not walking, then motoring or flying. The Caux people themselves move freely from country to country and invite heads of states, cabinet ministers, members of parliament, industrialists, union leaders, educators to come.

And they come, black and white and coloured, from South Africa, from the Gold Coast and Nigeria, brown men from India and Burma and yellow men from Japan. What draws them? What do they expect?

WHAT ARE THEY LOOKING FOR?

What are they looking for, the many delegations from the great industrial centres of Europe, from the shipyards of the Clyde, from the Ruhr, from the motorcycle works in Italy, from Lille in France, from the Philips factory in Holland, from many a factory in Denmark? Have they lost their faith? Their faith in the socialist state of the future? They have seen the great experiment in Russia, and now they feel a shiver inside themselves. But where does the road go? And what shall they give their children and young people to live for? The vision of the future which attracted them when they themselves were young has grown pale.

To me it is touching to see them turn to Caux. The church is compromised in their eyes, that I know. And yet—I wonder: doesn't there still remain a question deep in their hearts: "Do you suppose after all that the solution has something to do with Christianity?"

THE FUTURE OF THE COLOURED RACES

A thousand people are here every day. The morning meeting is stopped a half hour earlier than usual: "We have just had word that our friends from the Gold Coast are on their way up the mountain. Let's go out and welcome them." And we go out. A chorus that can sing an African song complete with drum and pipes takes its position. Flags from all the world wave above us. Frank Buchman is sitting in a chair. Then out of a bus there tumble a score of coal-black people, the women in their amazingly colourful robes and head dress. There are a few words of welcome, applause, a song and the black people beam with joy. They see—some perhaps for the first time in their lives—that here the colour of the skin makes no difference.

It is interesting to follow them and listen to them in the next days. They will learn to be quiet and listen to God. "The first time I had a quiet time, it was as if I had been thrown to the ground like Paul on his way to Damascus," says one, one morning. "The four absolutes," says another, "are completely right, for it is exactly the same as Jesus says in the Sermon on the Mount. Now I want to live by them." A school head admits: "I have hated the British. I have been in prison for a conspiracy, but in my quiet time God has shown me that I have the same attitude as the white men. For now I look down on my fellow-countrymen who are lower in the social scale than I. I don't pick them up in my car. I can't stand having them sit in the same compartment on the train with me."

For all of them meeting MRA has meant something decisive. I cannot tell how many times I heard the sentence. It was like a refrain, morning, noon and night: "And then I met MRA!" A delegation of Africans was recently in London to negotiate with the government. They were lodged in a third-class hotel. No one paid any attention to them officially. But two groups of people were quick to get into touch with them: the Communists and the MRA people.

That is quite significant. For that is the situation of the coloured nations today. Communism beckons to them, Japan, India, Indonesia, Africa. And the white man, as they have known him and his religion, is compromised. What one hears about one's own race is terrible. A young Hindu told me that he had spent Christmas in Germany, and in a clergyman's family.

"And there I learned what Christmas means. I have before only known Christmas as an occasion for the white people to get extra drunk. At the University on Christmas morning, we had to gather up our white colleagues from the gutters." One of the black men said: "I looked on all white people as exploiters, who came only to rob me of my land." A leader of the nearly two million "coloureds" (that is, of mixed race) in South Africa said: "I cannot ride in the same compartment with a white man. I must stand in another line to buy a postage stamp. I receive lower pay for the same work as a white man."

REVOLUTION IN MEN

MRA wants to revolutionise the world, but, it is worth noting: "beginning with yourself." Be still and listen to what God wants to say to you and be guided by Him. Then live according to the four absolutes: honest, pure, unselfish, loving. Then you will experience a small revolution in yourself-as the Negro said when he was guided to pay back a loan: "Then there came fresh air in my heart!"-and in your home, then in your nation and in the whole world. MRA likes the word *ideology*, which is explained over and over again as a way of thinking that leads to action, that one will throw his life into, sacrifice everything for. The Communist ideology has in this way given enthusiasm to people. Should not we in the western, democratic countries, who with a basis of Christian faith have a better ideology, be able to do the same? MRA's ideology is not fear of Communism, but MRA is a sworn enemy of all materialism, Communism's, yes, but also that which is to be found in capitalistic countries, also that which has set its mark on all western, European and American bourgeoisie. I heard a German, a former Communist. He told how it had gone for him. "I had learned and believed that material things were in first place. When I was quiet and listened, it became instantly clear to me that God is in first place. So material things are not first, but God is first. But if God is first, then He is to be first also in my life." It was an unusual way of concluding. But there is no doubt that in this way he is led to a development which in the course of time quite certainly has led him to kneel before the Cross of Jesus Christ.

THE HOLY SPIRIT IS AT WORK

And the same thing happened to many like him. Ten minutes walk up the mountain are two small churches, one Catholic and one Protestant. There many of those taking part in the Caux meetings have knelt at the altar for the first time or for the first time in many years. And while we argue whether MRA is Christian, people here are being led to God, people from the outer edges of Christendom, whom the Church never reaches. I cannot comprehend what it is that happens when a man who has denied God for twenty years at one moment is still and tries to listen to God. But when he stands in front of me today as a confessing Christian, then I bow before the facts, and it does not disturb me when learned theologians come and tell me that it is impossible according to the books they read at the university.

There were the Danes who asked me: "What are we to believe about this?" I answered: "I have noticed that here the Holy Spirit is at work."

Therefore many go from here with an impression which they do not easily get over—just to be with hundreds of young people who give years of their lives without salary, without any promise whatsoever for their future, not to mention a pension in their old age. When one like myself has lived his whole life quite differently protected, then one is humbled and one recognises the basis of their joy. MRA is an army on the march. What it is destined to accomplish lies in God's Hand. What it has accomplished I cannot evaluate. I only know that it has accomplished things which up to date neither the Danish Church nor the Inner Mission have succeeded in doing.

Yes, but all this about a whole world changed, isn't that superficial? No, for it is an honest consequence of faith that God through the coming of Christ wants to create a new world, new heaven and new earth, where righteousness dwells. Their promise of victory, is that not superficial? No, for the promise of peace which God gives us includes victory. It is true what Gruntvig sings about the man who turns to God: "Then you make God's angels glad. Then you and yours find happiness."

VITAL, SACRIFICIAL, SERVING CHRISTIANS

Yes, but then these Moslems and Buddhists, who also flock to Caux. This God they begin to listen to is surely an idol. It is not the God of Jesus Christ and His Father. It must be something strange. Well, let be. But who is it then that a French Communist listens to when he begins to have a quiet time? Or a Danish atheist, who hasn't set foot inside a church since the day he was confirmed? I don't know. I know only that the day when a person no longer believes in himself, no longer considers himself as judge and lawgiver, then that person is on the move in the right direction. What happens then may be quite different. But it is the great responsibility of the Christian Church that it meets such people not with a rejecting judgment, but takes them by the hand and leads them. And it is hard to hear about Copenhagen workingmen who, when they began to have a quiet time, received the impulse to go into their church, and then the first thing they heard from a clergyman was that MRA has nothing to do with Christianity.

Yes, but don't you have anything at all to criticize now? Yes. And I can do that, too, when we are *en famille*. I can do the same thing with the Inner Mission. In a group of brethren we can criticize one another, we can also criticize one who is absent, but we don't do it publicly. There is in MRA a hard core of vital, sacrificial, serving Christians. God's Church on earth would be poorer without them.

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT AND THE HISTORIC TASK OF CHRISTENDOM

I

THE CHURCH'S FIGHT IN THE IDEOLOGICAL AGE

BY BISHOP BENGT JONZON

Bishop of Lulea in Northern Sweden

The whole world, not just individual nations, is today in deadly danger. Science has put into the hands of men the means of total destruction. All-embracing powers controlling men's faith and wills—" ideologies "—use the means of propaganda created by the same science to penetrate rapidly into the minds of the masses in every corner of the world. The struggle for the wills of men, for their basic loyalty and faith, will decide whether the immense forces released by science are to be used in the service of life or death, whether this world is going to be inhabited by free men or by tyrants and slaves.

As a result of his own profound experience, Dr. Frank Buchman is convinced that the force of Christianity emanating from the Cross can liberate and change men, and that it can free them to serve as instruments for the same liberation in others. He accepts the full implications of this conviction. God loves the world, and men whom He has liberated and changed are meant to serve without compromise the aims of His worldspanning love. Frank Buchman takes this conviction seriously. He also takes seriously the equally Biblical truth that God can and will guide men to take the kind of action that serves the fulfilment of His aims.

This is the practice of Christianity that our age demands. It is rooted in the historic creeds of the Christian faith. It is Biblical, and therefore ideological: that is to say, it spans the whole of life and everything in life, and in that way it serves God's real Kingdom according to the words in Our Lord's Prayer, "Thy Will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Only this kind of Christianity meets the deepest need and the real danger of our age, because the danger and the need are ideological and moral.

Through the disintegration of faith and moral standards our Western civilisation is sinking down into moral stagnation and ideological paralysis. In such conditions, nations become an easy prey to false ideologies which exploit all the wrongs, weaknesses and passions, and, at the same time, dazzle the discontented with the idea of a remade world without remade men.

IDEOLOGICAL—AND RELEVANT

Moral Re-Armament enables Christians to function ideologically.

Christians who are not ideological in this way will become more and more unrealistic and irrelevant to this ideological age. Moral Re-Armament makes our Christianity real and relevant. It puts an end to the relative morality which is the deadly sickness of our age. It makes the Cross a living reality for people who have ceased to understand our traditional pious expressions. It renews, purifies and recreates every aspect of our common life. It mobilises ordinary men to fight together for a sound world under God's guidance.

I have seen this starting to happen in my own diocese in Northern Sweden. For many years the iron ore mines in Lapland, which produce the best quality of iron ore in Europe, have been under the influence of workers with an atheist and materialist ideology. In vain we in the Church tried to reach these men with our message. Then, in 1946, I went to Caux for the first time. There I met a young Swedish trade-unionist who said to me: "It is remarkable that one has to go all the way to Switzerland to discover that a bishop can be an ordinary human being like others." We may smile at such a remark, but I took it very seriously. It showed me the abyss that exists between the Church and large sections of the labour movement in my country.

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

We in the Church have always believed and said that people find help for their needs and difficulties if they really believed in God. We have not met a great response. One reason for this is that when the industrial revolution came, the Church was so much linked with the old society and its feudal system that her representatives did not understand what was about to happen. We, therefore, fought more for the existing conditions than for the dignity of man, and we often preached submission and patience for the oppressed when we really ought to have preached righteousness and responsibility for the possessing classes, and love for everybody. That was one reason, and I think the most important reason, why the young labour movement in Sweden tended to regard the Church as part of the social order that had to be broken down.

It is easy for us who see these things in their historical perspective to confess the sins of a past generation, but the question for us is: What are the representatives of the Church doing today? At Caux I saw to what a degree I myself, and many of us in the Church, have been a part of the very materialism that we pretend to combat. It is materialism to have morals but not absolute morals. It is materialism to live a decent life, but not a pure life. In short it is materialism to believe in God but not accept Him as a force in my life.

In Moral Re-Armament I have found an every-day Chris-

tianity with revolutionary implications as equally necessary for bishops and clergymen as for everybody else. Thus I found a platform where I could work together with men of the labour movement, as well as people from every other walk of life, in a common effort for something that we all see as a vital necessity for the future of the world.

At the trade union elections two years ago a new set of men took over the leadership in the mines of Lapland.¹ The three men who are at the moment mainly responsible for running the biggest of these trade unions have been trained at the MRA Assemblies in Caux and at Mackinac in America. Together with them and other men in the Church and in the mining industry, I planned an Easter Assembly in Lapland this year, with participants from the Scandinavian countries and guests from England, Germany, USA and New Zealand. On this occasion I felt it right publicly to state the convictions just expressed about my failure and the failure of many of us Christians in relation to the labour movement in my country, and also to tell the assembly about the new love and vision for my Church that I had found through Moral Re-Armament. I was very moved to see the response. A member of the national council of one of our trade unions replied: "I have criticised the Church. Churchmen have made mistakes. Bishop Jonzon has admitted it. But I have been wrong in my negative criticism against the Church. At this conference we are finding together the answer to the problems that are facing us. I want to give myself one hundred per cent to this revolution, together with employers and Church leaders who want to work on this basis." Another trade union man who had for twenty years been a militant Communist, decided at this Assembly to take up contact again with his Church.

¹The Swedish iron-ore mines, north of the Arctic circle, form one of the most strategically important areas of Europe. They supply one fifth of the iron ore needs of Europe (40% of the ore for the Ruhr). For over thirty years the miners' unions had been Communist dominated, until the events described by Bishop Jonzon in this chapter.

THE UNIVERSAL MARCH OF CHRISTENDOM

Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, the great theologian and Christian leader, saw the vision of a Christendom united in "Life and Work." He meant that the Church must tackle the burning moral, social and political problems on which the future of the world depends. He was convinced that if Christians embarked on such a fight for Christianity as envisaged in "Life and Work" they would find unity among themselves in spite of all that separates them in doctrine and religious traditions.

In a remarkable way this vision of Söderblom has come true in Moral Re-Armament, which is "Life and Work" in function. It is the Church of Christ on the march fighting not for itself, but for the real aim for which the Church exists: God's kingdom in all men everywhere and in every sphere of life.

Those who give themselves for this programme are part of the universal march of Christendom. People from all backgrounds take part, and are able to do so without betraying their religious traditions. Thousands of de-Christianised Westerners have found the way to God and to the Church. This manifestation of God's Holy Spirit is so mighty that even people who are not Christians from the West, East and South are drawn into it and have a part in it. Thus they come under the influence of the Cross with consequences which no one can now foresee. This does not mean a mingling of religions nor a new religion above other religions, but it does mean that people of different denominations and religions in fellowship work together for a common aim that they all know is right and is a vital necessity for individuals and nations.

If the churches understand the signs of the times, the problem will not be their attitude to Moral Re-Armament but much more how they themselves are going to find their rightful place in mobilising the nations in this fight of the universal Church for a new world.

AT THE CENTRE OF MRA STANDS THE CROSS

BY BISHOP HEINRICH RENDTORFF Professor of New Testament in the University of Kiel¹

I am a man of the Church. Since my childhood I have loved my Church. I was brought up in a Christian home. I became a Minister. Then I met Moral Re-Armament. Through my friends in MRA I have received a wonderful gift, not only for myself but for my Church. I am deeply convinced that our churches should be wide open to receive the gifts Moral Re-Armament has to bring.

A WORLD VIEW

The first point I learned was to have a world-wide view in the great context of world history and the present situation. Since childhood I have known that the Lord Jesus Christ said, "Go into the world and teach all peoples," but many countries and many churches have the same problem: we are turned in on ourselves. We Christians are so exclusively concerned with our own affairs that we do not look over the frontier of our small circle, and we are not concerned with the great developments of the world.

The background of the present situation is that there are two strong forces battling one against the other; on the one side Christendom, and on the other side materialism, Communism and nihilism. And the terrible discovery is that on the other side there is more initiative, more effective power, more total

¹Bishop Rendtorff, the distinguished New Testament scholar, was formerly Bishop of Mecklenburg until he was driven out by the Nazis. He was Rector of the University of Kiel from 1947-9. He has special responsibility for the work of the laity in Germany, and was one of those primarily responsible, in the summer of 1954, for the "Kirchentag" in Leipzig, in the East Zone of Germany, attended by 600,000 people. dedication and readiness to sacrifice than on ours. Most people in the churches know it, but they do not see its great significance.

The work of our Lord Jesus Christ—" For God so loved the world that He gave His only Begotten Son"—is for this world today, the world we are living in—Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and India; those on both sides of the struggle, Christian and non-Christian.

When I went to the Mackinac MRA Assembly, I felt this great love. I met men and women who want to be God's instruments, His tools of His great love for our world. I saw how they were concerned with the workers in Sheffield and Clydeside, the miners of the Ruhr and South Africa. I saw how they were concerned with racial tensions, political difficulties, strikes, and the problems of students all round the world.

I am deeply grateful that I was given this world-wide vision in the great context of the world in which we live. It is a very important gift that Moral Re-Armament has for our churches, and my prayer is that all who are responsible for the churches should be ready to accept the gift.

NEW MEN WITH NEW FAITH

The second point I learned as a churchman in Moral Re-Armament is this: in the ideological struggle, it is the great error of most people in the Western world that they think it is possible to overcome materialism and Communism by political and economic means. That is not possible. It is a false opinion. I have read in the Bible, my eyes opened by Moral Re-Armament, "not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, said the Lord God." Only by the Holy Spirit of the Living God will it be possible to overcome all the forces which are about to destroy the world. That is the meaning of Moral Re-Armament. Neither by re-armament nor by economic means will we be able to remake the world, but only by new men with new faith, filled with the Holy Spirit of the Living God.

The third point: in this great world-wide battle the Church

needs the co-working of all its members. Pastors and Ministers of the Word are absolutely necessary because they have to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments. But if they work alone their task is absolutely insufficient. I was privileged to make the acquaintance in Great Britain, Germany, the Eastern Zone, America and other countries of many laymen who had dedicated their whole lives to this wonderful service. I think it would be a great gift to the Church if it would open wide its doors to such timely help.

"I AM THE STARTING POINT"

The fourth point is one that Moral Re-Armament always stresses: no one has authority to help other people to a new beginning if he has not himself come to the point of beginning this remaking process. The worldwide work and the acknowledgement, "I am the starting point," seem to be a contrast, but they cannot be separated.

If you go to Caux you have to learn on the first, second or third day, "I am a sinner"-not just in a general way, for every true Christian is ready to say, "We are all sinners". "We are all honourable men!" No, at Caux you feel, "I sinned yesterday when I said that and that to my wife," and you have to apologise. Or you feel, "I sinned this morning when I was so unfriendly or harsh to my neighbour ", and you have to apologise. It is an important discovery to know that sin is not a general thing you can take on like a wide, wide coat. In MRA you learn it is a practical decision to acknowledge your personal sin and pray for forgiveness. Then the miracle happens, and there is forgiveness, and you discover the Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ. That is the only place in the world where forgiveness is to be found. Then you can go and forgive your neighbour, your brother and sister and begin to make restitution for where you have failed. That is what you learn in Moral Re-Armament. It is a practical and personal beginning in your own life. It is a challenge to be changed by the Holy Spirit.

It would be very good for the Church if both the preacher and the men in the pew received this great gift from Moral Re-Armament—not to state general and dogmatic words but to dedicate their lives anew and measure them by the four absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love and put their whole lives under the guidance of the Living God. It is a wonderful thing to learn to listen to the guidance of God and step by step and day by day to be led by this guidance.

GOD'S INVINCIBLE PLAN

One last point: At Caux I saw men and women who have a quiet, firm certitude that God has a plan for the world and that He will accomplish it. In our churches and in my own life I have often found what we call "resignation" and lack of faith, rather than the vital conviction that victory is on the side of the Living God; that is why we have so many fears, so many uncertainties. What I learnt with Moral Re-Armament was that God is working out His plan and that there is no force in this world which is invincible, but God's power can conquer the whole world. We can all feel in our hearts this certainty that God has a plan and He is leading the world to His end.

I learnt with a new understanding what is the meaning of the Lord's prayer that I pray every day, "Thy Kingdom come." There is nothing in the whole world, nothing in history, nothing in our present situation more sure than this, that the Kingdom of God is coming and that "Thy Will will be done." I am absolutely sure that the Will of God will be done in our world. We have a word in German, *getrost*—it means more than "comforted"—it means looking forward, through tears perhaps and danger, perhaps through cloud and mist, perhaps through fog, perhaps through death, but with a happy heart because we are in the hands of the Living God. The last Empire is His kingdom. That is absolutely sure.

These are some of the things I learned, and I should like to bring them home to my church and all the churches in the world so that we can work and fight together in this obedience, in this faith and in this great joy we have that it is the Living Lord who is leading us.

AT THE CENTRE STANDS THE CROSS

And lastly, I am so often asked by my friends, good people and the enemies of Moral Re-Armament: "What is this Moral Re-Armament? Are they true Christians?"

I have met so many people of Moral Re-Armament in the last years. This is what I have seen: in the centre of the work of Moral Re-Armament stands the Cross of Jesus Christ. I have witnessed this for myself. I have made the acquaintance of many of the leading people in Moral Re-Armament, and the deepest roots of their life and work are in the Cross of Jesus Christ. That is the truth. That is my personal witness.

I would end with this crucial point. Moral Re-Armament is no work of man, or of Frank Buchman, or his co-workers, nor the work of the people of Moral Re-Armament: it is the work of the crucified and risen Lord, Jesus Christ. That is our great joy, that we are allowed to serve Him in this way, in the midst of the great problems of our world today.

THE AGE-LONG CONFLICT

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BY THE RT. REV. H. GRESFORD JONES, DD Formerly Bishop of Warrington

My first contact with Moral Re-Armament was about the year 1930 in our Chapter House at Liverpool Cathedral. It was a full meeting of Bishop, Archdeacons and Canons, and two Oxford undergraduates (one of whom had been head boy of Winchester) who introduced this new movement to us, spoke of their new-found allegiance to Christ, in terms that at once carried conviction to my mind.

My next contact, a few years later, was at a "House-Party" at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. My train got in about lunch-time and I found myself with Frank Buchman on my right, and C. F. Andrews on my left. Two initial questions I remember putting to them. Did they hold to the whole New Testament revelation? Did they welcome all Christians from Roman Catholics to Quakers? To each they replied with an unhesitating affirmative, which from that day to this I have found no reason to question.

Now, twenty years on, how amazing is the development. East and West, North and South, India to the Argentine, Vancouver to South Africa, the irresistible appeal of "a changed world through changed lives" has triumphed. The small seed has become a mighty tree: in such wise that directors and trade unionists, conservatives and socialists, atheists and communists, Moslems and Buddhists have found themselves "at one" under its shade. MRA from the modest beginning has become a "United Nation's association" of the sort that our modern situation so imperatively requires.

It is often alleged that one of the chief obstacles to the acceptance of Christianity is its extreme simplicity. The same

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may be said of MRA more particularly. It is protested in certain quarters that MRA is creating a new sect. Others again contend that its Christology is defective, that it is semi-Christian in its approach to non-believers. In reality neither charge can be justified. For each supporter of MRA abides true to his or her earlier denominational loyalties. And far from being a "reduced-Christianity", MRA, in its very simple challenge of " a changed world through changed men" is in fact making a demand which, if anything, is just too Christian for many to accept.

What we are witnessing today is the present phase of the age-long conflict between the Spirit of Christ and the spirit of the age, in which the Spirit of Christ is slowly yet surely winning the victory.¹ And there need be no doubt whatever in anyone's mind as to the side on which MRA is fighting.

¹" I see in Moral Re-Armament the spearhead of the great fight in our time between the Spirit of Christ and the spirit of selfish, godless materialism. Do not think of Moral Re-Armament merely as a movement. Think of it as a fight for the soul of your nation and of all other nations." The Dean of Copenhagen Dr. Paul Brodersen, in a sermon preached in Portsmouth Cathedral, 31 January, 1954.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 5

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A Statement by Nine Bishops of Sweden Published in THE TIMES, London, 23 February, 1954

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

On the basis of what we have seen and experienced of Moral Re-Armament, it is clear to us:

- that this world-wide movement, springing from a centrally Christian experience, has led large numbers of people who had become estranged from the Church into a living personal Christianity;
- (2) that it is a morally and spiritually inspiring factor of the greatest significance in various countries, religious and cultural groups;
- (3) that in a world threatened by divisive forces and inner disintegration, Moral Re-Armament's work—that of reintroducing firm moral standards and spiritual inspiration, and thereby of creating unity and new positive possibilities in personal, social, industrial and political spheres—must be followed with gratitude and lively interest by all rightthinking people, and above all by the Church.

Division amongst the constructive moral and spiritual forces is more disastrous now than ever before, and can benefit only that materialistic way of life which in both West and East is undermining the foundations of all higher human life, impeding unity and a better future for our world.

ALGOT ANDERBERG,	BENGT JONZON,
Bishop of Visby	Bishop of Lulea
MANFRED BJÖRKQUIST,	ELIS MALMESTRÖM,
Bishop of Stockholm	Bishop of Växjö
JOHN CULLBERG,	YNGVE RUDBERG,
Bishop of Västeras	Bishop of Skara
GUNNAR HULTGREN,	ARVID RUNESTAM,
Bishop of Härnösand	Bishop of Karlstad
TORSTEN YSANDER,	

THE AIM OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

A Statement in the press by British Free Church Leaders, 15 January, 1954

We, members of the Free Churches are disturbed by the recent attacks upon the Christian nature of Moral Re-Armament.

At a time when our Christian heritage is threatened by godless materialism, when Christian movements are persecuted under dictatorships, and when in our own country there is serious evidence of moral decline, we welcome a world-wide movement of the Spirit that contributes effectively to the answer, and is reaching many outside our Churches.

We are engaged in a world struggle between the forces of Christ and the forces of organised materialism. Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Re-Armament, has said: "We are in a global effort to win the world to our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. The message in its entirety is the only last hope that will save the world . . . a revolution under the Cross of Christ that can transform the world."

For thirty years the aim of the Oxford Group has been, in Dr. Buchman's words, "a Christian revolution whose concern is vital Christianity," and this is its aim today.

- G. JOHNSTONE JEFFREY, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, 1952-3
- M. E. AUBREY, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1925-51
- T. CARLYLE MURPHY President of the Congregational Union of Scotland

EBENEZER CUNNINGHAM

- W. E. SANGSTER, President of the Methodist Conference, 1951-2
- E. BENSON PERKINS, Vice-Moderator of the National Free Church Federal Council
- S. W. HUGHES, Secretary-Emeritus of the Free Church Federal Council
- F. TOWNLEY LORD

MRA IN INDIA

A Statement by the Metropolitan of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, the Most Rev. Arabindo Nath Mukerjee, 10 March, 1954

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 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 organisation that is doing a wonderful piece of Christian work among the people of our Land.

> ARABINDO CALCUTTA, Metropolitan

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FAITH BROUGHT BACK TO LIFE

From an address by Mr. George Golding, President of the Coloured People's National Union of South Africa, at the Anglican Synod of the Cape Province, as a delegate representing his congregation

I am deeply grateful for the help and inspiration to live again in my Faith which my association with the Moral Re-Armament movement has brought about. This association with MRA has helped me to realise just how far I as a Christian and an Anglican churchman had fallen short in my duty to my Church, my family and my colleagues. I recovered in time to realise that my attitude of animosity towards the Church and certain members of the clergy was unchristian and that my resentment and hatred towards people of other races who were responsible for injustice towards me was unchristian and not worthy of the traditions of my earlier training.

This examination of myself has resulted in my being back in my church a more devoted but more humble communicant. I live once again as a churchman according to the training which I had received at my college when the key note was the training of teachers with the emphasis on the teaching of Christ. I was one of those who had lapsed in my Faith which MRA had brought back to life.

SPEARHEAD FIGHTERS OF THE CHURCH

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Recent Statements by Christian leaders in Japan

Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa

I was at Evanston where I saw the play *The Boss*. It is magnificent. MRA is meeting the present situation in Japan in exactly the right way. I have just come from the miners in the South. The ideal way to present the truths of MRA to them is through the drama. This they understand and appreciate.

I agree fully with your work. I have known Dr. Buchman for forty years; I first met him in China. This work is not only the work of Dr. Buchman----it is the work of the Spirit of God, and none can hinder or stop it.

BISHOP AUGUSTINE TAKASE, St. Timothy's Church, Tokyo

The parables in the 15th chapter of St. Luke deal with three forgotten things. But there are many things the Church has lost without being aware of it on the long road it has travelled through the centuries. The forgotten things in the parables were first a sheep, second a coin, and third a human being. And what has the Church been forgetting? First, how to listen to God; second, fellowship in the love of Jesus Christ; and third, the living, working, fighting ideological organism of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Dr. Frank Buchman, a man who has known much hardship, through his wisdom and intelligence has brought to light these three factors which had been forgotten by the Church. This is the greatest discovery of the twentieth century.

The experience of listening to God permeates the Old and New Testaments as the mainstay of a life of faith. To listen to God, as well as to kneel in prayer at times of worship, is the secret of overcoming a self-centered life and living a God-centered life. Nowadays this spiritual content tends to be forgotten and theological theories and plans are dominating the life of the Church.

LIVING OUT THE GOSPEL

The Christian love which MRA stresses is a fellowship which burns with love. These people have practised the life of mutual sharing which is not unlike the life of the first Apostles portrayed in Acts 2-4. They are living out the Gospel. In coming in contact with the people in MRA I found a spiritual way of life which had been lost among us. This is the fellowship in Christ. This is what the Church has forgotten—the power which enables us to fight to live out the Gospel; the power to be remade with Christ (Philippians 3: 10) has not been fully manifested.

That power—which is the weapon for our battle—is a power which can even rend rocks asunder and can penetrate every argument. "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into capitivity every thought to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. 10: 4-5). We have forgotten to mobilise for our fight this power which is born from the Gospel. And this is what MRA has brought to life. In this light we must examine why we are losing ground to Communism.

In this respect I feel MRA is vital to our Church life and must not go out of the realms of the Church. If MRA were to be considered as outside the Churches we would only increase our problems by adding one more to the already over-numerous divisions which exist in the Church. It would also frustrate the deepest desire of Dr. Buchman who has fought to restore what has been lost in the life of the Church.

SPEARHEAD FIGHTERS

Frank Buchman has recaptured the precious inheritance of the ancient treasures of Christianity, and has created in the MRA force the spearhead fighters of the Church.

My wish is that its work in financial, political, and labour union fields shall advance in full unity with the Church. At the same time the Church must drop the attitude of narrow mindedness and criticism and competitiveness with MRA. People who have different traditions and customs are not to be considered as enemies, but rather seen as people who can supply what we are lacking.

The Church must recover this inheritance, these forgotten elements which Dr. Frank Buchman has restored. The work of MRA is an aspect of the ecumenical nature of the Church. Thus we can together attack the crises of Japan today.

THE CHURCH'S TASK

A statement by Clergy of the Church of Scotland

December, 1954

The Church's task is to cleanse and direct the thinking and living of nations. In an age of warring ideologies those who share the Christian heritage are called to demonstrate a quality of life so compelling that all will want it.

Through spiritual rebirth in every section of the community our nation will fulfil its true destiny in world affairs.

This transforming work of the Holy Spirit is our main concern and we welcome the manifestations of His power at work through the men and women of Moral Re-Armament.

Our common task is shown in the words of Dr. Frank Buchman: "You must have that emphasis on morals plus the saving power of Jesus Christ. Then you experience the dynamic which is almost forgotten—the Holy Spirit, that gives the guided answer and tells you exactly what to do as a clear direct call from God. That is the programme for the Church today."

ROBERT ARTHUR, MA J. BIRKBECK, MC JAMES S. DUNNETT, MA CAMPBELL FERENBACH R. RIDDOCK FISHER, MM, MA I. G. GRANT FLEMING, DSO, MC, MA E. FOSTER-HALL C. W. HARRISON F. LEVISON, MA ANGUS LOGAN, MA I. H. BOYD MACPHAIL, MA ANGUS MACASKILL, MA GEORGE NICHOLSON ROBERT R. PHILIP, MA WM. T. REVEL, MA WM. M. WEIR JAMES S. WOOD, MA

Rutherford, Glasgow John Knox, Gerard Street, Aberdeen Stonevwood, Aberdeen Liberton, Edinburgh Prestonkirk (East Linton) Banchory-Ternan (East) Bridge Street, Musselburgh Carmunnock St. Bernards-Davidson, Edinburgh Oldchurch, Arbroath Cairns, Milngavie London Road, Edinburgh Kirn, Dunoon St. George's, Paisley Gairbraid, Glasgow East Church, Loanhead South Church, Aberdeen

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MRA-GOD'S CHALLENGE

Strategy for Our Time

BY JOEL KULLGREN Swedish Free Church Leader

An article in SVENSKA MORGENBLADET, leading Stockholm daily newspaper, 16 December, 1954

What is MRA? Is it Christian, is it religious or is it only morality on a legalistic basis? Is it centred in Christ or is it a new form or mingling of religions in which all religions can be of equal value? Is it a betrayal of the deepest things in Christianity, or is it the most important spearhead of Christ's church against the materialism and the totalitarian tendencies of our age?

It is regrettable that those who have had the least contact with MRA, people who have never been to Caux, seem to be those who are most sure of themselves. It is also regrettable that so few of the Christian leaders of our country have gone to the right place to find out for themselves in spite of many invitations.

Let me say this right away: never have I had an experience of the Christian message so challenging, so overwhelming and so Christ-like as through MRA.

When I came to Caux I, as an old Christian, found myself deeply humiliated. There I met people to whom Christ was a much more living reality than to me, and to whom He was a much more decisive factor in every aspect of life.

Now what is MRA? First and foremost, MRA is God's challenge to people in our age, "both the ungodly and the godly." This challenge hits home and, therefore, it irritates many. I have experienced how many first rightly understood this challenge. But when they understood how much it cost to follow Christ wholly, both on Sundays and weekdays, they backed out. They turned when they reached the border of the absolute. Some time later I found them among those who question the Christian legitimacy of MRA, and a bit later they may appear among those who deride. It is the same experience that we Christians have often had.

The spiritual instrument of this challenge is the four standards. They are in no way an expression of a legalistic moralism. They are God's searchlight that makes the "deficit" in our conduct of life apparent, and shows the distance between what we are and pretend to be on the one side, and God's vision for us on the other. It is this distance that is our sin. And, having discovered this distance, only two roads are open to us: either to back out, denying our sin, or to obtain forgiveness through Jesus Christ. This is the old, true way: the law makes our sin apparent and brings us to Christ.

It is MRA's God-inspired calling for our age to make clear what sin is and also what absolute dependence on Christ means.

MRA IS CHRISTIAN STRATEGY

My second answer is that MRA is a strategy. In most cases this is the stumbling block. We simplify the Christian calling in a way that is comfortable for ourselves.

God has taught those in MRA that you have got to meet secularised people in the 1950's in a different way from our Swedish revival during the last century, which met people who, to a large extent, deeply believed in God's Word and the need for conversion.

An example: MRA started its work in Germany in 1947 first and foremost among Communist trade union leaders. Many were gripped by the absolute standards, maybe just because they appeared to be a non-religious philosophy for everybody. Now this winter I am told that these men, one after another, witness that they have started to understand the connection between the transforming power of the absolutes and God, and that the change they aim for cannot be achieved without an experience of Christ.

If this had been said in 1947, no Communist would have gone to Caux and MRA would not have been accepted in the Ruhr or in other Communist strongholds. But just because the start was made without religious preaching, and gave people just as much as they could take, God could start to work. If anyone judges this kind of work, holding that it is false and un-Christian (because everything that will be said in God's time is not said at once) it only means that he understands neither the laws of the spiritual life, nor that this is a Christian strategy that is spiritually founded.

A UNITED CHRISTIAN FRONT

Sir Arnold Lunn, who spent some weeks at Caux and who writes as a detached but friendly critic, wrote an article which started a correspondence in THE TABLET. In Sir Arnold's final letter he writes (18 September, 1954):

It is thirty years since I met Dr. Buchman and began a systematic study of the Group and its literature and the literature of its opponents. There are chapters on the Group in my books written in 1931 and 1934, and an attack on the Group in a book written in 1942. I recognise that this attack was unjust, and in accordance with the routine of confession, I did not feel that the mere expression of contrition was sufficient but that some reparation was also due. Hence my contribution to *The Tablet*, the object of which is not to recruit for Moral Re-Armament but to inform your readers about this world movement which has already created great alarm in Moscow.

During the last eight years, one hundred and eighty priests from sixty-five dioceses have visited Caux with the approval of their Bishops. My own revised verdict on Moral Re-Armament is largely based on long discussions with more than twelve of these priests.

The prejudice against MRA is based on certain misconceptions: 1. That MRA is an organisation and as such a rival to the Church. MRA is a spiritual discipline warmly recommended by many Catholic priests. MRA is a religious discipline but it is NOT a religion.

2. That MRA leads to indifferentism.

That is does not lead to indifferentism but to a great deepening of Catholic life is the conviction of every priest at Caux with whom I have discussed Moral Re-Armament. How could a movement which insists on absolute standards awaken in the mind of a Catholic the suspicion that the teachings of the Catholic Church were only relatively true? The emphasis on the absolute is in itself an insurance against indifferentism.

The grim threat which may shortly destroy what is left of Christendom in Europe demands a truce not only between Catholics who differ on MRA but also between all Christians. As I write I remember a long conversation which I had with Mrs. Luce in Rome whose judgment was endorsed by many of my Italian friends in Florence and in Milan. The terrible Montesi scandal may have disastrous effects on the electoral prospects of the Christian Democratic Party. The Communists have good reason to hope that the next election may bring them within measurable distance of complete control of Italy. Communist hopes are still further reinforced by the failure of EDC, for which failure the British refusal to cooperate is partly responsible. Neither UNO nor the political parties which are described as Christian, nor Socialism, have the slightest hope of reuniting the threatened West. The roots of Europe are still Christian and the only hope is the co-operation of all Christians and the determination to translate what we believe into practice. Such co-operation so far from involving the slightest doctrinal concessions by the Church would, I am convinced, be the first step to the "Great Return" of those who have left the unity of the Church.

Further, this very purpose of a revolutionary unity of the moral forces under God is the thing for which the Pope has repeatedly called and which we have conspicuously failed to create.

To sum up. In my many visits to Caux I have been impressed not so much by the public presentation but by the lives of the MRA workers. I found men practising the economics of Christ, acting with heroic confidence on the belief that the money for their bare necessities would somehow turn up. I found rich men putting into practice that Catholic teaching on wealth which the Middle Ages insisted on more than we do today, that the rich man is only the trustee of such wealth as he possesses above that which is necessary to maintain his station in life. I find married couples whose conception of marital relations is more austere than ours, perhaps too austere.

I could find neither in their speeches, their writings, their private conversations anything but genuine reverence for the Catholic Church, and when I compare MRA today with the Oxford Group of thirty years ago, I recognise a very definite movement towards the Church. We Catholics have many declared enemies, and many who call themselves Christians who can be relied on to support our persecutors in Spain yesterday or East of the Iron Curtain today.

Is it wise—I will not ask is it generous—to attribute discreditable motives to those whose every action and every pronouncement is either friendly to us or consistent with their professions of friendship?

In 1938, when the civil war in Spain was still raging, my father, Sir Henry Lunn, a Methodist, successfully moved an amendment to a resolution at the Methodist Conference calling for sympathy with Niemoller and the persecuted Jews in Germany. The resolution which was carried also included the persecuted Christians in Spain. In reply to a letter which Sir Henry wrote in *The Times*, Cardinal Hinsley wrote:—

"Those who belong to the Catholic and Roman Church will have read with appreciation and respect Sir Henry Lunn's moving appeal in your columns for a united Christian Front against the world-wide anti-Christian onslaught. Pius XI explicitly appeals in his letter Divini Redemptoris to all who believe in God. Between those who believe in Christ as true God and true Man and worship Him, there should be charity-an effort to draw nearer to Him and so nearer to one another. This means not only friendly relationship but mutual help in defending the civilisation which is founded on the truths enunciated in the Nicaean Creed. Sir Henry rightly insists on this bond between us. Let us be frank. There have been in the past misunderstandings and faults of manner on both sides, and of temper and lack of charity in controversy. These, our failings and differences, the enemies of religion have exploited. But the realisation of a common peril is drawing Christians together in practical sympathy."

There is today far more cause for alarm than in 1938. Soviet Russia, which was foiled in the attempt to capture Spain, has since taken over about a third of non-European Russia and has extended the rule of the hammer and sickle over China, North Korea and the greater part of Indo-China. It was important, as the Cardinal insisted, for Catholics in 1938 to co-operate in what he described as "a united Christian Front against a world-wide anti-Christian onslaught." It is incomparably more important today. 6

BY BJARNE HÖYE

Editor of Vaart Land, Oslo daily newspaper

Again and again, over the years, I have wanted to try to write about Dr. Frank Buchman and his work, but something always seemed to prevent me. Perhaps the time was not ripe. Most likely it was I who was not ready for the task, because it was more than I could compass. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that Frank Buchman and his fellow workers, like no other people I know, have from the first given me the vision of the world becoming new and young and miraculous, and full of meaning. Through them, after an inner struggle, I found the gift of faith, and a new happiness. Since then so much has happened that is too amazing to be humanly explained: it could not be and was not a work of man. And the people who, through their quality of life and their way of saying and seeing things, kindled the vision and aroused me to action, have for ever a place in my heart.

Since then, Frank Buchman and his small army of trained people have travelled across the world, and have brought the vision of a new and remade world to old and young, to workers and capitalists, to people of different races and religions.

Moral Re-Armament to me is the simple and obvious Christian answer to the social problems of our divided and devastated world. It is the answer Christianity has been groping for. It will be to the eternal merit of Frank Buchman, a man of God, that he has formulated this answer and put it into practice in social life, through a living and growing organism of inspired people.

It is said that Dr. Frank Buchman, then over 70, was visiting his parents' grave in Pennsylvania, and that he stood there for a long time, lost in thought. At last he said, "I have been wonderfully led." This is his assessment of his own life. He said on another occasion: "I have done nothing by myself. God has done everything." His life and his work seem to confirm these points. They contain so much that is inexplicable and miraculous. His life's work is of such an unusual character and quality that it cannot only be a work of man. He is the outward instrument for a revolution which is superior to that of materialistic Communism, with a spiritual power strong enough to change Communists, and make them passionate fighters for an inspired democracy built on absolute moral standards.

A SOCIAL PASSION

Frank Buchman is himself a revolutionary, with human sympathies for those who give everything they have in the fight for what they believe is right and just. From his youth he has been driven by a social passion and interest in his fellow men. Not that he lacks the practical abilities of a business man; but they are subordinated to an unusual spiritual personality.

He began his career in Philadelphia, living in a garret above a stable where he lived and worked for the unemployed and homeless. Later he became the head of a home for homeless boys, a position which he left full of resentment against the board of directors who insisted on making economies in the food for the children. This crisis created a bitterness and hatred which poisoned his mind and made him sick in a way no ordinary doctor could cure. During a journey in Europe he came to the decisive experience of his whole life in a little church in England. "For the first time I saw myself," he says, "with all my pride, my selfishness, my failure and my sin. 'I' was the centre of my own life. If I was to be different, then that big 'I' had to be crossed out. I saw my resentments against those directors standing up like tombstones in my heart. I asked God to change me, and He told me to put things right with those six men. The same day God led me to help another man to change. I learnt this truth: When man listens, God speaks. When man obeys, God acts. When men change, nations change."

BUILDING A TRAINED FORCE

As early as the end of the first World War, Frank Buchman saw clearly that what was happening was not merely a question of war between the nations. It was the beginning of the destruction of our civilisation unless it could be radically rebuilt. Systematically he set to work, following a strategic plan whose outline became ever more clear. Before any other statesman he understood the importance of the ideological war, and searched to find democracy's positive ideology to answer the destructive forces. He has built up a world force of trained, disciplined men and women who live the answer. That is Moral Re-Armament.

Moral Re-Armament is a philosophy of life applied in action. It is not an organisation where you can join or resign. "You are either in or out," says Buchman, " according to your quality of life." There is no membership, no rules, subscriptions or salaries. It is something alive, which lives and grows through an inner unity and quality of life based on the guidance of God and the discipline of absolute moral standards: absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. It is a simple philosophy of life which simple people can understand, and which people who are too clever sometimes argue about to avoid its personal challenge. For it is as difficult and demanding as it is simple: it is so difficult that sooner or later it must lead the individual to an experience of the Cross. As Dr. Buchman has said about Moral Re-Armament: "Together we may conceivably usher in the greatest revolution of all time whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the world."

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IS URGENT

In recent years Frank Buchman's message and its presentation have become more urgent, almost apocalyptic. Moral Re-Armament is urgent if the forces of materialism are not to dominate our Western democracies. Responsible statesmen recognise this danger, and press forward military re-armament with all possible speed. But they also realise increasingly that military rearmament alone cannot, in the long run, preserve peace. The necessity for what has been called "Psychological Defence" has been stressed, but has never been satisfactorily defined or put into practice.

Frank Buchman has, through Moral Re-Armament, presented the democracies with the almost ideal conception of this "psychological defence."

This brings us back to Frank Buchman's unusual ability to work with and unify people from the most diverse walks of life. It is characteristic that for him the ideology of inspired democracy is not a system of abstract theories. It is living men. He has often said, "You can plan a new world on paper but you must build it out of people." Nobody, I think, has been able to inspire and grip people as he does, and especially the youth. "He did not ask us to join something; he asked us to give everything," says one of his first co-workers from the student world of Oxford.

This is due not only to his almost boyish delight in being with people and his love for his fellow men: it also springs from his remarkable intuition and insight into other people's spiritual life with their problems and their needs. He has a gift for understanding and sympathy, so clearly enhanced through prayer and self-discipline. Through his personal experience of the guidance and power of God he has a miraculous faith in what ordinary, simple people can do when they are completely obedient to God. God has a plan for everything and everyone. "And the world," he says, " is longing to see what God can do in, by, for and through one person completely given to Him."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 6

THE "OXFORD-AWAKENING" IN NORWAY

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Coming of the Oxford Group1

BY BISHOP JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Bishop of Agder, Norway

When the "Oxford-awakening", as it is often called in Norway, came here in the autumn of 1934, Norwegian Christian life experienced something comparable to the sudden onset of spring.

The early thirties were in many ways a period of depression. This could be seen not least in the religious sphere, where the discouragement was profound.

But no sooner had Frank Buchman and his friends arrived than fresh life and courage became manifest in the approach to Christian problems. The complaints about empty churches were no longer heard, and there was a noticeable yearning for the Word of God in many places, indeed, people assembled in such numbers as we had never seen before.

What was most remarkable, however, was the fact that among all these people it was not only those with a Christian background who now began to get a move on. On the contrary, there was a large element from secularised circles, who thought they had finished and done with Christianity. The successive Oxford Group house parties attracted such people above all; hence the great importance of these house parties, for it was there that many leaders of Norwegian culture experienced a spiritual renaissance.

It is beyond question that something like a national awakening took place in Norway as a result of the Oxford Group. This was chiefly noticeable, perhaps, in the towns, but indirectly it definitely set its impress upon the Christian life of the whole country. Not least because, in so many ways, it brought renewal and inspiration

¹In November, 1954, a series of three public meetings in Oslo marked the anniversary. Speakers included Bishop Schmidt, the writer of this chapter; Bishop W. Krohn-Hansen; and Professor Mowinckel, the internationally-known Biblical scholar.

to the clergy. I have no hesitation in saying that the Oxford awakening was a blessing to the Church in Norway.

Every fresh advance has to be made on a particular sector. In this case the appeal was primarily for the exercise of the will, and for a personal decision. That was just what we needed. The simple, forceful words about the four absolute standards and the need of personal and radical conversion had a powerful effect. It had to be put as simply and forcefully as this, if it were really to go home.

The emphasis laid on "being positive "—on giving up the inveterate habit of criticising—was also a word in season. No one who has been in the thick of it can for one moment doubt that the whole thing had a definitely Christian orientation.

Definitely Christian, too, was the teaching which emphasised God's guidance in small things and great—an aspect of the Gospel which had unfortunately receded altogether into the background in Norway. This led to a new and lively interest in the study of the Bible, both on the part of individuals in their daily " quiet times " and in countless Bible study groups. Many of our congregations underwent a renewal at that time which is still in evidence.

A CHRISTIAN OFFENSIVE

The last World War and the critical period following it raised fresh problems, of vast dimensions, for Christians to cope with. Hence the adoption of the designation Moral Re-Armament, with its aim more directly concentrated upon a world-embracing effort to carry a Christian philosophy of life to a sick and decadent world.

Under its theme of MRA, or Moral Re-Armament, the movement continues to spread, and has become a force of world scope. This may give the impression that the whole movement rests on a foundation which is moral but not necessarily Christian. This, I think, is a superficial view. The unique self-sacrifice shown by the people who work in MRA and the spiritual power that is manifest would be inexplicable if the Christian message did not underlie and sustain the whole.

MRA is in reality an inspiration and awakening for the Christian Churches. It has assumed the responsibility and taken the offensive that should have been taken by the Church. We who are Christians should be profoundly grateful for this, and support these pioneers with our prayer and sympathetic understanding.

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT AND THE CHRISTIAN DESTINY OF EUROPE

BY PROFESSOR THEOPHIL SPOERRI

Rector of the University of Zürich, 1948-50 Professor of Literature and History

Unity is the grace of rebirth, and rebirth is another name for renaissance. Renaissance can happen again. That is the only answer to the need of today, and it is the real destiny—the Christian destiny—of Europe.

You do not have to be a historian to analyse the present world situation. It can be summed up in a single phrase: the world has become a unit, a unit of fear, hate, greed and endless misery. And there is a force of men in the world which uses to the utmost this fear, hate, greed and misery for one purpose—to build a world under their direction. These people mean business. They are realistic, the most realistic people we have seen in history. They know how to use people.

Their strength is in people with a total commitment and a global vision. I must say, as a historian, that in face of the advance of Communism we in the free world are all sheer amateurs. But they have one weak place. They have lost inspiration.

INSPIRATION AND CALCULATION

Karl Marx, as a Jew, was unconsciously inspired by the vision of the Kingdom of God—in a worldly fashion a classless society. And in each Communist there is a dream of a world of justice and brotherhood. But Communism as a whole has lost this inspiration for a very simple reason: they want to be sure in their plan, and you can only be sure by calculation, by ruthless cold calculation. They have replaced inspiration by calculation.

Inspiration comes from beyond the human mind. You cannot take it in your hand as a tool. Inspiration takes us in hand as her tool. It is Almighty God who gives us ideas, gives us illumination.

It is here that we begin to see the significance of Moral Re-Armament. As a historian, I consider Frank Buchman to be the greatest "initiator" of our generation. He has translated historic Christian truth into the everyday living of the ordinary man, in three ways particularly: first, through the conception of daily inspiration available for all; secondly through the experience of daily change, and the remaking of men as normal for everyone; and thirdly, through what one might call "daily communication"—the emergence of a world-wide, living organism, perhaps the most efficient worldwide community in history.

Frank Buchman has said, "We must rethink and relive our whole conception of religious experience. Much, admittedly, has not been valid experience. Oftentimes it has been religious invalidism—a crass, insipid, dull, tepid, unimaginative maladaptation of what ought to be great life-giving, nation-forming experiences. It has been a warped conception marred by moral twists. To be valid in these decisive days, our religious experience must once again become a marching, fighting, conquering world force."¹

INSPIRATION AS A FORCE IN HISTORY

So our inspiration must become real. Real as the calculation of the Communists; not words, but a life-changing, worldchanging force. We need a faith that removes mountains of hate, greed, fear and misery. What we need is not a new church. We need people who put into practice the inspiration the churches have carried through the centuries.

¹From "Chaos against God," a BBC Broadcast, Remaking the World, page 73.

This is our unique chance. We can make inspiration the new, real force of history. That is the Christian destiny of Europe. With all our shortcomings and with all our lack of force and genius, we have this great possibility—to be inspired.

But we must have at least as big a perspective as the Communists. Inspiration comes from God; and God sees men as individuals—but always in the perspective of the whole world. Faith needs wide spaces to unfold her wings. The Gospel is that God so loved the *world* that He gave His best to save it. Isaiah's vision was that "Nations shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God." I think our faith has been so ineffective in the last century because we have not had this wide perspective of the world, which would give us the right determination and the sacrificial living, our eyes open to the crumbling of civilisation and the world's need to be saved, and open to see the Christian destiny of Europe and the world.

How can inspiration become a force in history? I can answer as a man who has had the privilege of seeing history in the making in the last twenty years, and who has had the great privilege of being in close contact with Frank Buchman and the worldwide force of Moral Re-Armament and of seeing this inspiration becoming a realisation. For Moral Re-Armament is a new factor in history.¹

All down history there have been people of genius, great, inspired men who made history.

The new factor demonstrated by Moral Re-Armament is that inspiration can continue as a constant every day in every person's life.^a Every man in the street can be an initiator—taking

¹Professor Spoerri wrote in his *Basic Forces in European History* (1950): "It is not my place as a historian to play the prophet. I am convinced, nevertheless, that future ages will speak of Frank Buchman as we do today of St. Francis of Assisi and those other great men of the past who met the challenge of their day and age with a world-changing answer."

²" There is no way of telling what the world could become if the individual, the worker, the employer, the professor, the student, the housewife, learns to listen to God and out of such inspiration finds a new quality of life, of work, of love, of ellowship. That opens up quite new possibilities." *Ibid.*

time to be inspired every day by the living God. This is reality. Men who listen to God are the true shapers of history.

REMAKING MEN

In history, too, there have been people who went through a deep change in their lives, called conversion. The new simple truth emphasised by MRA is that change can and must be the daily experience of people who follow daily inspiration.

Life is a continual change, and the constant remaking of men is, under God, the most normal of events, and, at the same time, man's highest destiny.

For inspiration to become real it must change the real stuff of which our lives are made. One great means to achieve this is to measure our lives by the four absolute moral standards absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. These are the mirror in which a man can recognise his true self. Countless people have come to a new experience of the reality of God through testing their relationships to their neighbours in the light of the absolute moral standards.

The guiding power in the changing of men and of the world is listening to God. This is the greatest art that men can learn, the art of inspired living, of inspired work, of inspired democracy. It cannot be learned theoretically, but only through practice.

One day at Caux I was talking to a man from the docks of Brazil, a former Communist. You could read in his face the whole story of a hard life of work and struggle. I asked him why he had made this long journey.

He said, "I am a realistic man. I have seen some people working with these four absolute standards, and I have seen that they were more effective with them than without them. So I wanted to see more of MRA."

Then I said, "Yes, we talk of the four standards, but we also talk of listening to God."

At that, he became angry and said, " Then this is not for me.

I am a realistic man. I cannot have anything to do with God. This listening business is not for me." "Meditazione," he said in Portuguese, "I can't do it "—just like a curse.

Three weeks later I met him again. I noticed his face was different. I plucked up courage to ask him, "What is this? Meditazione?" He had a wonderful smile as he said, "Oh, yes! I have learnt a lot. I have learnt to write down." Then he said something which made a great impression on me: "I don't write down only what my thoughts are, but what is given me."

That is a great truth. As a professor I write down a lot of my thoughts: but to distinguish those from something that is given me is a great discovery. That man had found the truth of Dr. Buchman's words: "The secret is not my way but God's way. Not my will but God's will. This is the cure for confusion, making God the decisive authority, not saying 'Yes' only with our lips but also with the discipline of our lives. We talk of Divine guidance, but forget that it is the pure in heart who see God. It is not those who talk but those who listen who receive guidance."¹

"GO DOWN INTO THE STREET "

I would like to illustrate all this from my own experience. It was in January 1932. I had an invitation from a student of mine to meet Frank Buchman and his friends in Geneva at the Residence Hotel.

I did not want to be involved in anything, so I went to stay with my sister in Geneva and went into the Hotel as a tourist. I kept my distance. Professors are professional spectators. I am paid by my Government to look on people from above and tell them what they have to do. At first what I heard did not grip me. I found it too simple—these four absolutes and listening to God. As a professor I had such deep and complex problems. But one thing impressed me: the quality of these people. I saw a reality of faith and inner freedom, and I felt

¹From "The New Statesmanship to End Confusion," by Dr. Frank Buchman, June, 1953. that this was what I had been longing for all my life. So the second day I decided to make the experiment. I was too proud always, as a professor, to involve others in my personal affairs. I went out alone, and I was dead serious. I did what these people said, "Ask God what you should do," and I expected God would tell me something very special.

Nothing of the kind came into my mind, but instead an unexpected phrase: "Go down into the street." My first reaction was, "Never! Never!" because I understood that it meant, "Go down from your position as a professor, spectator and observer and do something with people. Expose your life to men, make your faith real and your ideas actual." I thought, "Impossible!" My university was very liberal. The majority of my students and colleagues are free thinkers. I could imagine what would happen. But finally I thought, "Perhaps the idea came from beyond myself." If so, it would be a question of life or death, whether I said Yes or No. So I said Yes.

A CLEANSING STREAM

I did not expect anything extraordinary, but in the following night and afterwards, something absolutely unexpected happened. It was a cleansing stream of joy and liberty and unusual courage for a professor.

Before I had gone to Geneva a student had written to me asking if he could speak to me about his personal difficulties. I replied, "I am a professor and I am not bound to speak about personal difficulties with students." But after I got back from Geneva people came from everywhere. We had to open our doors wide. Sometimes we had to get chairs from all over the neighbourhood.

One day a Minister came from another part of Switzerland. He was an old and broken man. He said, "I cannot bear it any longer." It was a simple thing that had happened to him. It could happen to anyone. "If I tell my wife and colleagues," he said, "my whole career will be broken and I will be a stumbling block for everybody around me." I told him what had happened to me. We had a quiet time together. The thought came to me for him, "You are forgiven." I wrote it down. He asked for the piece of paper I had written it on, and he went back with new joy and new faith. Years afterwards he told me that, as a result, hundreds of couples had come to him and he was able to help them find a new life and unity.

THE WORLD CAN BE REMADE

So I began to learn something of the art of remaking men,¹ and how the reality of change appears in relation to other people, in the family, among one's friends, in one's job, in politics. There arises a network of new and real relationships. The spirit of teamwork penetrates all areas of life and unites families, classes, nations.

The challenge of the historic moment in which we live would remain unanswered were there not this new ideology which has already shown its world-transforming power through innumerable people and in all sorts of circumstances.

The ideology of Moral Re-Armament gathers up all the impulses of European history and makes them effective once more by opening up the road to their original source.

Today, in the world situation, we are all in the same boat and in the same danger. But the danger is not the sea: the danger is the hole in the boat. That is what we must deal with.

In order to change the world the only point of departure open to each and every man is to begin with himself. The new philosophy is not a philosophy of ideas only but of people. A new world means new men. Whoever has experienced the miracle of a change in human nature knows that the world can be remade.

¹⁰ Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament, has spent a lifetime creating and multiplying a new type of man to build a new type of society. He believes that the art of remaking men is basic equipment for the statesman and the ordinary man. Everyone needs to be engaged in this fundamental task and everyone can." From *Remaking Men*, by Paul Campbell and Peter Howard (1954).

"NATIONS SHALL RUN UNTO THEE"

I continue my earlier quotation from Frank Buchman:¹ "We have been so long on the low levels of religious experience that we cannot readily grasp what an Alpine range of experience could be ours if all our thinking, acting and planning were God-controlled and not man-controlled . . . We need a whole new creative force let loose in the world—a religious experience so dynamic, so wholly adequate that, in the words of Isaiah, 'Nations shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God.'"

The European situation is not that nations run to Europe, but the contrary—they run away from Europe. The Christian destiny is that nations run unto thee, Europe, because of thy new dedication to the Lord thy God. And that would be the new, and I think more realistic, conception of co-existence than the usual and more or less superficial conception that we find in our newspapers.

¹From Chaos against God.

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MRA AND WORLD LABOUR

A faith for the ideological age

BY JAMES HAWORTH1

Whether we are aware of it or not, a world war is being waged now in the field of ideologies. It is a contest of faiths, and the superior faith is bound to triumph.

That is the crux of the present crisis in the world. Lack of an integrating faith causes division in the West. Here also is the key to the solution of the conflicts within world labour, and of the races and nations. What ideology do we have? Is it an unshakable faith, passionately lived and effectively at work in our own lives and in the world? Is its ideological power superior to that of Communism?

The answers to these questions I believe lie in MRA.

I have seen for myself in Britain and all over Europe, in America and Asia, how MRA is bringing an answer at the ideological storm centres in the world. Thousands of trade unionists, leaders and workers, and men and women of the Socialist Parties of West and East, have attended the MRA Assemblies and have seen an answer to the problems uppermost in their minds.

Mr. Evert Kupers, for thirty years leader of Dutch Labour and one of those founding the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, was among labour leaders of five continents at Caux. He has stated, "I march with Frank Buchman shoulder to shoulder to that better society in which shall be social security and social justice."

Asian labour leaders from Japan, Philippines, Formosa,

¹Mr. Haworth, who writes in a personal capacity, is President of the Transport Salaried Staffs Assoc. and a member of the National Executive of the Labour Party. Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, India, and Pakistan have also come to Caux. Australia and New Zealand have been well represented there.

Strong delegations from all parts of Africa—North, West, Central, East and South Africa, have seen every barrier of race, colour and class broken at Caux.

Iron ore miners from close to the Arctic Circle have met with the coal miners from South Wales and the tin miners from Bolivia, and found a common ideology and world task.

Labour, management and government delegates to the ILO Conference in Geneva and representatives to United Nations and other conferences make weekend visits to Caux which is easily accessible at the other end of Lake Geneva.

When the MRA ideological plays were invited from Caux to Geneva by delegates to the Asian Conference, Russian and Chinese representatives were in the audience with the Western representatives.

One thousand factory delegations from the coal, steel, aircraft, shipbuilding, transport, electrical and building industries of Europe and other Continents have come to these Assemblies.

I think of the words of Mr. K. E. Beazley, MP and Member of the 12-man Federal Executive of the Australian Labour Party: "MRA is an ideology based upon the full dimension of change —social, industrial, political, racial, national and international, effected by the application of absolute standards under the guidance and power of God."

Another member the Australian Labour Party's Federal Executive, Mr. G. W. A. Duthie, MP, has also publicly stated his conviction that Western statesmen "leave out the principal weapon we have in hand—the vital ideological force of MRA."

From Travancore-Cochin in South India, for years the centre of ideological struggle, the current edition of *The Plantation Worker*, which contains the annual report of the plantation workers' union, comments in its editorial: "Till now, the common man has been content to leave things to the politicians and to their so-called leaders with the result that they have led the nations to the brink of disaster. Now it is time enough that the common man takes a hand in the game. Frank Buchman has shown a clear way out—a way in which every individual, however humble, or however limited his capacities, can take a part. The message of MRA has reached millions in our own country including thousands of workers in various industries. This is indeed the common man's opportunity to remake the world."

Executive heads of twelve of America's national trade unions sent this message to Dr. Frank Buchman while I was present at Caux: "Through the years the force you have trained has been strengthening union loyalty and leadership and uniting people above party, race, class, point of view and personal advantage. MRA is calling us and every nation to our true heritage under God."

The head of an Asian trade union asked a prominent American labour leader about Moral Re-Armament. He replied, "The question is not how MRA fits into the labour movement. MRA fits you *for* the labour movement, and MRA's four absolute moral standards are labour's true basis. MRA fits you as a labour leader to do your job." The Asian leader replied, "Can you not come on the next delegation to our country? This is what our labour movement needs."

It was in 1946 that I first met MRA in London and I recall Frank Buchman's words that year, "The Cross of Christ adequate for a revolution that will bring renaissance that will change the world."

That world revolution is now well on its way. It is irresistible because it remakes men. Being powerful enough to change men's motives and redirect their wills it satisfies the longings of the human heart.

Yet there are those who would withhold this answer from the millions who are hungry for it. In my experience as a trade unionist it is the reactionaries who attack progress and it is they who attack MRA; those who do not want to change their ways or those who want to change things in order to have power for themselves. But the way a man or woman wants to live cannot be stopped by political tactics. It is a matter of a man's own conscience and the freedom to decide about his own relationship to God.

MRA is a life commitment to live by absolute moral standards and to put the Cross of Christ and the Guidance of God at the heart of every nation's life. It is the supreme challenge to every man—" Choose ye this day whom ye shall serve." It is the choice between materialist dictatorship and God's government.

Between the wars, I had grown cynical and faithless, with no adequate answer to give to my fellow men. When I honestly faced the discovery that my actions to bring about a new social and economic structure were often dominated by my own drive for security and personal success, I found the new factor that world labour needs if we are to be relevant in this new age. I saw that the Socialism we talked about could become a life-giving, world-changing ideology when we deal with our own deepest motives, and make the first step on the road to a changed society by a change in our own lives.

MRA gives labour an adequate ideological basis for the new age, because:

1. It changes the basic selfishness and greed in human nature (that sabotage even the best economic plans) and so ensures the creation of an entirely new type of Christian democracy.

2. It creates the unity of labour by answering the root causes of present-day division-drive for power, personal ambition, jealousy and materialism.

3. It sets a further goal for labour—to think and plan for the whole world, people of every class, every race, every nation and not just for ourselves or our own party.

4. It develops the moral qualities and character of youth that will enable them to take responsibility in the building of a new world.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 8

THE TRUE DESTINY OF LABOUR

A statement by Labour Members of Parliament and Trade Union Leaders

December 1954

We live in an age of the split atom and conflicting ideologies. Labour's destiny in this age is to create the new type of man who can answer division, unite humanity and build the new society. The force of ideas is still greater than atomic energy. It is the ideas in a man's mind that decide whether the split atom is used for the destruction or for the benefit of mankind. Only a mind free from fear, bitterness and selfishness will decide aright.

When Frank Buchman met with Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, the dockers' champion, and other British Labour pioneers in the National Trade Union Club, London, in November 1938, he said: "Think of the new spirit that Keir Hardie brought into the world of Labour. Think of the debt England and the world owe socially and economically to Keir Hardie." He went on to say, "British Labour was cradled in a spiritual awakening. This is the aim of Moral Re-Armament—a spiritual awakening and a social and economic renaissance."

It was the deep moral convictions of the pioneers which gave our movement its driving force in the early days: its ideological concept of world brotherhood.

Since 1946 thousands of workers, trade union leaders and labour leaders from five continents have attended the World Assemblies for Moral Re-Armament. Here we saw the hope of the early pioneers in a world brotherhood above barriers of race, colour and class become a practical reality. We saw ordinary men becoming the creators and shapers of the twentieth century. We found no finger-pointing at East or West, but a cure for the sick motives of humanity.

We know that Labour's need and the world's need today is unity. Unity does not come by chance but by a radical change in human nature. Only an idea revolutionary enough to change men is adequate to deal with the present situation. Changed men will live by the standards of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. These absolute standards applied to society and in our own lives are the only answer to the relative standards that have caused confusion and conflict in our own ranks. Then we will fight together for "*what* is right" instead of fighting against one another to prove "*who* is right."

We are now at the parting of the ways. In our belief Moral Re-Armament points the road that the great movements of the common man must take if they are to fulfil their role of uniting a disintegrating humanity. The issue is organised materialism for the nations or Moral Re-Armament.

It is for us to choose and our decision will determine the future. We have committed ourselves to this world force to fulfil Labour's spiritual heritage and to secure for generations to come Labour's true destiny—Labour led by God can lead the world.

H. E. HOLMES	Member of Parliament, Hemsworth
P. L. E. SHURMER	Member of Parliament, Sparkbrook
C. J. SIMMONS	Member of Parliament, Brierley Hill
CLIFFORD KENYON	Member of Parliament, Chorley
S. S. AWBERY	Member of Parliament, Bristol Central
T. OSWALD	Member of Parliament, Edinburgh Central
CLAYTON McCormick	Chairman, Clyde District Committee, United Patternmakers' Association
Robert Getgood	Former Chairman, Trades Union Congress of Northern Ireland
Seth Dewhurst	Vice-President, Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians
Frank Smith	Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers, Leicestershire Area

WHAT MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IS DOING IN INDUSTRY

BY GERRARD SOGUEL

From an article in La Revue de l'Evangelisation, France¹

The aim of Moral Re-Armament is to bring into the reality of our time, on the economic, political and social planes and on the family, national and international scale, the explosive power of the individual new birth. This latter results from the acceptance, renewed each day, of the Lordship of Jesus Christ over the most concrete aspects of a man's life.

A year ago, four to five thousand people responded, at Lille, to the call of MRA. The audience was composed for the main part of workers, labourers, and officials; there was also a certain number of employers. To speak of Jesus Christ would have been the truth but would have meant absolutely nothing to them. MRA expresses the same truth when it proposes a means of breaking vicious circles, of clearing up false problems and notably of escaping from the false dilemma " capitalist slavery or Marxist slavery " by opening the third path, new for the majority of people, of personal change culminating in a change of social structure.

MRA has been compared to a bulldozer which overthrows the protective barriers of all sorts which one builds through pride, egoism, fear, and so on, and in that way opens a breach in the wall of incomprehension which closes for the majority of the men of our time the way of Jesus Christ.

In Jesus Christ, "the Word had been made flesh" (John 1:14).

¹Reproduced in The World Christian Digest, April 1953.

In MRA, the Good News of the Gospel is incarnated in facts—transformed lives, rebuilt households, human relations established on a totally renewed plane.

"Not everyone that says to me, Lord, Lord . . . " said Jesus (Matt. 7:21). "By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love one to another." (John 13:35). To speak of neighbourly love to those who are exploited by their neighbours is to speak in vain. But when an industrialist, known as a fighter, and a general secretary of a trade union, a militant unionist, stand up together and declare that they have found the common denominator which, after having given them interior peace and harmony in their respective families, has united these enemies of yesterday in the same fight to satisfy the needs of all, and to rebuild the world in justice and love, there is presented a fact which is tremendous in the hopes which it raises.

After his return from Caux, the world centre of MRA, the director-general of SNECMA¹, as a first step, apologised to the personnel of the Kellerman factory for two unjust measures which he had taken. This first gesture brought others: the conclusion of a provisional agreement on salaries signed by all the trade union organisations; then, some months later, the institution of a productivity salary in one of the factories.

IMPROVING RELATIONS

"It is certain," said M. Desbruères, the director in question, that I found at Caux the adequate conviction to embark upon an economic and social policy which has improved the atmosphere of the enterprise. This conviction has enabled me to acquire a fighting spirit to apply measures which are beneficial to the Society as to the employee, measures which earlier would have appeared too dangerous and risky to be applied.

"I understood for the first time that the ruling class could not eternally undergo revolutions but could play an active part

¹The nationalised aero-engine industry of France.

in them. In doing this, it would only be assuming its responsibilities, and dare we say, redeeming the great faults it has committed, for after all the materialism of the right has brought about the materialism of the left."

"It is not a question of a bad compromise between bourgeois and proletarians; it is a question of a total change of both classes," declared a German miner delegate to the Lille meeting. Following this meeting, an industrialist of the north brought together 70 delegates from his 2,500 workers and employees. Having announced to them his wish to work thence forward with them on the plane of MRA standards, he began by putting at their disposal the books of the firm, promising to answer truthfully to any questions which they would put to him. These are revolutionary attitudes and actions which carry far more weight than many words.¹

¹The Times reported on 25 September, 1953:

National heads of the textile and aircraft industries and trade union organisations of European countries have been taking part in the industrial conference at the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly at Caux.

International figures joining in the conference this past week have included Mr. J. R. D. Tata, chairman of the Tata Industries of India; M. Henri Desbruères, president of the nationalised society for the study and construction of aircraft engines, France; Mr. G. T. Baker, president of National Airlines, of the United States; M. Robert Carmichael, president of the jute industry of France; Count Francesco Cicogna of Milan; M. Maurice Mercier, secretarygeneral of the French Textile Workers' Union (Force Ouvrière); and Mr. Robert Getgood, formerly chairman of the Irish TUC.

The employers' representatives emphasised the importance of industrialists taking wider responsibility in national life. The solution to technical and economic problems was only part of their duty, which was to accept full responsibility for national policy. Of paramount importance was the spreading of a democratic way of life that would challenge the advance of materialism and win the allegiance of millions behind the iron curtain.

Trade unionists, many of whom had formerly been members of the Communist parties of Western Europe, expressed the need for a new basis of co-operation and a change of attitude between employers and workers. In an ideological struggle the function of trade unions, it was agreed, was not only to strive for higher wages or better conditions; it was to ensure that the workers' movements were animated by an ideology which safeguarded the moral values on which our democratic society is based.

IS IT CHRISTIAN?

But what has Jesus Christ to do in all this?

When a Frenchman who has seen several members of his family put to death by the Germans, asks forgiveness of a German for his hatred, and dedicates months to carrying the message of absolute love to Germany, and when an ex-Nazi asks forgiveness of the French he had made to suffer, is not Jesus Christ present? Even if He is not named? "Love is of God, and whosoever loves is born of God, and knows God" (1 John 4:7). Does love show itself only in words, or by actions? (Cf. Matt. 25:31 and ff.).

The great power of attraction of MRA for people of all milieux, and in particular for militant Marxists, is the quality of love which they have found in it. This quality of love has made them take up the challenge of the absolute moral standards (honesty, purity, unselfishness and love), a challenge which they accept because those who present it to them have already begun to live out those standards.

And it goes even further.

"The absolute moral standards have been for me the road to Damascus on which the scales have fallen from my eyes. They taught me what my sin was and made me discover my Saviour. No man can live the MRA quality of life without the power of the Holy Spirit," said one of the young team members.

" I sought God and did not find Him . . .

" I sought my soul and did not find it . . .

" I sought my neighbour and I found all three," said someone else.

That is a fact which is constantly proved in MRA. It is because most of the men and women, atheists, bourgeois or militant Communists, who have practised for a time the discipline of the quiet time and the four standards have found the necessity to pass beyond that stage and have made a personal meeting with their Saviour. It is not words which were at the origin of the real conversions, but the fact of having had a chance to see a quality of life which is made possible only by the power of Jesus Christ.

This quality of life is a challenge which speaks for itself. It poses questions to non-believers who are led to ask the secret of it. It works the same way with Moslems, Buddhists and followers of other non-Christian religions who have gone to Caux or are in contact with MRA people.

MRA is not an evangelistic movement in the traditional sense, which consists in announcing BY WORD—the Good News of eternal salvation in Jesus Christ. But the quality of life of those who are prepared to leave the guidance of their life completely to the Holy Spirit, and to submit themselves to the discipline of the absolute standards and life in a team, has decisive repercussions in their professional life.

Moral Re-Armament is thus the place where Christians, no matter what their social position, can intervene with efficacy in the march of events by attacking "the three great tasks of our generation: to keep the peace and make it permanent; to make the wealth and work of the world available to all and for the exploitation of none; and . . . to build a new world."¹

Already transformations of structure are sketched out, barriers are thrown down, barricades demolished, injustice is checked, and Jesus Christ shows Himself with power to men and women previously considered unattainable by traditional evangelism.

Shall we therefore say glory to Moral Re-Armament? No, but truly Glory to God who, in His vigilant love, knows how to forge in each century instruments adapted to the circumstances and to the needs of the men whom He loves and seeks.

¹Dr. Frank Buchman in Remaking the World, p. 86.

II

A WORLD-SPANNING FORCE

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. God's chance is a revolution under the Cross of Christ that can transform the world. The only hope. Our only answer. Go forth with that message united and you will save the world. The Cross of Christ adequate for a revolution that will bring a renaissance, that will change the world.

DR. FRANK BUCHMAN

MRA IN AFRICA IN 1954

BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE C. J. CLAASSEN, QC

Judge President of the High Court, South-West Africa

I

VISIT OF THE MRA TASK FORCE

Africa, "the continent that God has kept in reserve," has but recently burst on to the stage of the international scene.

What will its future be? The Western Democracies, with great interests at stake, have diverging and even conflicting policies in the areas which they control.

Two international forces have a clear picture for the future of Africa. International Communism sees Africa whole, and is making an all-out bid for the mind and will of her people. It plans for a revolutionary change which would result in the future incorporation of the African continent in a world materialistic dictatorship guided by the party-line from Moscow. Such an ultimate end must of necessity be preceded by much bloodshed and misery.

Communism seeks to achieve its aims by exploiting the rising tide of nationalism. These aims find political expression in such catch-phrases as "Africa for the Africans," "Back to your tribal Gods," "Out with the white man." Bloodletting clashes have already taken place in North, East, West and Southern Africa. Such is the process inevitably resulting from the hate-motive.

Moral Re-Armament, on the other hand, sees Africa setting a new pattern for the nations through a revolutionary change wrought by a superior ideology. This revolution will bring the full dimension of change, social, economic, political, national and international change, all based on personal change. Such change must grow out of the adoption of the absolute moral standards of Honesty, Purity, Unselfishness and Love, applied personally, nationally, and internationally, under the direction of the Holy Spirit of God.

These two lines of advance have been admirably contrasted by William Penn in his famous words, "Men will either be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants."

THE FINAL IDEOLOGY

The decisive issue for the African Continent is not whether one race will dominate another race, but what idea will control all races. The attempt on the part of many Europeans to influence the revolutionary leadership of Africa in the direction of being "moderate" is foredoomed to failure. Well-intentioned liberalism is no more an answer to the march of militant ideas than is a tough policy of repression; and denunciation of the other fellow's policies changes nothing. It is usually further fuel for the forces of subversion. Equally, existing ideas which are sometimes called revolutionary are still too small. Nationalism, of the white man or the black man, is for one race only and therefore too small. The philosophy of Karl Marx, however sugared and disguised, is for one class only and therefore too small. Both these philosophies stem from a materialist root.

Moral Re-Armament is a conception large enough for every man of every race. It offers each and all an active and immediate part in reconstructing the future of Africa. As Dr. William Nkomo, founder of the African National Congress Youth League, and one of Africa's most militant national leaders, has said: "The ideology which preaches only change in systems comes earlier in the revolutionary scale. Moral Re-Armament is the ideology of our time. For me it is the final ideology."

A GOD-LED UNITY

The evidence shows that men of all races and classes from all over the Continent, who are responding in growing numbers to Moral Re-Armament, are reversing the trend towards disunity and division and demonstrating a pattern to the world of a multi-racial society. This society is based, not on the intermixture of races, but on the moral re-armament of every race. The basis of association is the absolute moral standards of Christianity and the guidance of God. There can be no other basis. The magnificent response to MRA from all sections of society has been due to the fact that it has demonstrated so successfully the importance of removing the beam out of one's own eye. For me this meant apologising publicly to the English, the Jews, the Africans, the Coloureds, the Asiatics, and many others, for my attitude of racial superiority, my indifference and my lack of love.

TWENTY THOUSAND MILE JOURNEY

A force of Moral Re-Armament, sixty strong¹, from fifteen countries, moved through Central, South and West Africa

¹The travelling force included:

- Mevr. C. E. van Beuningen van Vlissingen, 77-year-old widow of a Dutch industrialist, who received the highest decorations from Dutch and Belgian Red Cross for her heroism during the occupation of the Netherlands.
- Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Cochrane, KBE, RN(Ret.), wartime Commodore o Convoys.
- Rev. George Daneel, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, South Africa, a nationally known Springbok rugby player.
- Miss Rosa Grabe, who first heard of Moral Re-Armament at a Communist University in East Germany and escaped to the West to attend the World Assembly at Caux, Switzerland.

The Marquis of Graham and his sister, Lady Fiona Graham.

Captain Loudon Hamilton, MC, in whose rooms at Oxford in 1921 Dr. Frank Buchman began the work later known as the Oxford Group.

Lady Hardinge of Penshurst.

Mr. Bremer Hofmeyr, a former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, and cousin of the Hon J. H. Hofmeyr, for many years Deputy Premier to General Smuts.

[Continued on next page

for nine months in 1954. In every centre African reinforcements, already trained in MRA, worked with them.

Over 700 citizens of the Netherlands, including a group of dock workers, the Vice-President of the Council of State and industrialists and students contributed to charter a special aeroplane to carry the visiting group to Central Africa.

During the course of this 20,000 mile journey through the African Continent, the Moral Re-Armament plays were presented 109 times before 58,000 people in 22 cities and in five countries.

A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS

When the force arrived in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, on 10 December, assemblies there drew together the African and European leadership of the capital. For the first time, an inter-racial audience, which included the Governor and 25 members of the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia, met in the Garrison Theatre to see the play *The Real News* by Peter Howard.

From Lusaka, the force moved to the mining centres of the

- Colonel the Hon. Malise Hore-Ruthven, CMG, DSO, formerly commanding The Black Watch, and Secretary to HRH the Earl of Athlone when Governor-General of South Africa.
- Mr. Paul Kurowski, a Ruhr miner, for twenty-five years a functionary in the German Communist Party.
- Rev. W. D. Laird, Minister of the Church of Scotland.
- Mr. Ivan Menzies, for thirty years the principal comedian in the Gilbert and Sullivan operas with the D'Oyley Carte Opera Company.

Sir Roy Pinsent, Bart., industrial lawyer from Birmingham.

Mr. E. G. Sarsfield-Hall, CMG, former Provincial Governor in the Sudan.

Rev. Norman von Post Schwab, Minister of the Episcopal Church of America.

Mr. Oscar Sumelius, paper manufacturer from Finland, a leading Member of Rotary International.

Mr. Roland W. Wilson, Secretary of the Council of Management of the Oxford Group in Britain.

One feature of the force was the families who took part in it. Among them were a father and daughter, a brother and sister, a father, son and daughter, a mother and son and daughter, a father and mother and daughter, and several married couples. Copper Belt, where 5,000 white and 40,000 black workers are employed producing \pounds 100,000,000 worth of copper a year. After this visit, a senior Security Officer, who described the area as perhaps the most inflammable from Cairo to the Cape, urged MRA to establish a permanent force there.

In Southern Rhodesia, the next territory to be visited, one African Nationalist leader said: "There are many paper plans for racial unity. MRA goes quietly ahead and does it." He was referring to the occasion in Salisbury on the eve of the Federal celebrations, when the Federal Prime Minister (the Rt. Hon. Sir Godfrey Huggins), the Acting-Governor, the Indian Commissioner, the Leader of the Coloured Community and over half the Federal Members of Parliament, African and European, sat side by side in the Palace Theatre and saw and heard the message of a new dimension of racial unity.

Canon Martin Capon of Nairobi, who was present, commented: "People talk of trying to adapt a message for the Africans, and I have been trained as a missionary for seventeen years to speak African languages. But MRA is doing what is quite essential. It is giving from heart to heart the same message to the Africans as to the Europeans."

From Rhodesia the force moved south to Cape Town, and on to Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg and Pretoria. In February 1954, when the South African Parliament was discussing difficult racial issues, *The Cape Times* appeared one morning with the headline, "BLACK, WHITE ON MRA PLAT-FORM" and the next morning the headline of the Government paper, *Die Burger* ran, "MRA Freed Him From Hatred of Afrikaner." They were describing a vast Assembly of over 2,000 people of all the races which packed every nook and cranny of the Cape Town City Hall.¹

¹Among those who spoke on this occasion were Dr. William Nkomo, a founder and the first President of the African National Congress Youth League, and the Rev. George Daneel, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and former Springbok rugby football player. Dr. Nkomo said: "For the past fifteen years I have [Continued on next page] At two similar Assemblies, each of which packed the City Hall, Durban, with over 2,000 people, for the first time the audience of all races did not sit in segregated blocks. Among them were Mr. Manilal Gandhi and his family. Mr. Gandhi, who is the son of Mahatma Gandhi, shortly afterwards published an eight-page supplement in his paper *Indian Opinion*, entitled "A New Dimension of Racial Unity."

Johannesburg was the scene, over Easter, of a major interracial assembly attended by African, Coloured, Indian, Afrikaans and English-speaking leadership, not only from the Union of South Africa but from Rhodesia, Kenya and Nyasaland.

The months of May, June, July and part of August were spent in Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

On 17th August a special charter plane left West Africa carrying a representative delegation of West Africans to the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Caux, Switzerland.

INVITATIONS TO AFRICA

The invitation to bring this force to Africa was supported by the Administrators of the four Provinces of the Union and the

fought militantly for the emancipation of the African people. I have fought, however, full of bitterness and hate and saw no alternative for the black man except bloody revolution . . . In MRA I witnessed something different, men and women of all races, creeds and colours dedicating themselves to remake the world under God. I saw black men change, I saw white men change, I myself changed . . . Now I am happy to be in the greatest of all revolutions—that begins in the heart of a man. My wife and I have pledged ourselves to fight with all changed Boers, Britons, Coloured, Indians and Africans, to fight to make the world what God intends it to be for us all."

Mr. Daneel, who followed him, said: "As a member of the Dutch Reformed Church I believed I was doing all I could to present Christian living to all races. But I was very rudely awakened from my complacency when I attended an interracial conference for Moral Re-Armament where I met Dr. William Nkomo. He and other African leaders put me to shame by the courageous way in which they were facing their bitterness and hate towards Europeans. I decided to fight with an equal conviction to bring a God-led unity to this country . . . To night I want to say to all Africans and Indians present here that I am indeed sorry for my superior attitude and the division I have caused between us . . . My wife and I have decided to give anything we have to bring a God-inspired unity to this country, because unless we find it, God help us." Administrator of South West Africa. In their invitation they said, "We believe that your visit with its emphasis on the search for God's plan personally and nationally will bring about a new willingness in all of us to co-operate for the wellbeing of our country and the rest of Africa. Your message, based as it is on a change of heart and absolute moral standards, can give us the spiritual stimulus we need in South Africa today."

Invitations came, too, from leaders in the Rhodesias and from a Nigerian Committee of Invitation¹, which included five Central and thirteen Regional Cabinet Ministers. A further invitation was received from sixty-four prominent citizens of all races in East Africa.

AIM OF THE CAMPAIGN

This advance in Africa was undertaken in the conviction:

- 1. That, to quote the East African invitation to Dr. Buchman, there is "a God-inspired unity, big enough to include all and exploit none and before which even the most insoluble problems will melt."
- 2. That this unity can be achieved through a new leadership of God-guided men, who find their own unity in realising God's plan for Africa and the world.
- 3. That the racial conflicts of Africa are to be regarded as a part of the world ideological crisis and that no local solution, no sectional view point, no economic or social programme is alone adequate.
- 4. That without a uniting ideology superior to Marxist materialism, Africa, with its divisions and its rising passions, must inevitably fall a prey to anti-Christian forces.
- 5. That a morally and spiritually rearmed Africa can offer a decisive answer to the sagging faith and conscience of the West.

ITS TIMELINESS

In the Rhodesias Moral Re-Armament was recognised by white and black alike as giving effect to the conception of partnership which is the announced basis of Federation.

In South Africa, leaders of all races heralded it as demonstrating a new dimension of racial unity.

In West Africa pressmen and politicians of all parties welcomed the visit of the force as timely (some said, "Just in time") and claimed that here was the moral and spiritual foundation for self-government.

VARIED SUPPORT

In Northern Rhodesia the campaign opened under the patronage of the Governor, H. E. Sir GILBERT RENNIE, KCMG, MC. Throughout the Union of South Africa H.E. the Governor General, Dr. The Hon. E. G. JANSEN, who attended one of the opening occasions in Cape Town, gave his support. Further support throughout Central and South Africa came from such varied leaders as:

RT. REV. H. M. AGNEW, MA, FSA, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa Colonel A. J. ARCHIBALD, Director of Housing for Johannesburg Mr. G. B. BECKETT, Member for Agriculture in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council The Hon. J. J. FOUCHE, Administrator of the Orange Free State Mr. G. T. GOLDING, President of the Coloured People's National Union Mr. M. M. Hove, Member of the Federal Assembly for Southern Rhodesia The Rt. Hon. Sir Godfrey Huggins, CH, KCMG, Prime Minister of the Central African Federation Councillor A. F. KEEN, His Worship the Mayor of Cape Town Mr. NICHOLAS KEARNS, Head of the 2,000 Coloured Ex-Servicemen of South Africa

Mr. Godwin Lewanika,
Founder and First President of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress,
and President of the Mines African Staff Association, Northern
Rhodesia
Mr. C. S. McLean,
Former Chairman, Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg
Rev. G. B. MOLEFE,
Ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the Eastern Cape Province
Mr. Aidan Mwamuka,
Secretary of the Southern Rhodesia African Association
Professor B. F. NEL,
Dean of the Faculty of Education at Pretoria University
The Hon. Dr. W. NICOL,
Administrator of the Transvaal
Dr. William Nkomo,
Co-Founder of the African National Congress Youth League
The Hon. P. J. OLIVIER,
Administrator of the Cape Province
The Hon. Dr. A. J. R. VAN RHYN,
Administrator of South-West Africa
Mr. J. Z. Savanhu,
Member of the Federal Assembly for Southern Rhodesia
The Hon. D. G. SHEPSTONE,
Administrator of Natal
Mr. Selope Thema,
For twenty years Editor of the Bantu World.

MIRACLE OF PROVISION

The work was made financially possible by voluntary sacrifice, much of it on the part of those engaged in it. Gifts came from the audiences who attended the various assemblies, and from citizens of other countries who recognised the urgency and importance of bringing a uniting Christian ideology to Africa.

A brother and sister, whose father died in an air accident in Africa, gave their share in their inheritance. An African trade unionist gave a regular monthly sum. A group of African women in a Rhodesian township sent a gift in gratitude for the new spirit in their homes. A contribution came from a Swiss girl whose father had left her money which had been drawn from a business in Africa. The campaign was undertaken with no other guarantee or securities than the miracle of God's provision. It was in this spirit that people of all races responded, opening their homes, lending their cars and trucks, providing halls and cinemas as well as food and hospitality, with the result that the varied needs were met. In some cases, African and Indian homes were opened for the first time to Europeans, with characteristic generosity. Friendships which can never be broken were built in this way. It was often as a result of this sharing of homes, after the apostolic fashion, that those miracles of the spirit in men and women took place which lead to new policies for nations.

NATURE OF THE TASK

This international force constituted a formidable weapon in the world war of ideas that is raging across Africa. They came together from the most varied backgrounds and experience. They worked without any remuneration or salary. They were trained to live and plan together in the unity which the Holy Spirit gives to humble hearts. They were fired with the great positive Faith to which they have dedicated their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour." They made use of tried weapons, among them the plays and books of Moral Re-Armament, which have profoundly changed the thinking of thousands across the world.

Their task, too, was formidable. All races and classes had to be reached. It was a battle with time, since militant materialism in Africa is moving on apace. Truth had to be expressed so that it inspired faith in the hitherto faithless, and brought new fire and illumination to men and women of faith. For both are necessary if a speedy answer is to be made effective for nations.

INTER-RACIAL ASSEMBLY IN JOHANNESBURG AT EASTER

The impact of Moral Re-Armament on South Africa is perhaps best illustrated in the inter-racial Assembly which took place in Johannesburg over Easter, 1954, and which I attended¹.

At this Assembly 563 people of all races spent Easter together. They came from all over South Africa, from the Rhodesias, Nyasaland and Kenya. The traditional South African policy was reversed, in allowing militant African leaders from other territories to attend the conference. One of the Security Officers sent as an observer by the authorities remarked after the meetings: "I wish we could get the transcript of these speeches sent to all our Officers through the country."

The Administrator of the Transvaal, Dr. William Nicol, a former Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, and a strong Nationalist by conviction, said in his message to the Assembly: "With all my love for South Africa, I welcome this Conference and wish it every success."

¹The aims of this Assembly were:

- To give Africa a uniting ideology which restores God to leadership in the affairs of men and nations and gives every race and class a part in making Africa a pattern of peace for a divided world.
- 2. To provide evidence from every continent of the way this superior ideology answers deadlock and division within and between the democracies, satisfying the highest hopes and aspirations of revolutionary minds.
- 3. To demonstrate the impact of this ideology on the basic causes of social injustice and social evil.
- 4. To point the way to a fundamental change in human nature, as the normal way of life and as the heart of the superior ideology, and to train men how to propagate it.

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In the Assembly were people of the most extreme opposite views, men from the Broederbond (the central group of the Afrikaans movement), professors from Pretoria University, which is the heart of Afrikaans culture, very English Rhodesians, United Party supporters, leaders of Indian and African Nationalist movements, some of whom had taken part in the Defiance Campaign. One of these, a former Vice-President of the African National Congress of the Transvaal, who had been forbidden by the Government to leave his home area, asked and received permission from the Minister of Justice to attend the Assembly, which took place in Johannesburg, where racial attitudes are as hardened as anywhere on the African Continent.

Some people forecast incidents and difficulties, but there were none. The usual bitter criticisms of people of other points of view might have been expected, yet throughout meals and meetings no one of any class or race spoke to point the finger at the other group, the utmost goodwill reigned; it was the kind of experience hitherto regarded as impossible. One secret was that though it was an inter-racial assembly, people met not to discuss the barren subject of inter-racialism, but to plan for the moral re-armament of every race, and the destiny of Africa as a Continent under the guidance of God.

POWER OF HONEST APOLOGY

Good Friday marked for many the crucifixion of many old prejudices and points of view and the birth of a new thinking. We saw the power of honest apology, barriers came tumbling down. One Afrikaner woman, a well-known lecturer and writer and wife of an official of the Transvaal Government, said on Good Friday morning: "As an Afrikaans-speaking Nationalist I want to say I am very sorry for the pride and self-righteousness of my life and my nation that has caused such deep hurts, such bitterness, such feelings of rebellion and fear." Her husband added: "Easter makes the impossible possible. That is happening here. Leaders of every race and point of view have sensed a uniting force here beyond ourselves, beyond our own thinking."

The Rev. George Molefe, former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the Eastern Cape Province, said: "I have attended conferences all over the world but for me this Easter Assembly has been unique. It has brought me to the Cross. I have preached Christ's standards but they have not meant to me what they should. Moral Re-Armament is like a cyclone which blows off the roofs and leaves places bare. When I looked in my heart I felt that, to a very large extent, the bitterness which I felt in the Europeans had been in me, too. I ask God to cast out that bitterness."

Mr. Molefe, after speaking, turned to one of the Coloured leaders, Mr. George Golding, President of the Coloured Peoples National Union, and apologised because he, an African, had felt such bitterness towards him, a Coloured leader. Mr. Molefe then said: "The answer to the advocates of white supremacy or of black supremacy is a third group—the uncompromising Christians. MRA is the way to achieve that end."

COMMON MEETING PLACE-THE CROSS

A great figure of the African Community is Selope Thema, who for twenty years edited the *Bantu World* and was one of the founders of the African National Congress. He and his wife came to the Assembly together. He said he now understood why Good Friday is called Good. He described how his old master on the Afrikaans farm where he worked as a boy had taught him to pray and how he had later become a Christian. Soon, injustices to himself and his people had driven him into revolutionary channels and a spirit of hatred. Coming out of Church one Sunday, he had been arrested for not carrying the pass which every African is required to keep with him. "I was carrying the Bible," he said. "That was my pass. Yet now I am grateful the white man came to Africa. I used to wonder why the people in Europe are always fighting and having wars when they are the people who brought Christianity to us. I see now that even if Europeans have gone wrong, let us go right; let the African begin at home."

Dr. William Nkomo, a founder of the militant African Youth Congress, said: "I have always wished that Christ were a black man. Today the Cross means something different to me. It is a bond between me and all revolutionaries of all races and colours. Today we find a common meeting-place at the footstool of the Cross. The colour of our sin is the same, our need of cleansing is identical. I am convinced that this road of Moral Re-Armament is the correct road for all my people and all the people of the world. God forbid I should turn away from it."

George Golding, the Coloured leader from Cape Town, described the effect upon him when he first heard an apology from a young Afrikaans student: "He spoke in such a manner that I went home, got down on my knees and asked God to forgive me because I had seen people in a wrong light. I saw that the way I was living created hatred and disunity in my own country because I had hatred and superiority in my heart. I felt the time had arrived when there must be no hatred."¹ This is the more significant when one remembers that the Coloured vote is one of the main constitutional issues in the country at the present time.

MEN CHANGE-HOUSES RESULT

One burning issue in Africa is the housing of the African people. Two men, Jacob Mohlala, Chairman of the African Advisory Board, and Colonel Archibald, now Director of Housing for the City of Johannesburg, told how, at the town of Springs, when he was City Engineer, 18,000 Africans had been housed in attractive four-roomed cottages, each with See also page 38. its own garden and mealie patch. Change in Colonel Archibald had enabled him to win Mohlala's trust. The two men started to seek God's guidance together. Archibald told how the crooked places had first to be made straight in his own life before he could remove the bottlenecks and straighten out the housing scheme for the Africans. "Today," he said, "eight homes a day are steadily going up." The estate of Kwa Thema is a model. Men change and unite and houses result.

A leading Indian author living in Johannesburg, Mr. P. S. Joshi, described MRA as the answer to the way of materialism, "the way of God's vision, with purity, honesty, truthfulness and love."

Another Indian factory worker told how in the last few weeks since he had learned the meaning of God's guidance, he had cleared up his debts by cutting out liquor and smoking and had lost his hatred of Africans which had burned in him since the Durban riots against the Indians.

The keynote of this Assembly was that arguments were met with miracles and miracles cannot be answered. They are the answer. It was Easter for every race and faith. For myself, I know that I am not only an inhabitant of South Africa but of the whole Continent. I have to live a philosophy acceptable to every man on this Continent, otherwise Africa is lost. We need a new conception of our responsibility from the Cape to Cairo and Dakar to Dar-es-Salaam. The new man is the medium of the new policy.

THIS IS AFRICA'S HOUR

AFRICA AT CAUX

After the international task force accepted the invitation of Nigerian leaders and moved to West Africa, a steady stream of men and women of all races went from South and Central Africa to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux for further training. Since their return, history is being re-written in this country of South Africa, as black and white, under the guidance of God, learn to fight together for the destiny of their nation. The tide of response is rising steadily. It is not enough to denounce or to blame. New conceptions are needed, born of the Holy Spirit and leading to new levels of living. South Africa needs men who live an answer, an answer for every race.

When the force moved to West Africa there was the same unparalleled response, as the evidence given later in this book from West African leaders themselves clearly shows. From West Africa, too, came representative men and women to the World Assembly in Switzerland, where they met their comrades from other parts of this great Continent and were able to concert their strategy together.

ANSWER TO MAU MAU

From East Africa flows a rising tide of news of the same answer at work, healing bitterness and division, providing a superior ideology to Mau Mau and providing the pattern of a multi-racial society. Many of us appreciated the tribute paid by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the British House of Commons on 15 December, 1954, when he said: "I am certainly aware of the high quality of individual people who are Moral Re-Armament members, particularly David Waruhiu, and people of his kind, in work in Kenya."

AFRICA, QUESTION OR ANSWER

Africa, the Continent which resembles a question mark, may yet provide the answer for the world, as its many strands of races and philosophies are woven together through the power of the God-given conception of Moral Re-Armament. For those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, it must be abundantly clear that here is a unique force at work. The measure of success to date has been phenomenal.

Twenty-five years ago, when Dr. Frank Buchman first came to Africa, he forecast that it would be a sounding board to the nations. Now we may yet see the fulfilment of his further vision that "This is Africa's hour. Before a God-led unity every last problem will be solved."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 10

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ROADS TO REVOLUTION

BY DR. WILLIAM NKOMO

of Pretoria

A Founder and First President of the African National Congress Youth League

I was born into Methodism, being a son of the Manse, and went to Sunday School and day school where my position in the Church was taken for granted. I myself took it for granted and did not at first realise that being a Christian implied an experience of conversion.

I was educated at St. Peter's Secondary School, Johannesburg, under the Community of the Resurrection, the Methodist Missionary Institution, Healdtown, near Fort Beaufort, and then at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, where I obtained a Teacher's Diploma, and Science Degree.

Whilst at Healdtown I felt the urge to surrender myself to Christ and my spiritual experience was so deep that I began to preach. It was not the popular thing to do in those student days, but I was quite prepared to stand for my principles and convictions.

At Fort Hare I gradually developed bitterness and hatred for the white man. I took every opportunity to lecture to my fellow students about the need to prepare ourselves for the emancipation of our people, and stressed the need to overthow the "white man boss." I carried on the same kind of propaganda at Kilnerton Missionary Institution where I held my first teaching post.

USING THE CHURCH FOR DIVISION

Full of bitterness I decided to leave Kilnerton to found a Secondary School run by a purely African staff in Pretoria. Then after three years as a teacher I went to the Witwatersrand University to study medicine. At the University I interested myself further in the question of the liberation of the African people, and as a result I got together with a few young men to found the militant African Nationalist Congress Youth League. We were impatient with the leaders of the time, who we felt were too tame. We wanted to see Congress become revolutionary and I felt certain that only a blood revolution could solve our problems. I, therefore, moved on with this aim in view.

I continued to be associated with my Church—the Methodist Church of South Africa—and attended the Church Synods and Conference, where I used my influence to divide white and black. As a result I was responsible for much bitterness amongst the African section of our Church.

I met Moral Re-Armament while practising as a doctor in Pretoria. My first reaction was that this was a tool of the Government to tame red-hot revolutionaries like myself. I saw Moral Re-Armament as part of the machine of the Imperialists to maintain white supremacy on the African Continent for all time. I, therefore, felt that I had to avoid Moral Re-Armament workers and to resist their influence as much as possible.

AFRIKANERS' APOLOGY

It was not until I was visited by some young Afrikaner students from Pretoria University that I began to take Moral Re-Armament seriously. I knew that Pretoria University was one of the bulwarks of Afrikaner nationalism and I also knew that there was much racialism in the University. I was, therefore, impressed when these students genuinely and honestly gave me the story of their change. I was struck by their sincerity and I myself slowly began to change.

Last year I went to the Moral Re-Armament Inter-Racial Conference held at Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia. I went full of ammunition to ventilate the grievances of the African against the white man, but when I got to Lusaka I found something entirely unexpected. I heard black men and white men testifying to their change. I was moved and decided to change, one of my first steps being to apologise publicly for having started African youth on the wrong road of bitterness and hatred. I saw that this would never bring us the new world we want and since then I have done all in my power to make restitution for my errors of the past. I realised for the first time that my Christianity was based on false premises. I had always wished that I could paint Christ black. I had been divisive, and I had never experienced the full significance of the Cross of Christ. I now know that for black as well as white the colour of our sin is the same and our need for salvation identical.

CHANGES OF UNPRECEDENTED DIMENSIONS

I have found that in bringing men to the Cross Moral Re-Armament answers man's deepest needs. It answers also the materialism both of the left and the right. Moral Re-Armament is not against any "ism" but it is superior to any ideology of our times. It brings true unity because it is based on absolute moral standards. This is especially true for South Africa with its multi-racial population and important in these days when men from other nations come here under the cloak of wanting to help solve our problems but in fact they are agents of division.

Ever since the task force of Moral Re-Armament toured Southern Africa a new element has come into the situation, which has resulted in changes of unprecedented dimensions. Changed Europeans and Africans are carrying on the revolution among their own people and everywhere there are evidences of a new commitment for the remaking of our Continent under God's direction. We are still living in days of crisis when the forces of materialism and anti-God seek to undermine all positive programmes, but a link with the Government authorities has been forged and there are indications that an organism for consultation is being born.

We of the African Continent who are not only divided by race and colour, but also by creed and culture, urgently need an overarching and uniting ideology. I believe that the one ideology that will help us find our destiny is Moral Re-Armament.

STATEMENTS BY CHRISTIAN MINISTERS

A BEACON OF HOPE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

by African Christian Ministers

As African Christian ministers working among our people in South Africa, and as people who are, naturally, worried about the present day trend in race relations in our beloved country, we have every reason to thank God for Moral Re-Armament, with its allinspiring message of goodwill among the nations.

Very strong forces are at work in our land, forces of bitterness and division, which have sometimes led astray even the very elect. The more powerful force of the Holy Spirit is needed if we are to be led in the right way.

Moral Re-Armament has shown us how to answer bitterness and hatred in our own hearts, and so to build bridges of unity with other people, even the people with whom we do not agree. It is shedding the light of the Gospel on every aspect of race relations in our land.

At the Moral Re-Armament Inter-Racial Conference held in Johannesburg at Easter this year it was possible to see the fruitful coming together of different racial groups, on the basis of absolute moral standards and the guidance of God. It is not always easy for people of different races to meet together and speak from the same platform freely and happily in South Africa, and when it does happen, as it did at Easter, we cannot but see that greater things are in store for us. People of every race have been touched by the rays of that global light which radiates from Caux in Switzerland. It is an effective summons to those of us who sometimes forget our Christian way of life, and a beacon of hope to all who look for a better world.

We are convinced that Christianity, as we have seen it demonstrated by the men and women of Moral Re-Armament, does have the answer for South Africa today. As we find together God's plan for both black and white races in our country, we believe South Africa will take her place worthily, in the great family of nations, and that she will contribute worthily in the cause of world reconstruction.

О. S. D. Моокі	President, Transvaal Interdenominational Afri- can Ministers' Association
N. B. TANTSI	Vice-President, Transvaal Interdenominational African Ministers' Association
S. S. TEMA	Executive Member and former President, Trans- vaal Interdenominational African Ministers' Association

MOBILISING THE CHRISTIAN FORCES

Statement by African and European Ministers and Clergy, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia

Moral Re-Armament is uniting and mobilising the Christian forces to meet the world-wide attack of materialism.

It is significant that for the showings of the MRA plays, Lusaka and Salisbury theatres opened their doors for the first time to interracial audiences.

We thank God for this effective Christian work in the lives of people and the answer it has brought to racial hatred and bitterness.

ROBERT FINCH	Canon, The Cathedral, Salisbury
J. KENNEDY GRANT	Minister, Presbyterian Church, Salisbury
S. DOUGLAS GRAY	Minister, Free Churches, Chingold
J. D. de B. Joubert	Minister, Dutch Reformed Church, Salisbury
FRED B. REA	Minister, Methodist Church, Salisbury
S. HUDSON-REED	Minister, Baptist Church, Salisbury
C. THORPE	Minister, Methodist Church, Salisbury
SAMUEL CHIEZA	Minister, Methodist Episcopal Church, Harari, African Location
Edward K. Chipunza	Canon, Anglican Church, Harari, African Location

FROM THEORY TO LIFE

BY THE REV. GEORGE MOLEFE Principal, Newell Bantu High School

Former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the Eastern Cape Province

In April 1954, I was invited to an Inter-Racial Assembly of Moral Re-Armament in Johannesburg. There the crucifixion of Christ was revealed in a new light. I saw and I experienced a new spirit in my heart. The Cross of Christ became a reality.

Later in the year I was at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Caux for three weeks. The practical Christian life was revealed to me, a life based on the absolute standards.

It was a life based on pillars. Once more, I felt that as ex-Moderator of the Eastern Cape Province of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa I was nevertheless living a life of a signpost, and that now my Christian experience was brought to a test as I had to be on the road myself. Bible reading was encouraged. In Moral Re-Armament one passes from a theorist in the Christian life to living a life as embodied in the teachings of Christ.

To me, Moral Re-Armament is Christianity on the road.

Has Moral Re-Armament any message of hope for South Africa? Moral Re-Armament is the only force that will bring peace and good-will among the multi-racial groups in this land. I am unequivocally convinced of this, because I have seen with my own eyes white and non-white groups coming together to seek God's plan for their race and nation instead of their own selfish interests. This is an entirely new approach on the South African horizon which results in a solution to the problems of racial harmony. I am therefore more than convinced today that men and women who live Moral Re-Armament are the leaders of peace in this country. Moral Re-Armament has come at an opportune time, and if men and women dedicate themselves to the new life there is a bright future for inter-racial harmony.

ABOVE RACE AND COLOUR

By Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, South Africa

We see in Moral Re-Armament the only hope of mobilising a global Christian force to combat the organised forces of materialism in the world today.

Moral Re-Armament is achieving that world-wide Christian unity which the Churches are seeking.

It offers a unity of purpose which is big enough to bridge the gulf between nations, races and classes. For us it meant facing the reality of the Cross in its effect on race relations.

We have dedicated our lives to work with everybody, irrespective of race and colour, who is prepared to accept God's guidance and absolute moral standards. We are convinced that along this road lies the solution to all the problems of South Africa, the continent of Africa and the world.

J. M. DUTOIT	J. F. DUTOIT
J. FOURIE	W. J. M. Lötz
A. V. Stryd	OM

HISTORIC MEETING IN PRETORIA

BY THE REV. W. J. M. LÖTZ

Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa

MRA is God's mighty weapon here in South Africa to bridge the gulf between white and black and also to bring reconciliation to a long and deep-seated hatred between the English and Afrikaners, uniting them in the common cause of Christianity. Recently a unique and historic meeting was held in Pretoria, where for the first time Afrikaners, English, Africans and Coloured gathered in the same hall and pledged themselves to fight together for God and fatherland. This meeting received full blessing from prominent theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church, from professors, ministers and missionaries who after the meeting came forward to shake hands with the non-white speakers who addressed the audience on their recent experience at the World Assembly for MRA in Caux. Chairman of this meeting was Professor B. F. Nel, well-known Dean of the Faculty of Education at Pretoria University. He was supported by a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, by Mr. George Golding, recognised member of the Anglican Church, and President of the Coloured People's National Union; by Dr. Nkomo of the Methodist Church, a founder and President of the African National Congress Youth League. These speakers declared that, for the first time in the history of South Africa, Church and State have through Moral Re-Armament found a common Christian basis to unite black, white and coloured as well as English and Afrikaners. This task, I must admit, our Dutch Reformed Church has hitherto not been able to accomplish without the aid of MRA.

More and more Church leaders begin to realise that MRA is a God-given and God-guided ally of the Church that takes nothing and no one away from the Church but brings back many who might have been lost, equipping them with the basic principles of Christianity for the fight against evil.

MRA realises the need to apply the Christian faith on a world scale so as to present Christianity not only as a personal faith but as an overarching Christian ideology, the only superior answer to godless materialism. Thereby, our Church as a whole, my congregation in particular and our country have benefited considerably.

ANSWERING SUBVERSION IN THE CHURCH

The benefit which Church and country reap is even bigger because prominent leaders, both political and religious, have been won over from Communism to a Christian, democractic way of life. These people, members of the Methodist, Anglican and Dutch Reformed Churches, were being used by the Communists to penetrate their ideas into the Missionary Church and were supplying political leaders with a materialistic ideology to destroy Christianity and our democratic way of life.

In our case the Church did not even know that certain " trusted " leaders were being used by Communism until MRA brought this fact to our mind. As a Church, I admit, we do not have an answer, but thank God MRA helped us by changing some of these men, presenting to them a superior Christian ideology and they have since become true and faithful to Church and State.

MRA IN WEST AFRICA

The global philosophy of Moral Re-Armament has for many years attracted thinking minds and particularly many of the revolutionary minds of West Africa. They have been drawn

editorial headed "The Spirit of Caux," said: "The questions on every lip are therefore these: Is the African capable of realising his destiny? Is he capable of generating a sufficient amount of intellectual and moral influence to counteract the forces of evil? We believe he can. But in that belief we submit that both leadership and followership require the spirit of Caux . . . that is the only gateway to African freedom."

In 1949 Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, President of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, visited the Caux Assembly. Some fifty Africans had already attended Caux, many of them picked students studying in Europe. These visits are of special significance in the light of the determined and effective campaign of Moscow to arrange study courses in Prague and Moscow and other Iron Curtain universities for Africans. Dr. Azikiwe's visit to Caux was undertaken instead of a visit already arranged for him to Prague and Moscow.

Speaking at Caux, he described it as " an island of peace in a sea of discord." "By coming here," he said, "I have learned that it is not so much whether the Nigerians are right, or whether the British are right, but the question is, what is right for Nigeria? Indeed, it's been a great lesson."

One of his chief aims since his visit to Caux has been to keep Nigeria united. In this task he draws on the lessons he learned

by its universality, its moral and spiritual content and by the realisation that their countries urgently need a powerful force for unity as well as a sure moral basis if self-government is to succeed. As early as 5 June, 1950, The West African Pilot, in an

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at Caux. In a major political speech he concluded by relating his experience at Caux and warning his audience of the tendency to point an accusing finger at the other man, forgetting the three other fingers that would point backward at the accuser. "The element of change of attitude is the forgotten factor which should enter the political life of Nigeria," continued Zik. "The point should not be who of our opponents is wrong, but what is right. There is no reason why Nigeria should not have the spirit of Caux."

In April 1952 a number of prominent Africans and two British District Officers arranged the first Nigerian MRA Assembly at Owerri, Eastern Nigeria.

DR. BUCHMAN INVITED TO WEST AFRICA

In 1953, fifty of the political leaders of Nigeria came to London to confer with the Secretary of State on the revision of the Constitution. Following this Conference, seven of these delegates visited Caux, representing the country's major political parties. They, with other West African leaders, asked Dr. Buchman to send an international force of MRA to West Africa and to bring the stage productions that they had seen at the Caux Assembly.

The Hon. Sarkin Shanu Kano, Administrative Head of the City of Kano and Northern People's Congress delegate, said on the platform at Caux: "In Nigeria we have hatred among our own people, and between ourselves and the imperialists. Selfishness, dishonesty, and corruption are all common. Unless they are fought immediately there will be chaotic conditions in Nigeria. We greatly hope an MRA force will come to our country and the literature will be translated into our many languages. We shall never forget our reception here."

He was supported by the Hon. Augustus Akinloye, Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources in the Western Region of Nigeria, who said at the Assembly: "Nigeria is at the crossroads. It has three component parts, the North, West and Eastern regions. The leaders of these areas are not preaching division, but we do not know how to bring unity. The people and plays of Moral Re-Armament can bring to my country a new outlook and a change of heart. I know that Moral Re-Armament is in great demand throughout the world but Nigeria must be given a priority at this time."

These requests were followed up by a formal invitation from 29 Nigerian leaders in the course of which they said:

"Nigeria needs nothing but the best, and that is why we believe in a world-wide force such as MRA, which is above party, class, race and colour, and which has its roots in the guidance of God and the love of our fellow men."

INTERNATIONAL FORCE VISITS WEST AFRICA, 1954

At the end of April 1954 a force numbering sixty from fourteen different countries arrived in Lagos. During the next two months, the Moral Re-Armament plays were presented to audiences totalling over 20,000 people. Hundreds of thousands more heard the message through the radio and the press.

The force travelled 2,000 miles by special train to the three Regional capitals and to Kano in the North. In Lagos the Governor (now Governor-General), His Excellency Sir John Macpherson, attended the play with a party of ten. Seven of the eight Ministers in the Central Council of Ministers were also present.

In Ibadan the Mapo Hall, the largest covered hall in Nigeria, was packed for five evenings. Four of the Regional Ministers acted as hosts to the party. At the request of the Executive of the Students Union, a special performance was given in the University.

At Kaduna and Kano in the North the crowds again packed the largest available halls. The Emir of Kano attended and invited the whole Moral Re-Armament force to visit him in the Inner Court of his Palace.

In the Eastern Region all the Regional Ministers in residence assisted with the visit, attending the plays and holding special conferences to discuss the application of Moral Re-Armament to policy.

Before the force moved on to the Gold Coast a West African Assembly was held in Lagos. Among those who took part were three Central Cabinet Ministers, the Hon. A. T. Balewa from the North, the Hon. K. O. Mbadiwe from the East and the Hon. F. O. Awosika from the West.

The editor of *The West African Pilot* stated publicly: "Outside the issue of political freedom, no other subject has stirred up more national interest than the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. The general support from the Ministers of all three regions and the popular response from all sections of the community is a real testimony of the way people here want a country where there is no division and where there is unity based on absolute moral standards."

Representative leaders of different sections of West African life again decided to attend the Caux Assembly for further training and the following statements from some of them are typical of many others. The first is an account of the visit of the international MRA force to the Gold Coast, by Councillor C. E. Baidoo, of Takoradi Sekundi, principal port of the country.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 11

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NATIONS FORTIFIED

A report by COUNCILLOR C. E. BAIDOO, Chairman of the Convention People's Party for the Western Region of the Gold Coast, on the visit of the MRA force to the Gold Coast in 1954

The general election had just taken place, and the first All-African Parliament and Government had been appointed. The country was beginning to find the way back from the excitement of the election campaign and to ask what the future held for them. Some two months before, Mr. I. Kumah, Chairman of our Takoradi Municipal Council and Vice-President of the Gold Coast TUC, was sent by the Gold Coast Government as their representative to the ILO Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. When he returned to the Gold Coast, we observed a vast change in his way of living. I appealed to him to give me the reason for such a sudden change. He explained his connection with Moral Re-Armament in Caux and the lessons he had learned on the four absolute moral standards.

At the same time as Mr. Kumah had visited Caux a task force of Moral Re-Armament had arrived in the Gold Coast. *The Daily Echo*, one of the leading papers in Accra, wrote an editorial entitled "Just in Time," in which the editor said, "the presence of the task force in the Gold Coast in this time of our evolution has been considered a God-send to the people of this country."

In the King George V Memorial Hall in the capital of Accra where the Parliament was shortly to meet, the message of MRA was given to the public through the plays, *The Real News* and *The Boss*. The response from the press and public was immense. *The Daily Express* of Accra, headlined its account of the first night, "MRA Force storms Accra with Impressive Display."

From the capital the task force moved to Kumasi, the historical town in Ashanti, and centre for cocoa production. With the heading, "Kumasi's Welcome to MRA," *The Ashanti Pioneer* wrote, "Huge crowds flocked to the Prempeh Hall, Kumasi, for five consecutive nights last week to welcome the international force of Moral Re-Armament which has visited the city after a similar reception in Accra. The caretaker of the Hall who has worked there for sixteen years said, 'I have never seen the Hall so full in its history.' 4,800 Ashanti citizens—Paramount Chiefs, Members of Parliament, trade union leaders, taxi drivers and students—made up the great cross-section of people who came to hear the visitors and were held spellbound by the news and conviction they brought."

In the audience CPP (Government) and GCP (Opposition) supporters were united above difference of party politics in their response to the challenge they heard. Twenty Members of the Council of Chiefs attended the opening night of the plays. "The visit has come just at the right time to help us build our self-government on sure foundations," said a newspaper editor.

A leading citizen of Kumasi put it thus, "By the way you people have lived you have re-interpreted Western civilisation to us."

Both the leaders and the people feel that Moral Re-Armament has come just at the right time to help us find the moral foundation without which we shall never be able to keep our liberty, nor shall we be able to have a true democracy. They have brought us the superior ideology which is above party, above race and above personal points of view. And they have so lived that we have wanted to find and to become a part of the way of life and the civilisation they represent.

On the day of the opening of the first All-African Parliament, one government supporting paper and one of the opposition papers both carried editorials taken from Dr. Buchman's speeches. *The African Morning Post* headlined its editorial, "Democracy," and wrote, "The aim of Moral Re-Armament is a nation fortified against attack from within and without. It is a national necessity... MRA creates the qualities that make democracy function." The *Daily Echo* headed its editorial, "Pattern for Statesmanship," and said, "*The Daily Echo* on such a day cannot do better than reproduce excerpts from the book *Remaking the World*, written by Dr. Frank Buchman, the initiator of MRA, the world force which is out to unify men and nations."

The interest MRA has created in West Africa is without parallel. One result is that more than thirty citizens from Nigeria and the Gold Coast attended the European training centre at Caux. On their arrival a member of the Gold Coast Legislature, The Tolon Na, Yakubu Tali, thanked Dr. Buchman, for his warm welcome.

"We have come to Caux to learn more of MRA so that we can build our unions as a force for unity in the world," said Frank Prah, General Secretary of the Government Transport Workers' Union of the Gold Coast, speaking to the Assembly. Mr. Adolphus Mbah, Vice-Chairman of the All-Nigerian Trade Union Federation, supported him: "Thousands have taken notice of MRA in Nigeria. They have shown us that the racial problem can be solved if people change, starting with ourselves."

JUST IN TIME

An Editorial from the DAILY ECHO, Accra, Gold Coast, 31 July, 1954

To many who have the interest of this country at heart and know the real value of the great work being done in the world today by Moral Re-Armament, the presence of an MRA task force in the Gold Coast at this time in our evolution has been considered a Godsend to people in this country. In spite of the attacks launched against the task force they have succeeded in getting quite a number of people-the beginning of bigger things to come-to have a changed outlook on life. People who had hitherto allowed themselves to be carried away by the tide have now a set aim in life. People whose lives had been guided by the bones of Christianity now live in the true spirit of Christianity. People who because they stood for nothing were prone to fall for anything, have now a fixed purpose. They have brought us a revolution to end revolutions. It is up to our Government as the highest body in this country to accept or reject this message depending on whether they are sincere in the task they have set themselves of achieving independence for the Gold Coast. A person who is a slave to dishonesty, licentiousness, selfishness and hatred cannot be counted on to make others free and independent.

STATEMENTS BY WEST AFRICAN LEADERS

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A LEAD TOWARDS UNITY

THE TOLON NA

President of the Northern Territories Council, Gold Coast, in a speech made at Caux, 3 September, 1954

In my first address at this Assembly I told you how I had been asked by my party in the Parliament to come to Caux to learn more of this superior ideology of Moral Re-Armament, which helped us successfully to avert a crisis when the first All-African Parliament of our country met some time last week in Accra.

There was a misunderstanding between my group in the House and the governing party. The Constitution provided for an Opposition. Therefore when we came into the house we asked the House to recognise our group as the official opposition. We made a statement to that effect which was turned down by the leader of the party in power—the Prime Minister. In fact we were very angry and much embittered against the Prime Minister and his party.

But fortunately enough we met the African task force of Moral Re-Armament that had been staging some of their plays in Accra and through our contact with this force we allowed our bitterness to be removed by God through His guidance. In that way we had to change in our thoughts and in the way we would have approached the crisis if we had not met this group of Moral Re-Armament.

When we changed the Prime Minister responded and in a very friendly way the matter was settled. It was a miracle, particularly for my friends and myself. Something we have never known. Therefore, it was decided that one of us, because we had resolved to give the lead now in the country towards unity in all that we do, should come to Caux and learn more of this superior ideology.

I must say that I do not regret that I am here in Caux because I am learning something which will be of benefit not only to myself and my party but to the parliament of our country and to our country as a whole. A lot of us have been preaching unity—it was mentioned in the Governor's address, the question of unity between the parties and classes in the country. I am beginning to realise that we can never have that unity in the Gold Coast if we do not apply the four absolute moral standards that are preached by Moral Re-Armament.

I have learned here in Caux that Moral Re-Armament makes me alive to God's ways and dead to my own ways and wishes. It is a faith which calls on everybody to change, unite and fight. It calls on us all to fight for the four moral standards, which alone can unite the world and end all wars. But how often are we reminded here that it is one thing to do these realities and a further thing to make them national. I have been deeply thinking about this, and I have resolved to try to live to these realities that we have seen at Caux throughout my lifetime; and I cannot see how I can do it without allowing myself to be ruled by the guidance of God. Only in that way can I see what is right and as a Chief decide what is right and not what I want in order that there will be peace and unity amongst us.

"THE BEST WAY TO DESERVE AND PRESERVE DEMOCRACY"

A. U. D. MBAH

Vice-Chairman, All-Nigeria Trades Union Federation

The idea of white supremacy has been the centre of reaction in Africa. This idea and the idea of African nationalism were about to reach the turning point of a most serious clash when Moral Re-Armament stepped into Africa. As a working class champion I fought with hatred and bitterness. Our record of past time was written in terms of frustration and disappointment.

Through my visit to Caux I discovered that MRA is the most practical expression of racial harmony. We all long for an answer to the problems and frustrations of life. It is not enough to make a blue print of the kind of society we want. MRA is producing the kind of people who would let God have the right of way in their lives in its struggle to build a world that will be free from injustice and exploitation. MRA strives as well to remove the wide range that exists between wealth and poverty.

As a Trade Union leader, a politician and a Christian, MRA has meant a basic decision for me. It is fantastic and negative to think that nowadays one class, one race or one political party can unite the world. I have come to the inevitable conclusion that I cannot build the peaceful society which I had longed for on a programme based on class war and race antagonism. Sound trade unionism cannot rest on debased moral principles. I have also come to realise that trade unionism in Nigeria could be an instrument of teamwork and national unity.

From my Christian point of view, MRA is not a religion, but a quality of life applied in action. It seems to promote the unity of men of goodwill that the Holy Father has asked for in the last years. In MRA religion is to me a steering wheel and not a spare part.

Suspicion has been derived from the fact that MRA stretches from the West to suggest that it is an imperialist organisation with a tinge of political flavour. My attitude to this is simple. The future of the world is a collective responsibility. We are faced with a world problem. We need a world answer and we must find it together. Imperialism is, therefore, doomed to failure. Apart, there is no one more reactionary than the man who expects to see the world different and refuses to change himself. The question of what ideology we elect to rule will be decided by how we elect to live. MRA is the best way to deserve and preserve democracy.

A NEEDED EMPHASIS

THE RT. REV. C. R. J. PATTERSON Bishop on the Niger, Onitsha, Nigeria

The forces of righteousness must stand united. I am not a member of MRA, but I feel that if any division were to be introduced between the Church and Moral Re-Armament, it would be a tragedy, especially here in Africa. We have working within our Church a number of extremely good people, through Moral Re-Armament.

I both have given permission, and shall do so in the future, to clergy throughout my diocese, to invite members of MRA teams to use our pulpits. I am only too happy to do so, wherever the local man feels it would help.

Moral Re-Armament is stressing aspects of the Christian faith which ought to be in every life, but in point of fact they are not. That emphasis is needed.

MRA—A CHRISTIAN WAY OF LIFE

REV. E. V. ASIHENE

Moderator 1953-4, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast

Moral Re-Armament is the only answer to world confusion and problems.

For centuries the Christian Churches had been quarelling over doctrines and criticising different forms of worship. In this way the goal is still far off to reach. Understanding, unity and peace for mankind and the world is still a problem and God's purpose has not been fulfilled. We try to preserve the Church and thus omit the important task of fighting to lead the world to salvation and peace. We preach the Gospel, but not convincingly enough to change people. We must preach the Cross of Christ *and* take decisions on moral standards. From some years experience, I am fully convinced that MRA is the only superior ideology that can revive the Church and save the world from division and wars.

Moral Re-Armament is not a new belief, denomination, sect or movement as some unfriendly people seem to take it. It is *Christian way of life*. It has no congregation and no membership. You cannot join nor resign from it. It is really a practical Christian life of unity of all nations which is the fulfillment of God's purpose in Christ. This is fully evident at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly. At the Assembly I met people from all denominations in perfect brotherhood as changed men with one purpose, remaking men. An observer will simply say, "See how these Christians love one another."

Moral Re-Armament has demonstrated to the world that human nature can change and must change. This is true by living examples from all nations. Many great and small personalities including difficult characters have changed by listening to God. Where buckets of theological knowledge, brilliant sermons and addresses had made no effective impression on people to give them new life, changed men and women may demonstrate, by their surrendered lives as new men to make new nations. Changed men are free to witness and to change others. You cannot see your true picture until you listen to God in the light of the four absolute standards. A new light comes in. You make restitution and sincere commitment, and you become a new man noticeable in the face of those about you. You have stopped your smoking and drinking, gossiping and sex-driven life, made good your dishonest practices by restitution; and farther than that, you start a life that is God-controlled. This is true for every man, and true in the same way with me. I became lively and more revolutionary to change members of my congregation, not by words, but by practical life. When one man changes, a nation changes, and in this way we build a new world.

MRA stands as the superior ideology to unite the world, not by mere arguments, but by simple, deepened new life of new men and women committed to God for a global fight for a new world. Materialists cannot assimilate this high standard of life, but depend upon pride and self-centredness which breeds division and cannot save the world. In this way, opposition and criticism will never cease during this struggle. Changed men are ever ready for service for others, committing their life, family, property and all for remaking men and nations.

MRA is for every man everywhere. This was my experience at the Assembly. MRA never criticises or condemns anybody, great or small, in Church or State. I know what MRA meant for me, my Church and nation, and all changed men and women who listen, and whose will is controlled and guided by God.

These are my convictions. I am also perfectly sure that whether men and nations accept MRA immediately or slowly, it is by this way that all men will peacefully serve God together in spirit and in truth, when ministers and preachers will live what they preach, and pride will be crossed by the Will of God. It is only then that, at the name of Jesus, every knee shall bow, to the glory of God the Father.

Statement by H. K. OFFONRY, Editor of the West African Pilot, Lagos, Nigeria

Why did I embrace Moral Re-Armament?

That is the question which many friends have often asked me.

The simple answer is that I have found Moral Re-Armament to be the cornerstone of a new world order which alone is capable of giving me, or anybody else for that matter, the inspiration to live in accordance with God's guidance from day to day.

For me as a journalist, MRA has helped me to see clearly the issues facing my country and how to fight these issues from the point of view of what is right rather than who is right. It has invigorated my Christianity and brought a new type of love, understanding and happiness to my married life.

I am proud to be part and parcel of this great revolutionary force because I have no doubt that it is the only hope of a confused world.

Statement by DENNIS C. OSADEBAY, Leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons in the Western Region Parliament of Nigeria

Of all the lessons I learned in my years overseas, the most valuable was what I found at Caux. Moral Re-Armament taught me to see where I need to change before pointing my finger at the other man.

The value of this has been proved in our Parliament, in which I am leader of the Opposition. It is the first Parliament in the Western Region of Nigeria under the Federal Constitution which came into force in October, 1954. Mr. Awolowo, the Prime Minister, on taking office, announced that he would not recognise the opposition, of which my party was the chief element.

Shortly after this, I was elected leader of my party in the House. This appointment was acknowledged by Mr. Awolowo and by his party to have been a principal factor in changing their mind and policy. The Prime Minister said that he recognised my opposition as constructive. It is true that before criticising any government measure, I try first of all to see the points in it of which I can approve.

The parliamentary committees in our Parliament have also now

been appointed on a bi-partisan basis, which was not going to be done before my election.

This illustrates how in our young country MRA is providing the spirit which alone makes democracy function.

Statement by E. V. DAKO, Superintendent of Four Hundred Presbyterian Schools, Ashanti Region, Gold Coast

Today the continent in which we live is in ferment, and many of its peoples are on the way to self-government and independence. It is vital that we find the answer which Moral Re-Armament is demonstrating in so many fields. Thus the efforts of both churchmen and laymen will be effective, and the hopes of our peoples be fulfilled. This will also ensure that Africa avoids mistakes and becomes a pattern for the whole world.

For me personally MRA has turned into a practical reality the Christianity I have always professed, enriching in the process my whole conception of it. As an educationist responsible for the running of hundreds of schools and the father of seven children, it has taught me that giving effective leadership depends on the quality of my own living; it must be based on the four moral standards, viz. absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love. This has meant personal change, in the course of which I have had to put things right by making apologies to many people including my wife, and making restitution in other ways. It has meant daily finding God's guidance, and making obedience to this the basis of my family and professional life. My wife and I feel deeply the importance of sound home life and want our home to be a centre of a revolutionary Christianity which will permeate our community. Our family and our neighbours are already included in this adventure.

I was privileged to attend the MRA World Assemblies at Caux and Mackinac a few months ago. I saw there that if the Cross of Christ is to be at the heart of this and every nation it demands a total commitment of my life, my will and all I have to the task of remaking the world. This commitment I have decided to make.

EAST AFRICA: ANSWER TO MAU MAU

I

Estimates suggest that roughly 80% of the Kikuyu tribe, which numbers more than a million, have been infected by Mau Mau. More than 1,200 Kikuyu have been murdered for refusing to take part, many of them dying a Christian martyr's death rather than take the secret oaths which initiate men and women into the society.

ATHI RIVER SCHEME

Early in 1953 MRA-trained men offered a scheme to the Government suggesting the employment of settlers and Kikuyu to rehabilitate the Mau Mau detainees. The scheme was accepted and the Athi River Camp, 23 miles from Nairobi, was developed into a Rehabilitation Camp. MRA-trained men left their farms and jobs to participate.

On 9 July, 1954, the influential Kenya Weekly News reviewed what had been done in the year that the Rehabilitation Scheme had been in operation. The report said that the purpose of supplanting one idea by "a more dynamic and forceful one" is today no longer a theory "but a proven fact." "They (those running the camp) maintain that you cannot defeat Mau Mau by force alone; ideas cannot be fought with ordinary weapons of war. If a man can be convinced that the methods of Mau Mau are evil, and are bringing nothing but death and misery to his people, the whole-hearted devotion and dedication and obedience that he has given to Mau Mau must be replaced by something else. There is the necessity to capture the imagination with something else to which lives and energies can be dedicated."

DEDICATION AND SINGLE-MINDEDNESS

The Kenya paper pays tribute to the MRA-trained "men of Athi" and singles out David Waruhiu, son of the murdered Senior Chief Waruhiu, who came to Caux in 1952. "Although the eldest son, he refused the position of Chief," the report stated, "as he feels that he can better serve his people in the field of rehabilitation. There is no bitterness in him for his father's death but a gravity, dedication and a singlemindedness in his task that I have met only once before in an African."¹

The article concludes, "One thing must be remembered. Over and over again we have been told that the 'passive war,' the war for the minds and hearts of the Kikuyu, is the allimportant fight that has to be fought. The pilot scheme at Athi is the only place that has entered into this field of the battle, and, since there is no other scheme available, on the lessons of Athi the whole idea of Rehabilitation must stand or fall."

The Times of 14 July, 1954, in an account of developments in Kenya, also wrote of this experiment: "In the detention camp at Athi River, where a Moral Re-Armament group has been working for some months, it is claimed that 270 hard-core detainees have already severed their connection with Mau Mau."

A further article also appeared in *The Kenya Weekly News* on 26 November, 1954, urging the Kenya Government to extend and expand the Athi River scheme as being the most effective answer yet tried to Mau Mau.

The following statements are from Mr. David Waruhiu, and the Reverend Howard Church of Nairobi, both of whom are on the staff at the Athi River Camp.

¹See also page 90 for comment of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 1954.

A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF KENYA

I. BY DAVID WARUHIU

Son of the late Senior Chief Waruhiu of the Kikuyu

In December 1951 an MRA team came to Kenya. Amongst other things they did, they staged *The Forgotten Factor* drama in many parts of the Colony, but the most significant performance was the one held in Nairobi which is the capital of Kenya and the most important city in East Africa. This play, under the patronage of the Governor of Kenya, was seen by British, African, Indian and Arab members of the Legislative Council and other leading citizens of the Colony. It marked a turning point in the history of Kenya. It resulted in farreaching changes in families, homes, industries and farms.

My parents, my wife and I attended the last performance. We went to see it disunited but we left united. For the first time in my life I saw that a disunited family cannot be a part in remaking a new society and a new world. It gave me in particular a conviction that it does not matter how good a system may be it cannot bring peace and freedom. That can only come if we can find a new quality, a new type of man; and this can only come if we restore God to leadership. This was a revolution. But as I understood that this revolution comes when an individual decides to start with change in himself I decided to make the experiment.

The first result of this was that it brought unity in the family because I learnt to say sorry to my parents and to other members of the family for unguided things I had done. It also gave us a bigger vision and a new philosophy in life and for our country.

INTER-RACIAL CONFERENCE AT NJORO

An important step for MRA in Kenya was the holding of an inter-racial conference in early 1952 in a white farmer's farm in Njoro. This was attended by many people of all races from all parts of Kenya, from Uganda, South Africa and the Rhodesias. It was a conference with a cure. For the first time I saw South Africans stand on the same platform with non-Europeans on the basis of finding God's plan for the African continent. I was impressed by the spirit in which the races lived together at the conference and also their keenness to work not on the basis of who is right but what is right for Africa. Here was the rebirth of a uniting idea which to me is the beginning of a new Africa. Because of this conference many Europeans and Africans began to realise that bitterness and hatred would not solve the complex problems not only in Kenya but in the world. Many took decisions to find God's plan in the running of their affairs. I saw history made in that conference.

FIFTY THOUSAND MEET TO OPPOSE MAU MAU

After this conference my father, one of the Senior Chiefs of the Kikuyu tribe, invited an MRA team and other friends to a reception on his estate. Hundreds of people attended this and heard the ideas of Moral Re-Armament. Many people began to put these ideas into practice.

As a mark of unity Bremer Hofmeyr, from South Africa, with my father planted a tree as a symbol of new unity between the black and white races. Guests who came from Machakos after the reception expressed their desire that a weekend conference should be held in their area.

The conference at Machakos took place a few weeks later. It was attended by about a thousand, including many white farmers, government officials, Asians and Africans. Here again many other people saw the principles of Moral Re-Armament in action. One of the speakers at the conference said, "This is a turning point in my area. For the first time I have seen white men and black sharing food under one roof."

It was at this time that Mau Mau was beginning to show itself as a really serious threat to the progress of the Colony. My father felt that a meeting to oppose Mau Mau would serve a good purpose. Through his initiative a mass meeting was called, which was attended by over 50,000 men and women, and which for the first time put up resistance against Mau Mau.

DELEGATION TO CAUX

In September 1952 my wife and I with others from Kenya attended the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, Switzerland, where for the first time I realised the world-wide scope of the work and the vital nature of the ideology of MRA. While I was there the news came that my father had been murdered by the Mau Mau. A state of emergency in Kenya was later declared by the Government.

ATHI RIVER EXPERIMENT

During the next few months Kenya was the scene of wholesale murders and the coming of very large numbers of troops in an effort to stamp out Mau Mau. Many thousands of Kikuyu were detained and locked up in prisons and camps, but the state of emergency still continued. Some of us realised that if Mau Mau was to be stamped out from Kenya it must be replaced by a greater and more dynamic idea. We felt that this was Christianity lived out as an ideology. I and some of my friends, white and black, put forward a plan to the government that we should attempt this at the Athi River detention camp which was occupied by about 1,700 of the leaders of Mau Mau. The government agreed to the experiment being tried and the Commandant of the camp was selected. This was Col. Alan Knight, a well-known farmer from Kitale who had been trained in Moral Re-Armament over many years. I was seconded from my position as Assistant District Officer in order

to take part in the work of the camp and we selected a number of Africans who were put through a course of instruction at the Government Training Centre before being posted to the camp.

Many hundreds of these former Mau Mau leaders have been reclaimed from their allegiance to Mau Mau and some two dozen of them have been picked to be used in other camps to reclaim others. The camp Commandant was told that the records of these men's confessions have been broadcast to other detention camps with remarkable results. At one camp where there are 8,000 detainees the information officer reported that whereas very little interest is shown in the ordinary daily broadcasts it was completely different when a recorded confession from one of the Athi River men came over the loudspeakers. Thousands of the detainees crowded round and listened intently to every word. It was also reported that in a certain village when the Athi River confession was broadcast the villagers were so interested that they left their shops completely unattended in order to listen. The Athi River experiment has only been going for just over a year but there is no doubt in my mind that it has already given results of great importance and significance.

2. BY THE REV. HOWARD CHURCH, MA

Athi River Rehabilitation Centre, Kenya

I have worked in East Africa for twenty years, first under the Church Missionary Society among the Kikuyu, then as Vicar of the Parish of St. Mark, Nairobi, the congregation of which was almost entirely European, thus seeing Kenya's problems from both the African and European standpoint. During these years I saw how MRA was reaching many outside the life of the Church, giving them a living faith and restoring them to loyal membership of the Church.

At the beginning of the Emergency, the Kenya Government invited several of us who had received our ideological training in MRA to start what was then the pilot scheme for the rehabilitation of Mau Mau detainees. Again and again we were baffled by the problem of how to reclaim and remake 1,400 hardcore terrorists, and we learnt afresh the necessity of turning to the Guidance of God. We saw the inadequacy of individualism and the importance of teamwork. Alone we achieve little but together under God we can do mighty things. At first the going was hard, but bit by bit, together with Kikuyu Christians, we saw the Mau Mau begin to change. There are now over 450 who have broken with the Party and confessed their part in and their detestation of Mau Mau. Many have had a deep and transforming experience of Christ, losing thereby their bitterness and hatred and the very expression on their faces changing. They are eager to be given the opportunity of witnessing in other camps and so helping to undo the harm they have done to their own tribe and country.

Africa is part of the world struggle between the forces of Christ and the forces of organised materialism which seeks to exploit nationalism and to spread hatred and confusion and the breakdown of good government. Mau Mau is an ideology bitterly opposed to Christianity and has caused the brutal murder of many Africans who have resisted its plan of total domination.

These are grave but golden days of opportunity for the Church in East Africa, as we honestly face the fact that all the races, including the European, are responsible for the tragedy in Kenya, insofar as we have come short of the absolute moral standards of Jesus Christ. It is the task of the Church today to meet the menace of godless materialism which threatens the whole world.

It is my heartfelt conviction that MRA is God's instrument in turning Africa from the path of racial hatred and fratricidal strife and bringing this Continent under the sovereignty of God.

THE WORLD ADVANCE OF MRA

A Summary of Recent Events

MRA ASSEMBLIES IN TWELVE COUNTRIES

The World Assembly at Caux, in Switzerland, began on 28 May, 1954, and continued until 20 September, 1954 (see p. 151). Simultaneously, in the United States, an Assembly for the Americas took place on Mackinac Island, July-September, and was followed by a World Assembly, conducted by Dr. Buchman, from 25 September to 5 October (see p. 181). A further World Assembly was held in Washington in January, 1955 (see p. 126).

During the year other MRA Assemblies were held in the following places: for South-East Asia at Bangkok (January) attended by representatives of 13 countries (see p. 122); for European industry in Italy at Montecatini Terme (January) (see p. 130); in Japan at Hakone (January), the first Japanese MRA Assembly (see p. 123); for international students in the Ruhr, Germany (January); for industrial and labour leaders at Aachen (January), Hamburg (January), and Thionville, Lorraine (April); for India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon in New Delhi (April) (see p. 123); and an African Inter-Racial Assembly in Johannesburg at Easter (see p. 85); at Canberra for Australasia; at Kiruna, Sweden, north of the Arctic Circle, for Scandinavian industrial and labour leaders (April); a West African Inter-Racial Assembly in Lagos (June) (see p. 103).

ASIA

Following the visit of Dr. Buchman and an international force of 200 to Asia in the winter of 1952-53, leaders in various Asian countries invited some fifty full-time MRA workers to come and help them in their task of bringing Moral Re-Armament into the public and private life of their nations. Throughout the past year, a developing work has been going on in India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Thailand, Japan, and the Philippines.

SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ASSEMBLY

In January, a South-East Asian Assembly was held in Bangkok with the co-operation of the Thai government. The new United Nations building was made available. The Prime Minister, Field-Marshal Pibulsonggram, gave a reception for the delegates at Government House, at which he said, "We are aware of the constructive force of MRA in the development of international friendship, particularly significant at the present time." Delegates to the conference came from thirteen South-East Asian countries. They included Members of Parliament from India, Ceylon, Malaya, Japan and Thailand and national trade union leaders from eight countries.

Representatives of the four main communities in Malaya-Malay, Chinese, Indian and European-took part in the Bangkok Assembly, with the Speaker of the Malayan Legislative Council. An international group returned from Thailand to Malaya, addressed an assembly of the Federated States leaders at the Speaker's residence in Kuala Lumpur, and visited Penang and Singapore at the invitation of Government and parliamentary leaders. From Singapore the Philippines were visited at the invitation of Congressman Lim and other national leaders.

Burmese who had attended the South-East Asian Assembly returned to Rangoon with a delegation of Indian and Ceylonese parliamentarians and labour leaders, who conferred with members of the Burmese Government on Moral Re-Armament, and with the Bishop of Rangoon. Later, on the Bishop's departure from Burma, the Prime Minister, U Nu, stated that the Bishop was in very large measure responsible for the new unity which had come to Burma—a unique tribute for the leader of a Buddhist country to make to a Christian Bishop.

NEW DELHI ASSEMBLY

The year's work in India was reviewed at an All-India Conference attended by national and industrial leaders in New Delhi at Easter, 1954. The Deputy Speaker of the Indian Parliament stated that MRA had taken deep root throughout India. "It has kindled not only the old but the young and I hope it will grow from strength to strength," he said.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotolawola and Members of his Cabinet have paid tribute to MRA's work over the past year.

In Pakistan, attention was focussed upon MRA through its work in industry and through its action in giving sound leadership to student life in the universities. When a crisis arose in East Pakistan in June, 1954, both members of the deposed Provincial Government and leaders of the emergency regime, together with management and labour leaders, welcomed an MRA force to Dacca. Extensive work was done in the area, particularly in the university and the jute mills.

The first MRA Assembly in Japan was held near Tokyo at Hakone, in January, 1954. This follows the visit of more than 400 Japanese leaders in all walks of life to MRA Assemblies in Europe and America during the past six years. The Assembly was attended by Diet members from both Houses, together with representatives from management and labour from the key industries of Japan.

AUSTRALASIA

An international force, invited to support the MRA advance in Australia and New Zealand, has carried out a national campaign in the main cities of the Commonwealth during the year. Members of the delegation were received by the Governor General and the Queen's representatives in Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Brisbane and Hobart and they reported to the Minister of External Affairs and others of the Cabinet. They also had interviews with the Archbishop of Brisbane and the Bishops of Tasmania and Adelaide and Newcastle, who later sent the following message to Dr. Buchman on his 76th birthday: "May the Spirit of Pentecost inspire the thinking and planning of the Caux Assembly."

An Australasian Assembly was held at University House at Canberra to which delegates from every State in the Commonwealth and both Islands of New Zealand came, including a number of Members of Parliament.

In New Zealand, 8,000 people saw the MRA films, in a fiveweek tour which included Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. In each city the Mayor gave a Civic Reception and introduced the film. Members of the MRA force had interviews with the Prime Minister, eight of the Cabinet and the leader of the Opposition (Rt. Hon. Walter Nash).

THE MIDDLE EAST

For several months a group from six countries, under the leadership of Major-General Channer of Great Britain and Major-General Farrag of Egypt, visited the countries of the Middle East at the invitation of the rulers of Sa'udi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and Turkey.

His Majesty King Sa'ud received the group in formal audience in the Great Hall of the Majlis. General Channer spoke of the materialism which today is spreading in the lives of individuals and nations, especially in the West, and of the need for all men of spiritual faith to combat it together. His Majesty responded: "I am ready to do everything to forward a movement which fights to re-establish moral and spiritual principles in the world."

In Iraq and Jordan the group was received by their Majesties

King Feisal II and King Hussein, as well as by the Prime Ministers and other leading citizens of these countries.

In Lebanon the President of the Council, the Foreign Minister and Ministers of Finance and Social Affairs told the visitors of their interest and eager desire to support Moral Re-Armament.

They were guests of the government of Iran during their stay and had many contacts with political and military leaders, industrialists, and educationalists, representatives of labour and of the press. His Imperial Majesty the Shah granted them a cordial forty-five minute audience and sent his representatives to the Caux Assembly and later to the Mackinac and Washington Assemblies.

THE AMERICAS

THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, Congressional and industrial leaders have increasingly recognised the priority of Moral Re-Armament in providing an ideological arm in American policy. The Vice-President, Richard M. Nixon, the Speaker, Joseph W. Martin, and ninety other Members of the Senate and House of Representatives sent messages of greeting to Dr. Buchman at the opening of the 1954 World Assembly in Caux: "We need a moral concept. But it can only be achieved on the basis of absolute moral standards which you and the world force you have trained have applied to personal and national problems. This is the way of life by which all people everywhere can have a part under God in bringing an effective solution to the basic conflicts confronting the statesmen today. You have given a uniting idea to nations that can turn the ideological tide in the world today."

Shortly after the opening of the new session of Congress on 13 January, 1955, Congressman Charles B. Deane (Democrat, North Carolina) proposed, in the House of Representatives, "That Moral Re-Armament become the national policy of the Government." Members of Congress on both sides of the House spoke in support, calling for Moral Re-Armament to develop "the ideological strategy to unite the West."

WORLD ASSEMBLY AT MACKINAC

In response to requests from leading Americans including Senator Alexander Wiley, then President of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Mr. Joseph Scott, the Los Angeles lawyer and prominent Catholic layman, Dr. Buchman held a World Assembly at Mackinac Island, Michigan, from 25 September to 5 October.

Some distinguished American negro leaders took part in the Assembly, among them Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and first President of the National Council of Negro Women, and the Des Moines Attorney, Mr. Charles Howard. They issued a statement with other leaders of the coloured world from Africa, Asia and the Americas in which they said: "This ideology of MRA is so pregnant with hope and promise that it deserves acceptance throughout the Negro world."

WORLD ASSEMBLY IN WASHINGTON

In January, 1955, Dr. Buchman held a World Assembly in Washington, to give an opportunity for Congressional and other leaders of America to plan with parliamentary and industrial representatives from Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia.¹ The Shah of Iran and the Prime Minister of Egypt sent personal representatives. Members of Parliament

¹Margaret Aitken wrote in her column in the Toronto *Telegram*: "In one thing these politicians are united—the need for a new ideology in the world. Democracy without an ideology, they say, can win a war but cannot win a peace. And these politicians have turned to MRA for the superior armament of an ideology without which armies are out-fought and statesmen are out-thought . . . In their respective countries, these men are all fighting for the renaissance that must change the hearts of men and of nations" (6 January, 1955.)

from ten countries were among the 1,250 delegates present from 51 countries. These members of parliament, with other representatives of the countries taking part in the Assembly, were welcomed officially both in the Senate (see p. 133, extract from the *Congressional Record*) and the House of Representatives, as already mentioned.

The part of Western statesmanship in demonstrating the effectiveness of a democractic ideology was underlined by the Chairman of the Danish Conservative Party, Mr. Ole Björn Kraft, who was recently Chairman of NATO, and Danish Foreign Minister, and by Members of Parliament from Great Britain and the Commonwealth. Mr. G. W. A. Duthie, Member of the Executive of the Australian Labour Party, said that too many of the Western governments think only in terms of economic, military or political weapons. The most important factor in diplomacy-the ideological factor of Moral Re-Armament—is being overlooked. The need for this ideological approach was also stressed by Senator Takeshi Togano, Member of the Executive of the Japanese Right-Wing Socialist Party, who said, "Whatever our economic or defence programmes we must have this ideological backbone of MRA."1

Particular emphasis was paid to the part of Asia and Africa in presenting a global ideology. The Hon. P. N. Rajabhoj, Secretary General of the Scheduled Castes Federation of India, said that MRA was offering the millions of India a positive alternative to Communism. He called for universal

¹The New York *Journal American* wrote in an Editorial entitled "IT WORKS" (18 January, 1955):

"MRA unquestionably is one of the greatest counter-ideas to Communism in the world today. It has demonstrated this repeatedly and it showed it again at the just-concluded Washington meeting where Asian and African delegates expressed the conviction that in MRA was the best hope for permanent peace 'signed in the hearts of men and not on paper.'

"Their views are immediately important as concerns the coming Asia-African Conference in Indonesia. The startling, the astonishing, the triumphant thing about MRA is—it works." acceptance of MRA because it was "bringing solutions to the Negro problem in the US, racial discrimination in Africa, and colour and caste barriers in Asia."

A group of African and Asian leaders at the Conference afterwards issued a statement in which they said: "Many people ask, 'Which way Asia?' 'Which way Africa?' We as Asians and Africans feel that the answer to these questions depends largely on the answer to the question, 'Which way America?' When America lives and gives to other nations the ideology of Moral Re-Armament, millions in Africa and Asia will stand at her side."

Their statement continues: "The greatest challenge facing us is not the unity and the passion of the Communist world but the lack of unity and the lack of passion of the free world. Which nation will live inspired democracy so compellingly that Russia and China and all nations will change?

"The ultimate tragedy for mankind would be if the world were to divide on colour lines.

"Moral Re-Armament has brought as a unity born of change starting with ourselves and compelling enough to bridge every barrier. It is the new statesmanship, the ideological perspective which alone is adequate for 1955. It is a new light of hope for Asia and Africa—and America too. For MRA is doing for Africa and many of our countries what Abraham Lincoln did for the United States. It is binding up the nations' wounds and setting the people free.

"Our vision is of a mighty force of committed men and women in every land who will make Moral Re-Armament the policy of their nations. To this task we pledge our lives."

SOUTH AMERICA

A Moral Re-Armament whole-time force has been at work in the South American Republics during the year, especially in Brazil where its main efforts have been directed in the transport, textile and coffee industries, where Communist infiltration has been strongest. A delegation of 40, representative of all sides of national life, took part in the World Assembly at Caux during the summer. They included official representatives of the Ministry of Transport and of the Brazilian Railways.

On Dr. Buchman's birthday, the Foreign Minister of Brazil Mr. Vincente Rao, cabled greetings and his wishes for "the success of MRA which you have so brilliantly fostered." Senator Da Rocha, expressed the appreciation of Members in a speech on the floor of the Upper House: "Dr. Frank Buchman, initiating Moral Re-Armament, preaching his doctrine of Christian fraternity, proclaiming submission to God's will, making the whole world his disciples, performing miracles wherever the class struggle enters in, is winning the hardest hearts and most indifferent spirits."

In Bolivia, interest in Moral Re-Armament has grown steadily during the year. In May the Minister of Labour asked the miners' trade union which represents 40% of the country's workers, to select two delegates to attend the MRA Assembly at Caux. Professor Walter Camacho and Mr. Sinforoso Cabrero were elected at the general assembly of the Tin Miners' Union, and attended the World Assembly.

EUROPE

In Europe the efforts of MRA were directed especially to the key industrial areas where the strength of Communism is particularly felt and where the struggle to create the unity of Europe may be lost or won.

ITALY

At the beginning of 1954 a European industrial assembly for Moral Re-Armament was held at Montecatini Terme in North Italy, attended by management, union leaders and workers from 18 nations. *Il Tempo* of Rome spoke of the conference as "achieving an unqualified success." Among the most important features of the conference was the bold leadership given by representatives of senior management from Italy, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and Denmark. A French textile employer Mr. Jean Delaoutre, summed up their conclusions when he said, "We are at the parting of the ways for European management. Either we condemn ourselves to be swept away by the old order, or we will be pioneers with labour of a new world order."

Subsequently the Moral Re-Armament task force in Italy centred on Florence, where they presented the ideological plays *The Boss* and *The Forgotten Factor* for leaders of industrial and political life. In March, on the initiative of Mr. Franco Marinotti, President of SNIA Viscosa, the Moral Re-Armament plays were presented in Torviscosa, on the borders of Trieste. The Mayor of Trieste gave an official reception to the visiting group of 120 in the Town Hall. As a result of this visit, delegations of workers and management from the Viscosa factories played an important part in the Caux Assembly during the summer.

FRANCE AND GERMANY

At the end of January 1954 a conference was held in Aachen at the invitation of Dr. Helmuth Burckhardt, Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Schuman Plan Higher Authority, when the MRA play *The Boss* was given its premiere in Germany. Dr. Burckhardt said, "I believe the spirit spreading from Caux through the world is showing us how to deal with the problem of the unification of Europe, especially in France and Germany. It is showing the solution to social problems in industry."

On this occasion French workers and employers spoke publicly with their German colleagues of the solution to national prejudices. A member of the German Federal Cabinet, Dr. Tillmanns, said, "We are dealing with the hard core of the issues between nations. I believe we can bring unity to Europe. I am grateful that MRA is giving such a vital lead in this task." Further assemblies of a similar character were held at Hamburg. (See p. 4.)

An international students' assembly, held in the Ruhr over the New Year, brought together representatives from 20 countries.

In all the European countries during the year one of the central themes of the MRA campaigns has been the practical realisation of European unity and co-operation. In France, Germany, and the Benelux countries, the work of MRA has centred mainly in the areas most closely associated with the European Coal and Steel Community.

In the iron and steel centres of the Loire and Lorraine, the ideological play *The Boss* was presented to thousands of workers and management of the heavy industries of the area. In Firminy, centre of the Loire Steel Company, the Mayor, previously Minister of Reconstruction in five French Cabinets, played a leading role. In Thionville, M. Robert Schuman and M. Robert Gory, Director of the iron mines of the Nord-Lorraine Steel Company, took part.

THE NETHERLANDS, LUXEMBOURG, THE SAAR

Meanwhile, a German cast of *The Boss*, following a series of presentations in the Ruhr, and in Hamburg, was invited to Delft by the Burgermeister of Delft to give the first performance in German of a play since the war. They were given an overwhelming reception, and were later invited to Amsterdam.

A combined German and French Moral Re-Armament task force presented this play in both languages in Luxembourg and Saarbrucken at the invitation of national leaders in both countries.¹

SCANDINAVIA

In the strategic iron ore mines in Kiruna, in Swedish Lapland, there has been a decisive change in the leadership of the Mine Workers' Union, which for 30 years was dominated by the Communist Party. The Secretary of the Mine Workers'

¹See footnote, p. 4, and article from the Saarbrucker Zeitung, p. 147.

Union there ascribed the change recently to Moral Re-Armament. A crucial part in this action has been played by the Bishop of the diocese of Lulea, Dr. Bengt Jonzon.¹ Over Easter, 1954, a Scandinavian Assembly was held in his diocese in which industrial and trade union leaders from all the Scandinavian countries took part.

December, 1954, marked the twentieth anniversary of the coming of the Oxford Group to Norway, and a series of meetings was held in Oslo. (See appendix to Chapter 6 for an account by Bishop Schmidt.)

GREAT BRITAIN

In Great Britain the Moral Re-Armament campaign was focused on the centres of heavy industry. Peter Howard's play *The Boss* was presented to industrial audiences in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Birmingham, Cardiff and the South Wales mining valleys and other industrial centres. On May Day 1954 it was a feature of a mass Assembly in the People's Palace, East London, attended by 1,700 people, with an international group of speakers.

On 6 December, 1954, Mr. John McGovern, MP for Shettleston, tabled an amendment to the Queen's Speech calling for the "national and international acceptance of moral and spiritual standards of Moral Re-Armament . . . which could unite the family, the nation and the world . . . as the real way to a new world of sacrifice and service under God's guidance." *The Times* reported his speech in the debate: "A superior ideology to be put over to the people had to be found. They must create the moral and spiritual environment that was necessary to save the world from the difficulties that surrounded it. In the struggle that was taking place Moral Re-Armament had been the one unifying force presented as a superior ideology. It held the field as the only alternative to Communism." (See Chapter 2.)

¹See Chapter 5, part I.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 13

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From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 6 January, 1955

VISIT TO THE SENATE OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHER PERSONS ATTENDING THE WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

Mr. WILEY: Mr. President, we are privileged today to have with us eight representatives from parliaments of other countries. Besides these gentlemen, there are in the galleries representatives of about 40 nations who are in Washington attending the Moral Re-Armament Conference. They represent politics, industry, labour, and military organisations. The Assembly has been held under the leadership of Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, the founder of Moral Re-Armament. Parliamentary members from 11 nations have been in attendance, and present on the floor of the Senate, pursuant to the rules of the Senate, are those whose names I shall read, and I ask them to rise as I call their names:

The Honourable John McGovern, for 24 years Labour member of the British Parliament for Shettleston, Glasgow.

The Honourable Oskar Leimgruber, Chancellor of the Swiss Confederation, 1943-51.

The Honourable P. N. Rajabhoj, member of Parliament, India; secretary of political organisations representing 60 million of the scheduled castes.

The Honourable R. T. Lim, member, House of Representatives, the Philippines.

The Honourable Takeshi Togano, member, Japanese Upper House; executive member, Right-Wing Socialist Party, Japan.

The Honourable G. W. A. Duthie, member of the Federal Parliament of Australia, and executive member, Australian Labour Party.

The Honourable Abol Fazl Hazeghi, former member of the Iranian Parliament; personal representative of the Shah of Iran. Brigadier Abdel el Fattah Hassan, Deputy Minister of State for Sudan in the Egyptian Government, Cairo; personal representative of the Prime Minister of Egypt to the World Assembly.

(As their names were read the distinguished visitors rose in their places in the rear of the Chamber to the left of the centre aisle, and were greeted with applause by the Senate.)

Mr. WILEY: Mr. President, I also ask that the visitors from abroad who are present in the galleries and who have been in Washington for about 10 days, attending the Moral Re-Armament Conference, also rise in their places, in order that Senators may be given the opportunity of greeting them.

(The visitors rose and were greeted with applause.)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The representatives of the foreign governments who are guests of the Senate today are assured that they are heartily welcome.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey: Mr. President, I rise to join my distinguished colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. WILEY) former chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in extending a cordial welcome to the distinguished visitors now present, and to express our appreciation of the wonderful work they are doing in the cause of world peace, understanding, and good will among men.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota: Mr. President, to what has been said by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin and by the distinguished Senator from New Jersey I should like to add that it was my privilege to attend one of the sessions of the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at the Shoreham Hotel a few evenings ago, and to hear some of the representatives of parliaments from other countries speak. I was inspired by the message they presented. It was my pleasure also to view a play entitled The Dictator's Slippers. I wish every Member of the House and the Senate would see the play as presented by the members of Moral Re-Armament Assembly. It is a most inspiring and thoughtful production, and well adapted to make people think of the basic changes which must be made if the purposes of freedom are to be realised. I welcome the presence here today of the representatives of the participating countries. I understand presentations of plays will continue throughout the week at the Shoreham Hotel, and I am sure Members of the House and the Senate will be free to attend the presentations of the several plays which the Moral Re-Armament Assembly has prepared.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I desire to associate myself with the remarks made by the Senator from Wisconsin, the Senator from New Jersey, and the Senator from South Dakota. I, too, have come in contact with many of our distinguished visitors who are in attendance upon the Moral Re-Armament Conference, and I know they are very zealous in the cause of peace. I have found they are doing a great deal of good in the world. In their approach to world problems, they evince a spirit and ideals which, if generally followed, should lead towards lasting peace. I think it is wonderful that these representatives of the various nations should be associated together in this fine effort.

I had the pleasure of visiting with members of the Moral Re-Armament Organisation in Caux, Switzerland, and I found that they were doing fine work there. Present at that time were representatives from all over the world, who had met in the cause of peace. It was inspiring to see the spirit of brotherhood which existed. We all thank them for their very fine work.

BRAZIL

"JUSTICE UNDER GOD"

From the proceedings of the Brazilian Senate, 4 June, 1954

SENATOR EZECHIAS ROCHA: Mr. President, I come to do homage to a great man of our age who should not be forgotten in this House. Today is becoming a universal date because on this day 76 years ago, Dr. Frank Buchman was born. Black and white believers and atheists, managers and workers, extremists of left and right, all are persuaded that in the teaching of this new prophet voice lies the road that will take them to the age of peace.

SENATOR FRANCISCO GALLOTTI: Will your excellency permit me to say a word?

SENATOR ROCHA: With much pleasure.

SENATOR GALLOTTI: At the Caux Assembly, where thousands of representatives from all the world meet, I saw the possibility of true peace between men. If the MRA movement is successful it will bring peace between men of any race, because all will be guided by one feeling of justice before God. (Hear, Hear.)

In Caux we met people of all religions, including high dignatories of the Roman Catholic Church. In MRA no one thinks of attracting men to this or that religion. What they deal with is the love of God. The principles of MRA change the critical times we are going through into better days.

SENATOR ROCHA: The miracles which Dr. Buchman is bringing to the world—changing hearts and thereby the relations between rich and poor, capital and labour—are so frequent that the prestige of his name resounds all over the world.

Mr. Chairman, today when the Western world is so grateful, I pay homage.

SENATOR APOLONIA SALES: Excellent.

SENATOR ROCHA: ... to the victorious apostle of Moral Re-Armament—vigorous product of Christianity, and one more hope in these chaotic days of our civilisation. (Applause.)

INDIA

From an article in the special Moral Re-Armament supplement to THE ADVANCE, Calcutta, 8 December, 1953

ANSWER TO ATOMIC CHALLENGE

By C. P. MATTHEN

Member of The House of the People, New Delhi

Seventy-four of us from India, Pakistan and Ceylon attended the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, Switzerland, during the last few months. Among the delegates were four members of the House of the People, New Delhi, labour leaders from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, businessmen, planters, journalists, and a good number of students from all over India and Pakistan.

Now that we have returned we have started applying MRA to the everyday problems of India with remarkable results.

A Calcutta trades union official reports that he has settled two long-standing strikes in a week through applying MRA. One, with an aluminium company, had lasted seven months nineteen days. The other was so bitter that it led to nine of the men setting upon the factory manager and beating him up. So complete was the change wrought in the relationships in this case that the employer in a four hour meeting with the men asked them to tell him his faults. They in their turn promised to avoid the deliberate wastage which had been their previous policy. "Such a change has never taken place before in my thirty years as a trade union official," said the labour leader.

Two other Calcutta union leaders, after returning from Caux, have held meetings on the Calcutta waterfront in which they have outlined the positive philosophy of trades unionism gained in MRA. Police attending their meetings said they had never previously heard anything so constructive in workers' meetings, especially when addressed by these two firebrands. Other trades disputes have been settled by an MP returning to Bangalore, an industrialist back in Bombay and by plantation union officials returned to Ceylon and the Nilgiries. The last enabled a hunger strike of some three hundred to be called off, while the Bombay solution concerned eight hundred men who had been out for six weeks in one of India's key industrial concerns.

One and all of us found our stay at Mountain House, Caux, a great experience in life. In our endeavours to adjust our lives to the four absolute moral standards of MRA, each one of us has been able to find a unity and poise in regions which were controlled by suspicion, hatred and disunity—above all a new outlook in life.

INDO-PAKISTAN DELEGATES ACT AS BROTHERS

When the Pakistan delegation joined us at Karachi on our outward journey, I could watch the distance dividing the two teams, but after a week or two at Caux I was happy to hear these very same delegates speaking and acting as real brothers. They openly declared in the Assembly meetings and outside that they were determined to work for understanding between the two countries.

The same spirit was witnessed among other delegations. I saw Japanese and Americans, South Africans and the coloured people of that country, the African chiefs and their European Governors, all getting changed and living as brothers without the least consciousness of colour or politics. In the atmosphere of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, and with the great uniting goal of remaking the world, one can see the answer—perhaps a little distant but distinct and bright—to the stupendous atomic challenge.

For the last fifteen years I had been harbouring and nursing the greatest resentment of my life against two political leaders who had almost forced me into bankruptcy and caused me untold suffering. But a miracle took place in my heart and I wrote a letter home telling of the change that had taken place and asked that my two former enemies be informed and given my best wishes. If we live the quality of life we have seen at Caux, now we have returned, we will revolutionise Parliament and we will re-capture the passion which we had at the time of Gandhiji's Independence Movement.

Since our return to India we have been addressing numerous meetings and everywhere the ideology of Moral Re-Armament has met with a great response from all sections—trade unionists, businessmen, youth, civic officials.

The reception we have received in the villages as well as the towns have proved two things; India is eager for Moral Re-Armament and, more important still, MRA works in India as elsewhere when it is applied absolutely by men who live it.

NEW ZEALAND

From THE DOMINION, Wellington, New Zealand, 6 December, 1954

MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD SOLUTION OF RACIAL DIVISIONAL PROBLEMS

BY MAJOR K. T. HARAWIRA, JP¹

In the last three months, I have been round the world and have seen at first hand the cultures of Asia, Europe, the USA and the Pacific. I have talked with peasants and Cabinet Ministers, dined with Britain's Queen Mother and American Senators; seen the devastation of war and felt everywhere the longing for peace.

But above all these impressions, the dominant conviction that I have returned with is that I have seen at work an answer to the divisions of colour.

As a Maori I was quick to appreciate that creed, colour or race were no barriers to unity at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, in Switzerland, and I was proud to represent my people.

I went with the support of the Maori Bishop, the Right Rev. W. N. Panapa, King Koroki and the Maori members of Parliament, to this international gathering.

¹Major Harawira represented the Maori people at the MRA World Assemblies at Caux and Mackinac Island, 1954, and at Washington, January 1955. "You have been chosen as the voice of your people. Go in peace," said King Koraki in a message to him on his departure from New Zealand. As I flew across the Pacific on the last leg of my journey home, I was reminded of the great traditions of my people who spanned that vast ocean, which they called Te Moano-nui-a-kiwa. A few days after my return at a pokai with King Koroki, one of the tribal elders gave voice to a Maori truth which I believe holds the key for the second half of this century. The elder, welcoming MRA guests from abroad to the marae, made the point that " the eye of a needle can take thread of any colour."

Through my investigation of MRA in Asia, Europe and America I am convinced that it offers a way, in accordance with that truth, for people of every colour to play their distinctive part in creating a family of nations.

STOLE THE SHOW

To me, the delegation to Caux which stole the show was the Africans. In full regalia they were eye-catching. As speakers they were dynamic. They told a story of a continent awakening. More than 200 came and were representative of the problems of that great land mass. Members of Parliament from the Gold Coast, a Governor from Ethiopia, settlers and Kikuyu tribesmen from Kenya were there. But above all, I was impressed by the new spirit sweeping through the Union of South Africa.

And what of America? A group of distinguished American negroes issued in conjunction with leaders of other coloured people a timely call to unity in which they referred to MRA as "a working answer on a practical scale to racial discrimination."

Commending it as an idea which "transcends race, party, class, colour or nationalism," the statement continued: "MRA is not an institution; it is not a creed; it is not an organisation which you may join, but it is a way of living which begins with change in an individual. This ideology is so pregnant with hope that it deserves acceptance throughout the Negro world."

WIDE APPROVAL

This statement which received acclaim round the world was signed by leaders of coloured peoples from eight nations. The American signatories were a most interesting cross-section including Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, the founder and first President of the National Council of Negro Women, Belford Lawson, who successfully argued the first non-segregation test case before the US Supreme Court and Charles Howard, another distinguished negro lawyer who, before meeting MRA, had been three times to Moscow.

The most impressive character I met in my travels was Dr. Frank Buchman, initiator of the programme of Moral Re-Armament. The thing about him which challenged me most was the selfless caring that he showed for men and nations. I was privileged to present to him on behalf of the Maori people, a casket carved in our traditional patterns. In the silence that followed, Frank Buchman uttered these words: "May the Lord guide us and protect us and may He guide the Maori people to teach us the blessings of peace."

Later, just before I left him in Washington to journey home, he underlined the truth that it is not only the big nations that do the big things. He concluded: "The Maori people can be the lighthouse of New Zealand."

EGYPT

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT AND ISLAM

From a front-page article in the Egyptian newspaper ACTUALITÉ, 12 June, 1954

The extraordinary vitality of the great spiritual movement called Moral Re-Armament is confirmed year by year during the great international Congress which for four months takes place at Caux in the heart of Switzerland.

"Look out," warned the Communists. "It is the latest movement invented by international capitalists to make you renounce your just claims and your means of struggle."

But militant Communists, sent to Caux as observers, find there, realised in practice, the classless society of which they have dreamed, and discover a revolution which goes further than Marxism because it transforms human nature, and changes employers as well as workers.

Dr. Frank Buchman, who was recently in Marrakech, has a

keen and almost prophetic sense of the immense and authentic reservoir of spiritual riches which Islam represents. Some of his close colleagues made a tour of the Arabic Middle East a few months ago. They came, not as condescending counsellors, but as repentant Westerners. As a result, all doors were open to them. The statesmen of the Middle East who received them had the surprising experience of hearing Europeans ask forgiveness for their previous attitude and that of their countries. At Teheran as at Baghdad, at Cairo as at Amman, they said simply, "We need you to help us change the materialism of West and East." All suspicion of complicity with Western imperialism was immediately removed.

The Assembly at Caux is in full swing. The new fact is that official delegations from many parts of the Arab world are there, in an exceptional atmosphere, contributing with delegations from Africa, the Far East, Europe and America to find and live a solution to the rivalries of interest, race and ideology that threaten at any moment to explode our world.

The headlines are full of the interminable bickerings of the Geneva conference. But it is very possible that a few kilometres from there at Caux, history is in fact being written. And let us record that for the first time in centuries, Islam is taking part.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

An editorial in the Los Angeles HERALD EXPRESS, 4 June, 1954 GENEVA AND CAUX—A STUDY IN "ABSOLUTES"

In Caux, Switzerland, 2,000 feet above the blue waters of Lake Geneva, Dr. Frank Buchman, who celebrates his seventy-sixth birthday today, has opened another World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, stressing the "four absolutes" of absolute honesty, absolute unselfishness, absolute purity, and absolute love.

Two thousand feet below, on the shores of this same beautiful lake, the Geneva Conference is under way, a conference in which great powers are seeking to keep their colonial empires; Soviet Russia is seeking to win a place for Red China in the United Nations; Red China is chanting an "Asia for the Asians" ideology; and the United States is vainly trying to keep the conference on a high level despite "absolute dishonesty," "absolute deceit," "absolute selfishness" and "absolute hatred" so prevalent.

From Dr. Buchman, at Caux, comes a frank evaluation of what can at best be accomplished at the Geneva Conference. He said, in part:

"The best that can come from Geneva would be a compromise, moderating deadly passions for a while but never finding a solution . . . In Caux hatred is not only moderated but overcome . . . a living ideology becomes effective . . .

"For too long we have breathed the atmosphere of problems. . . We move from conference to conference and give up hope of a fundamental solution.

"Let us be honest, 'absolutely honest,' and face the facts. A new conference is no answer to a false philosophy.

"Moral Re-Armament offers the world and statesmen of the world a force, trained and on the march, that has the answer to individual and national selfishness. It isn't a theory, but a way of life, tested and tried in every circumstance. It is a force that has the power to save and recreate a society on the brink of collapse."

What is this force?

It is the desire of good men and women to lead honest, unselfish and pure lives. It is a force which would end racial conflict. It is, indeed, a force which could "change" the world.

An editorial in New York JOURNAL AMERICAN, 6 October, 1954

FORCE OF AN IDEA

Coincident with the London Conference, just ended, which dealt with the affairs and interests of nations, there has been going on at Mackinac Island, Michigan, another conference dealing with the minds and souls of men and women.

It is the Moral Re-Armament meeting. It has not received the page-one play of the London Conference, although the Hearst Newspapers have covered it thoroughly, but it is vastly important nonetheless, for it concerns something more powerful than an H-bomb. It concerns an idea. The MRA idea, or ideal, as set forth by its founder, Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, is absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love under the guidance of God.

It is this idea that has drawn to Mackinac Island more than 1,000 persons from nearly 50 nations. Among them are two US Congressmen, members of parliaments or cabinets in Europe, the Americas and Africa; presidents of industrial and banking firms, mechanics, teachers, UN delegates, union leaders, airline pilots, artists.

It is this idea that led 94 members of Congress, headed by Vice President Nixon, to send Dr. Buchman this June a message saying: "Freedom is a moral concept. It can only be achieved on a basis of the absolute moral standards which you and the world force you have trained have applied to personal and national problems . . . You have given a uniting idea to nations that can turn the ideological tide in the world today."

And it is this idea that has made MRA indeed a world force against the destructive ideology of Communism.

There are some these trying days who tend to disparage ideas such as love, friendship, patriotism, honour, honesty and so on. They call these things abstractions. Intrigue, power plays, pressure and devices of destruction—these, they say, are the true reality.

They are wrong. There is no tougher reality in the world than an idea. This nation was born of an idea, liberty, and is strong because of an idea, freedom. Do not underrate that conference at Mackinac Island.

From the Toronto TELEGRAM, 10 January, 1955

MRA—A WAY OF LIFE

BY MARGARET AITKEN

Extracts from one of a series of articles in her column on the World Assembly in Washington, January, 1955

It seemed to me, during the past week, so many of the hates that corrode the hearts of men—racial hates, nationalistic hates, personal hates—were exorcised here in Washington. Nearly a thousand people, from 42 different countries, publicly pledged themselves to practise the four absolute moral standards of honesty, unselfishness, purity and love.

They go forth from here to build a new world.

What is this thing called Moral Re-Armament?

In my notebook there are 46 pages filled with quotes from the hearts and minds of men and women from all over the world. They are a good cross-section of the earth—humble people, simple, uneducated people, learned sophisticates, diplomats, statesmen, soldiers and sailors, black and white, rich and poor. Every word in those 46 pages stand out in their sincerity, as if a powerful spotlight were on them.

There is nothing phony about the people who believe the only way to save the world is to save the soul of man. There is nothing phony about the ideal of turning to God for guidance to lead us out of the man-made problems that beset us.

Moral Re-Armament was started 40 years ago by Dr. Frank Buchman. One of the first converts to it was a bootlegger.

If you want to change the world, start with the individual, say the MRA followers. Dr. Buchman started with Bill Pickle and the bootlegger became one of his most effective followers.

Since that time Moral Re-Armament has become a powerful force throughout the world. It is not an ism, nor even an appeal to the emotions. It is a way of life.

SWITZERLAND

From a leading article in DER BUND, Bern, 19 May, 1954

REMAKING THE WORLD

In a few days time this year's international conference for Moral Re-Armament begins in Caux-sur-Montreux—up above the same Lake Geneva at the bottom end of which the international politicians have been struggling for weeks to get peace in the world.

It is a rare and fateful trick of circumstances—and what a contrast! Reduced to a simple, perhaps too simple, formula is the contrast between relative and absolute, between the conditional and the unconditional, between peace for the present and peace for the future. At best, all that can come out of Geneva is a compromise which can moderate deadly passions for a time without curing the fundamental differences. In Caux, hatred is not appeased but actually overcome. There is a living ideology at work which finds agreement and understanding free from self-interest, at every level of life, everywhere.

That may sound idealistic and even utopian and the sceptic who follows the political scene on the Rhone is, therefore, hardly likely to see any more hope in it than that. But it is not only evil which needs time to settle in; good too cannot come to power in a matter of hours. And the secret of the possibility of change lies in the place where every other historical development has had its origin, in the individual. That is what Dr. Frank Buchman also says, not that he has at all discovered the "wonder remedy", but that he has formulated it in clear principles and begun to make it come into effect, that new men will create a new and better world. New and better men. Men guided by God and the Spirit and not by material considerations.

Today the voice of Caux can no longer be ignored. May the gentlemen in Geneva also hear its message! We wish we could see them all gathered there together one day when there is no session. Who knows but what they too will find that help coming from the hills which they need so badly . . .

From an editorial article in VATERLAND, Swiss Catholic daily newspaper, by the Editor-in-Chief, Dr. F. K. Zust, who is a Member of the Swiss Senate, 5 June, 1954

At the present moment with the spectre of the forces of East and West opposing one another in Geneva, nearby Caux is a signpost to reflection. For anyone, statesmen included, who consistently follows the Moral Re-Armament way to the end, with its programme of making new nations through making better men, will be forced to recognise the ancient truth—anima naturaliter christiana! For Christian doing, and Christian living, is the substance of the categorical challenge which Moral Re-Armament presents to the world. Caux tries to make men new. Caux is not out to be a new religion. Moral Re-Armament is out to live Christianity, and thereby, in this age of tension and mistrust, MRA is a great hope for the reconciliation of nations above race, nationalism and pretensions to domination. This hope is rooted in the fact that the programme of Moral Re-Armament is basically, deeply Christian, and therefore is qualified to create, with new methods, God-centred associations which hold much more than all the alliances arising only out of national or power-political interest.

THE SAAR

A leading article in the SAARBRUCKER ZEITUNG, 14 May, 1954

CHALLENGE TO A NEW EXISTENCE

Call it chance or fate, the fact remains Moral Re-Armament in its first visit to the Saar, has chosen the right moment, not only to appeal to the men of the Saar, but also to reach their hearts and to help them to fulfil their mission in Europe. Next Sunday when *The Boss* will be given in Saarbrucken, Moral Re-Armament does not intend just to put on a play in the ordinary, but will be like the good sower who casts his seed over the ploughed fields.

Moral Re-Armament was, as we know, initiated by Frank Buchman. At the beginning of the '40s when the world was near despair, he undertook the task of saving Western civilisation from the danger of decline through a new ideology. Frank Buchman realised that we slipped into the present chaos because we did not give each other the firm foothold which could have saved us from moral and spiritual disintegration. He brought new hope into men's hearts with the idea that we can begin change with ourselves and in our attitude to others. He showed clearly that we cannot expect our neighbours to be different unless we have begun in our own hearts.

We remember the first wave from Caux which rolled over prostrate Germany in the summer and autumn of 1948, immediately after the currency reform. For the first time in vanquished Germany a former foe came and stretched out his hands saying: Everything must be different.

Like a spark this saying sprang from man to man. And if today the understanding between nations has grown so much then it is because Frank Buchman at the very beginning bore the largest part of the pioneer work.

Communism today has declared determined war on Moral Re-Armament, because through its work of the last nine years so much in the world has already become different. Communism realises that for the first time its negative idea is faced with an ideology, which girdles the globe and rebuilds nations. Communism knows that many of the idealists among its officials who came in touch with Moral Re-Armament, were gripped by it, and became Caux's best fighters. Communism sees that the unity of the West which would be more effective than an atom bomb on the Kremlin can be achieved only through nations willing to understand each other and admit their own mistakes. That is why Communism goes into battle.

Moral Re-Armament is not an organisation but, shall we say, heartpower and creativeness expressed in reality. Support alone will never be enough and is never the real issue once you have met MRA. Something always remains with you which as you give time and thought to it, draws you into commitment. The real meaning of MRA is to win the world by a new thinking, and to build a new future out of a dying age.

Caux-sur-Montreux symbolises this. A derelict palace was made the centre of Frank Buchman's teaching, and so out of the ruin of the past a living present emerged and took on the task of remaking and shaping the future. Caux today is not just a geographical landmark, not only a new way of life, but a challenge to a new existence.

III

MRA ASSEMBLIES IN 1954

What impresses me more than anything else is how Moral Re-Armament is being applied between nations and in international affairs. I am accustomed to international meetings, but they are very different from this Assembly. Whether it is in parliament or in international conferences, they normally end with great disappointments. Here we find nothing but satisfaction and a great hope.

ROBERT SCHUMAN

Former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of France addressing the Assembly at Caux, September, 1953.

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THE WORLD ASSEMBLY AT CAUX, 1954

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From the

INVITATION TO THE WORLD ASSEMBLY

Materialism of Right and Left, passionately believed in, has led the nations to the brink of disaster. This materialism creates warfare in the factories, in the home and between the nations, which cannot be resolved by negotiation, political systems, atomic power or another conference.

Materialism must fail to produce an answer in the future, as it has in the past, because of its moral contradictions. Bitter men cannot create lasting peace; selfish men cannot build a classless society; morally defeated men cannot rise above self-interest.

The world is waiting for an answer that works.

The answer can only stem from a radical change in the character of men and nations.

Moral Re-Armament works because it changes men. That is why it is an ideology superior to materialism.

Statesmanship is the art of the possible. Modern statesmanship must fail as long as it attempts the impossible task of resolving deadlock without an ideology that changes human nature.

Moral Re-Armament makes possible the needed statesmanship for a new world because it has a plan

which is ending racial conflict;

which is answering the causes of class war;

which is reconstructing the character of men and nations;

which is creating renaissance, moral and spiritual, throughout the world.

STATESMANSHIP FOR A NEW WORLD

Since 1946 ten World Assemblies for Moral Re-Armament have been held at Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland. They have been attended by 73,000 from 118 countries and territories.

The theme of the 1954 Assembly was, *Statesmanship for a New* World.

At the opening session Dr. Frank Buchman said that "the answer for a divided world, in which men have developed points of view they could not overcome and forces of destruction they could not control, lay in the ordinary man and the statesman finding the experience of the guidance of God. Such men bring confidence to the conference table. Conferences on the current pattern would never solve the problems, and the needs, of people and nations. The lasting solution could only come from heart speaking to heart. That would end confusion and bring the cure. The fate of our nations depended on how speedily we seized this answer and applied it." (*The Times*, 5 June, 1954.)

The opening sessions coincided with the meeting of the Asian Conference in Geneva.

Der Bund, the well-known Berne daily newspaper, contrasted the Conferences at opposite ends of Lake Geneva in a leading article (19 May) which said, in part, "At best, all that can come out of Geneva is a compromise which can moderate deadly passions for a time without curing the fundamental differences. In Caux, hatred is not appeased but actually overcome."

On the invitation of delegates to the Asian and ILO Conferences, two MRA plays were presented in Geneva and the delegates to the Conferences, their advisers and the press were given an opportunity to attend. Simultaneous translation was made available in Russian, Chinese, German, French, Italian and Spanish at each performance.

At a plenary session of the ILO, Congressman R. L. Lim of the Philippines called the attention of the delegates to the MRA play. "What we need is MRA. We are trying to work with hatred and suspicion but only through MRA can hearts be opened to bring a solution. Our only hope is in the MRA programme."

The head of the US delegation to the ILO, Governor Arthur B. Langlie, joined other delegates in honouring Dr. Buchman at a luncheon in the Palais des Nations.

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ATTENDANCE AT CAUX

The 1954 Assembly was attended by 5,390 people from 75 countries. They included Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentarians from 22 countries: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, France, Germany, Gold Coast, Great Britain, India, Iran, Japan, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Nigeria, Philippines, Rhodesia, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, United States of America.

The German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, and the German Government, were represented by the Minister for Upper House Affairs, Mr. Heinrich Hellwege and by Dr. Theodor Oberlander, Minister for Refugees. Other political figures present were Mr. Eugene Claudius Petit, recently Minister of Labour in the Mendès-France Cabinet; Sir William Bodkin, Minister of Internal Affairs and Social Security, New Zealand; Mr. Fred Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Canada; the Hon. M. T. Mbu, Central Minister of Labour, Nigeria; the Hon. F. O. Awosika, Central Minister of Public Works in Nigeria; Lt.-General Luang, Deputy Minister of Culture, Thailand, leader of the official delegation sent by the Prime Minister; Senator

Ezechias da Rocha, leader of a Brazilian delegation of 40; Mr. Leslie Hodson, former Deputy Speaker, Federal Parliament of the Rhodesias, now Member of the Central Africa Parliament.

H.I.M. the Shah of Persia sent as his personal representative the distinguished Islamic scholar the Ayatullah Modjtehedi of Nishapur.

AFRICA

Africa was represented at the Assembly by 207 delegates from 14 countries from all parts of the continent.

Those who came from *South Africa* included Dr. William Nkomo, Founder and first President, African Congress Youth League; Mr. George Golding, President, Coloured Peoples' Union; Mr. Manasseh T. Moerane, President of the Federation of African Teachers' Association of South Africa; Rev. George Molefe, Principal of Newell Bantu High School, Port Elizabeth; Mr. Selope Thema, for 20 years Editor of *Bantu World*; Professor B. F. Nel, of Pretoria University; and a group of Dutch Reformed Church Ministers led by the Rev. George Daneel.

From West Africa a delegation of 22 came by special plane including political, trade union and educational leaders from Nigeria and the Gold Coast. They included the Hon. M. T. Mbu, Central Minister of Labour, Nigeria; the Hon. Michael Ogon, Member of the Central Nigerian Parliament; the Hon. F. O. Awosika, Central Minister of Public Works in Nigeria; the Tolon Na, President of the Northern Territories Council and Member of the Gold Coast Parliament; Mr. Isaac Kumah, Vice-President of the Gold Coast Trade Union Congress and President of the Convention Peoples' Party; Mr. Adolphus Mbah, Vice-Chairman of the all-Nigerian Trade Union Federation; Rev. V. E. Asihene, the Gold Coast Presbyterian Church; Mr. V. E. Dako, superintendent, 400 schools in the Gold Coast. From Kenya came Colonel Alan Knight, Commandant of the Athi River Rehabilitation camp for Mau Mau detainees and Mr. David Waruhiu, son of the late senior chief Waruhiu, the first chief killed by Mau Mau.

ASIA

From Asia 356 people attended the Caux Assembly from 13 countries. These included 26 Members of the Diet of Japan and distinguished leaders of industry, labour and education including Mr. K. Sumitomo, of the great industrial and banking family; Mr. S. Yamamura, head of 40,000 telephone and telegraph workers; Mr. R. Yanagisawa, Chairman of the 25,000 Shipbuilding Workers in Tokyo; Mrs. Ohashi and Mrs. Inouye, President and former President of the Japan Women's University of Tokyo and Mr. S. Hasegawa, Executive Editor of the Nippon Times. From India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, a joint delegation of 46 came by special plane. The delegation included the General Secretary of the all-India Scheduled Castes Federation, Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, Member of the Indian Parliament; the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. D. V. Patel, together with Members of Parliament and trade union leaders. Mr. N. H. Tata, Director of Tata Industries also attended the Assembly. Pakistan was represented amongst others by Mian Bashir Ahmed, former Ambassador to Turkey.

The Prime Minister of *Thailand*, Field Marshal P. Pibulsonggram, sent an official delegation to the Assembly led by the Deputy Minister of Culture. The Prime Minister has personally sent ten tons of rice as a gift to the Assembly. A distinguished Buddhist leader, Phra Pannananda, the first Thai monk to come to the West, flew specially from Bangkok to attend the Assembly. The Minister of Labour of *Ceylon*, Dr. Kaleel, and Thio Chan Bee, Member of the Executive Council of *Singapore* also visited the Assembly.

THE AMERICAS

From the United States a delegation included Mr. Joseph Scott of Los Angeles, a well-known Catholic layman; Mr. Parks Shipley, Partner in Brown Bros. Harriman & Co., New York; Mr. William Pawley; Professor Robert J. Moon, atomic scientist at the University of Chicago; Congressman Charles B. Deane of North Carolina; Congressman Charles Kersten of Wisconsin; Canon Robert Bohaker of Detroit; Mr. William Nichols, President, Public Education Association of New York; and a delegation of 18 from North West Airlines headed by Mr. Croil Hunter, Chairman of the Company.

The United States was also represented by distinguished American Negro leaders. These included Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder of the National Council of Negro Women of America; Mr. Belford Lawson, Supreme Court Lawyer from Washington; Mr. I. J. K. Wells, Editor of *Color* magazine and Mrs. Wells; Professor Richard Brown, West Virginia; Mr. John Ellison, President of the Virginia Union College and Mrs. Ellison, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Howard, Jr.

From the South American continent the principle delegation was one of 40 from *Brazil* led by Senator Ezechias da Rocha. The delegation included leaders of the Confederation of Industrial Workers' Union; the Confederation of Land Transport Workers' Union; the Federation of Stevedore Workers; the Textile and Metal Workers' Union of Sao Paulo; the Coffee Workers' Union of Santos; the Dockworkers' Union and the Union of Portworkers of Rio de Janeiro, and the Railroad Workers' Union. The employers' Textile Association of Sao Paulo and the Ministry of Transport were also represented.

MIDDLE EAST

Twelve countries of the Middle East and North Africa were represented at the Assembly. In addition to the Shah of Iran's personal representative other distinguished leaders included Dr. Edouard Bloch, President of Catholic Action for *Tunisia*; Mohammed Sherif, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of *Libya*; Professor Celikbae, Member of the Cabinet of *Turkey*; and Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Elghatrifi, Director General of the Department of Labour, *Egypt*.

EUROPE

All the European countries were represented, principally, by political, industrial and trade union leaders, some of whom have already been referred to above.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 14

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CAUX AND MOSCOW

An editorial in VAART LAND, Oslo, 29 September, 1954

Nonsense! That will be the headshaking reaction of many to the impossible comparison between a place consisting of some hotels in the Swiss Alps, and Moscow, the very power-centre of world Communism. But it is not so certain that the masters in Moscow are of quite the same opinion.

In our Western half of the world one is so busy with personal problems, internal controversies and one's own business, that one does not see the wood for the trees. But those who hold the reins in Moscow are unusually rugged and farseeing strategists. They have even found it necessary to send out warning speeches through Moscow Radio against Moral Re-Armament, this ideological movement which they realise is about to launch a worldwide offensive.

The men in Moscow not only suspect danger from Caux, they hold many proofs of it. They have lost some of their best-trained men and most eminent leaders in Western Europe to MRA. Here in Norway, Hans Bjerkholt, one of the founders of the Communist Party, is one of them. And in Moscow they are realising how their strategy, on a world scale, is being crossed by MRA on several continents—not least in Africa.

In the course of the last year great and remarkable things have happened in Tunisia and West Africa which may mean a turning point for the political future of Africa. Yes, even in the Mau Mau ridden East Africa and the racially divided South Africa, promising moral forces are at work to turn the tide from bloody revolution and chaos to unity and teamwork.

Caux is the most important power centre in this global fight against the dividing and destroying forces of materialism, and for a renaissance of the world. It is the training centre of a new army on the march: an army of free and wholehearted men and women who have pledged everything—money, position, home and ambitions—to go out in the world and remake it through new people, new politicians and new leaders in all spheres of human life. As the lead of the Danish Inner Mission, Dr. Christian Bartholdy, admitted to have found during his recent visit to Caux: "There is in MRA a hard core of vital, sacrificial, serving Christians. God's Church on earth would be poorer without them."

For almost forty years, Moscow has been the ideological powercentre of the scientific materialism of Communism. Thousands and thousands of young potential leaders of all colours and races have, in the course of these years, been drawn there to be trained for selfsacrifice, and to go out to conquer all nations for their ideology of world revolution and class war. Some twenty-five years ago, there were 200 young Chinese students in Moscow—and today they are ruling 500 million Chinese. Today 800 millions of the world's population are ruled by the Communist ideology. The Sunde case bears witness to the diligent over- and under-ground work of its devoted adherents in Norway.¹

The ideological counterpart of Moscow is Caux. Up till now this and some other training centres of MRA, have been visited by some 70,000 delegates from 118 different countries. The work that was started by Dr. Frank Buchman just before the last world war came at a late hour. It is carried out in the stimulating certainty that here the victorious answer to the materialist forces has been found, but also with the rankling anxiety that it is urgent.

Will the answer be brought in time?

¹The Sunde case is one of the recent cases of espionage in Norway.

CAUX: THE POWER OF GOD IN ACTION

A statement by Clergy and Ministers

We clergy and ministers in the active service of our respective Churches here bear witness to the power of God which we saw in action and ourselves experienced at Caux. We saw things happen there which we have longed to see and our churches have prayed for throughout the years.

The transforming power of the Holy Spirit was made evident as day by day men's lives were fundamentally changed, and their determination unconditionally pledged to strive for a similar change in their families, communities, industries and nations.

We saw before our eyes the reconciling of conflicting nationalities, the breaking down of barriers of colour, race and class, because the roots of division in the sins of pride and bitterness were being removed as men decided to face the Cross.

Some of us may have gone to Caux with a question in our minds as to its Christian basis. Soon that question was displaced by the much more serious question in our hearts as to how effectively and relevantly we had exemplified the power of Christ Crucified in our own lives. The Cross became more of a reality to each one of us as we faced the definite application of the Christian faith and Christian morality to our personal discipline, our relationships with others and our commitment to society as a whole. That answered our question or rather left no question to answer.

We were deeply moved by the new and dynamic conception of the task which today confronts the Christian Church. We saw the pattern as well as the possibility of an effective plan of world-wide Christian statesmanship outstripping, under the power and guidance of God, the march of godless materialism throughout the world.

In the waging of the present world struggle the issue, as we see it, is not limited to whether the Western and Eastern blocs can "coexist." It extends to the crucial question whether the dominant concepts of Christendom can be implanted in all parts of the world now controlled or misled by a lethal materialist ideology.

For this to be brought about, the accepted fundamentals of our Christian faith must, we were convinced at Caux, be passionately lived and convincingly applied in every part of industrial, political, national and personal life.

At Caux we saw many Christians becoming militant protagonists of their faith and those who had previously given their allegiance to a materialist revolution won to a similar commitment through a compelling demonstration of the Power of God.

H. V. ATKINSON Vicar of All Souls', Liverpool Minister, Hamstead Road Baptist Church, B. BAXTER Birmingham A. BURRELL Vicar of St. George's, Edgbaston B. BUCKLAND Vicar of Sandon, Staffordshire J. BURDEN Methodist Minister, Birkenhead B. FARNCOMBE Rector of Birlingham, Worcester Rector of Honiley, Warwick A. W. Dodds N. GEE Vicar of St. Thomas', Oakwood, N.14 B. HAZLEDINE Vicar of St. Patrick's, Barking D. RIGDEN GREEN Baptist Minister, Horsham J. KENDALL Vicar of St. Jude's, Lambeth Methodist Minister, Heysham, Lancs. C. ROSE J. M. SERGEANT Rector of Great Coates, Grimsby Methodist Minister, Liverpool G. SHERRATT T. J. WILLIAMS Methodist Minister, Horsham E. D. WHITE Vicar of Mudford, Somerset W. SCOTT MORTON Church of Scotland, Glasgow J. Allan Wright Duncan Street Baptist Church, Edinburgh J. WANSEY Vicar of Witchampton, Dorset E. H. GRIFFITHS Methodist Minister Bootle W. E. K. Allander Curate, St. Laurence's, Foleshill, Coventry P. BRUNT Methodist Superintendent, Swansea K. BROADHURST Methodist Mission, Manchester Methodist Chairman, Huddersfield F. LINES Congregational Minister, Halstead H. EDWARDS IFOR R. WILLIAMS Baptist Minister, President of Free Church Council, Treorchy G. E. TILEY Vicar of Powick, Worcester Vicar of St. Mark's, Nairobi R. SILBERBAUER Vicar of St. Laurence's, Foleshill, Coventry I. MILLER J. TORRENS Vicar of Horley, Surrey R. R. STALLARD Methodist Minister, Cardiff C. TYNDALL Archdeacon of Elphin and Ardagh, Sligo G. HANNON Vicar of Rostrevor, Northern Ireland W. HAYDOCK Vicar of St. Michael's, Blundell Sands

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES AT THE CAUX ASSEMBLY, 1954

THE TASK OF GOVERNMENT	INDUSTRY
COMMUNISTS CHANGE	TRADE UNION LEADERS
A NEW DIMENSION OF RACIAL UNITY	THE CHRISTIAN FRONT
THE AGE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT	

The following brief extracts, grouped under various headings, are not an exhaustive resumé of the four months assembly at Caux, but serve to give something of its atmosphere of hope and vitality, of its burning conviction, and of the far-reaching consequences of a great moral ideology at work in the lives of men and of nations.

THE TASK OF GOVERNMENT

DR. THEODOR OBERLANDER, Minister for Refugee Affairs in the Federal Cabinet of Germany

For the first time in history France and Germany have a common task. We regret the mistakes of the past and we are ready to take up this task with France. There is no greater proof of the power of MRA than that the nations who used to fight each other stand in peace together here to fight for the new world.

MR. HEINRICH HELLWEGE, Minister of Upper House Affairs in the German Federal Cabinet

MRA offers humanity a road from the abyss to which we are heading. We must find an end today to all exaggerated nationalist ideas. A united Europe can only come about if there is between France and Germany an honest understanding and friendship. This is the great destiny of MRA.

MR. P. L. ORGARD, Socialist Member of the Swedish Parliament

MRA is giving the Labour Movement the rebirth it needs to be a redirecting force in the nations. Frank Buchman's idea grips the masses. It will play a decisive part in this moment of history.

SENATOR EZECHIAS DA ROCHA, Brazil

Here in Caux, deeply impressed by the World Assembly, I see a miniature of the future world. I have found here the cure for the illness of my country and for all nations. We must give Moral Re-Armament to the Brazilian people. Then, I am sure, my country will fulfil the great mission which Providence has destined for her.

MR. MICHAEL OGON, Member of the Central Parliament (NCNC), Nigeria

Four years ago serious riots broke out in Nigeria. We stood poised for a bloody revolution. We waited for a word from our leader, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The word did not come. Dr. Azikiwe, who had been invited to Prague and Moscow, decided to go to Caux instead. That was the beginning of an answer for Nigeria, and that is why we are here.

HON. M. T. MBU, Central Minister of Labour, Nigeria

I have no doubt that it was Dr. Azikiwe's change of attitude which led to the success of the London Constitutional Conference, and resulted in our being offered self-government for Nigeria. If democracy is to succeed, MRA must be accepted by everyone. Only MRA can unite a people so multifarious as ours. It can bring the real unity of our various political parties. I have already seen it at work in my relationships with parliamentary colleagues and the trade unions.

MR. KANJU KATO, Japan; Member of the Diet; Executive member, Right Wing Socialist Party; former Minister of Labour

MRA is an ideology that unites Communists and anti-Communists because it changes both. Even as a Cabinet Minister I did not know how to bring unity. Japan must make restitution to the world by living an ideology of unity. That is the mission we have been given through MRA.

SENATOR SADAHARU MIWA, Left Wing Socialist Party, Japan

We represent the two extremes of the major political parties in Japan. But we have committed ourselves to become the foundation on which political unity can be created—on the basis of what is right.

MR. KIM BEAZLEY, Member of the Australian Parliament and member of the Executive of the Australian Labour Party

For a politician to see issues clearly I recommend the absolute moral standards of MRA. Someone asked, "What will happen to a politician who becomes absolutely honest?" The reply was, "He is in grave danger of becoming a statesman." If I refrain from lying about my opponents I am immediately under a discipline. I must out-think them at the point of their success. I must produce a positive policy. This is the beginning of statesmanship.

DR. OSCAR LEIMGRUBER, Formerly Chancellor of the Swiss Confederation

The three great events of this century that have shaken the world and are changing the course of history are first, the growth of Communism, secondly the tremendous awakening of the peoples of Asia and Africa, and thirdly the arrival on the scene of Moral Re-Armament.

Two ideologies are face to face. Communism which is destructive, and Moral Re-Armament which is positive and constructive.

Looking at me you may think I am a very peaceful and pacific man, but no, I am a revolutionary. I fight now for the ideas of Moral Re-Armament, not with a gun because my glasses prevent me from seeing very clearly to aim. It will never be arms that triumph in the world; it will always be ideas.

COMMUNISTS CHANGE

MR. EINAR POULSEN, Denmark, thirty years in the Communist Party

As an old Communist, I had not believed it possible that capitalists could change. It has been a tremendous challenge for me to see here that capitalists can be changed.

I have been an atheist all my life, but now I do believe in change and I want to give myself fully under the guidance of God.

The revolution of Moral Re-Armament which we are fighting for today is the greatest revolution in the world.

MR. HANS BJERKHOLT, Co-founder of the Norwegian Communist Party and for twenty-nine years a Party member

I came here to Caux for the first time as a fighting Communist. But today I say this: MRA is the answer for our time. A mighty revolutionary factor is developing. We have a global ideology today in Moral Re-Armament which is for the capitalist and the Communist as well, and that is the revolutionary fact in the world in our day. This is the one safe and sure way ahead to create peace in our days.

MR. PAUL KUROWSKI, Ruhr miner, for twenty-five years a member of the German Communist Party

Capitalism will not be the future; but changed capitalists can shape the future. Communism does not need to be the future; but changed Communists can also shape the future, in a positive way.

With these four absolute moral standards, we can create a basis for building up a new world for everyone. MRA has made us free, we Communists who fought for freedom. It has shown us the right way to live, we men who fought for what we felt was right.

We fight in this greater revolution also with the changed capitalists who have come to realise that it is not the reactionary, but the man who changes, who will be the future.

MR. MAX BLADECK, Germany, Ruhr miner, twenty-six years in the Party

What is it that gets a Marxist to change the ideas he has lived for? An idea which has taken everything, himself, his family, his job, everything that he has?

What was it that I found here in Caux when I arrived? I found here politicians and workers and men of public life who were prepared to give everything, everything to build a new world. I found that they worked together with a passionate conviction for an ideology which united all men everywhere. I found that the people here and the youth lived out this idea.

I was not able to change everything in my life overnight. It is not easy for a man who is atheist, Communist, Marxist, to find something new. But bit by bit I found myself more part of this ideology, and so I found the passion to fight for something bigger than the thing I had fought for before. Many former Communists and Marxists are fighting with us right across the world because we have to have a new basis for our life in this atomic age.

MR. TOM KEEP, President, National Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, 1950-1; twenty-two years in the Communist Party

After twenty-two years of membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain it was not easy for me, after fighting so many years for something that I believed to be right, to admit—and publicly so that I had been wrong.

Like millions of other militant trade unionists, I believed that the only way in which we could bring about this world which the workers desire, this world of freedom from want, was to fight the class war to its bitter end. And I was prepared to accept the bloodshed and misery that I knew must go with it.

I am still determined to fight for this better world, to continue to right those injustices that were inflicted. But MRA has shown me that there is another way in which this can be done. And it is because I see that the cold, calculating inhumanity of this age cannot, and will not, be destroyed by class hatred and bitterness, that I feel we must look to MRA to find this world of tranguility.

Frank Buchman spoke the other day of the cost of strikes to nations. One single dock strike in Britain cost our nation £217,000,000. I took a part in that strike, as I did in many others. And had it not been for meeting MRA I would still have today been plotting and planning, through strikes, to bring about the Communist policy of the destruction of the economic structure of the Western democracies.

Yesterday my wife and I made what I feel was the most important decision of our lives. We left our Church 23 years ago, and it is our decision to return to our Church when we return home.

MR. ANGELO PASETTO, Italy

I fought for the Communists. I was driven by bitterness for Italy. We wanted to fight poverty in Italy. I gave all my enthusiasm to find that answer.

In Caux I found another thing-I discovered that you do not

cure material poverty unless you cure moral poverty in the individual. Jesus Christ did not come into the world for just one category of people. He came to give an answer to everyone.

We must find together an ideological direction. We have to find God here in Caux. Italy must find this answer. An ideology is the spinal column of a country. We will bring that through our faith, and so cut free from the enemy of materialism.

A NEW DIMENSION OF RACIAL UNITY

DR. WILLIAM NKOMO, South Africa, Founder and first President, African National Congress Youth League

I know the deep and deadly flame of hate that scours away pity and which has set 160,000,000 Africans on fire. I used to exploit it. I changed when I saw changed Europeans and Afrikaners, who were not standing for white domination, but who were prepared to give their best under the guidance of God, for a new Africa. MRA is giving South Africa, with all its racial groups and divisions, a new destiny.

REV. GEORGE DANEEL, South Africa, Springbok rugby football player

In Africa we have two opposing ideas—" white supremacy " and "Africa for the Africans." MRA is the only force that can bridge the gulf. The trouble is people like myself, Afrikaners born and bred in South Africa, who feel we have a right to rule and refuse to see where we have failed to unite the races and find the destiny of our country. Change for me meant humble apology for my superiority. MRA today is providing the only platform in South Africa on which all the races can meet.

PROFESSOR RICHARD BROWN, United States, Negro Professor from Bluefield State College, Virginia

I have been part of many efforts to improve conditions for my people in America. Many of them have been based on hate and bitterness, and they served only to create division, more bitterness and more hate. I got to the point where I believed there was no answer to the problem of race relations. But in MRA I have found, definitely and positively, an answer to that problem. That does not mean changing the white people first, but it means change begins with myself.

I have learned that inferiority is just as much a sin as superiority, because they both divide people from each other and from God. I have seen MRA resolve both and bring about unity between white and black. That is why I feel it is my duty to fight for MRA, for both negroes and whites, in America and in the world.

MRA is the one force that can come to America, before it is too late, and create the climate which makes real unity take place. I have given my life, my fortune, whatever I am and can be to bring this message of change to the people of America, because it is the only force existing in the world today that has the power to change the hearts of people, and make us all one race and one people.

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, United States, Founder, Bethune-Cookman College; Founder and first President of the National Council of Negro Women of America

When you see me, you see a representative of sixteen million black people in America.

When I look back 79 years ago, I see myself coming from the home life of slaves. My mother and my father were slaves in America. We were hungry and thirsting for help, for light, for that thing that would help us to grow and become what we believed our God and your God wanted us to be. As I look back then and realise where I am standing today I can but ask myself, What hath God wrought?

I want here and now to express my gratitude for the opportunities that have been mine, for the doors that have been opened for me. But how I thank God for this ideology of MRA that has come to us. So simple. So all-inclusive. It places truth on the lower shelf where all of us, regardless of our creed, our class, our colour, can reach and become enriched thereof.

Now in my 80th year, as I look back and see the thousands and thousands that my life has touched, I am wanting, desiring, to unfold to them in whatever medium or through whatever change I can, the real thoughts that I have found here at Caux. I feel that Caux is providing us the wherewithal to unite the minds and the hearts of the peoples of the world and the nations of the world.

God bless you. God inspire you. God give to Dr. Buchman and to all of the teams that are here years of great service, great meditation, great power, great influence that the world may be a better world in which to live.

INDUSTRY

MR. FRANCO MARINOTTI, President of the Italian combine, SNIA Viscosa

You have a great idea which can be the peacemaker for the world. I am sure your idea will triumph. MRA has brought new hope at a critical moment for the world. This work to create harmony in every walk of life cannot but be accepted by all who want to fight for their liberty, religion and fatherland.

MR. FRITS J. PHILIPS, Vice-President, Philips Electrical Industries, Holland, which employ 110,000 in various countries

I have decided the first priority for my life will be remaking men and nations. We need to think beyond our business to a global ideology. We find this global ideology at Caux. If we industrialists do not find a new motive for business, we may not be in business. We are so attached to materialism and our own affairs. Here I have decided to give everything in this revolution.

MR. BRIJ THAPAR, Director, Karamchand Thapar Ltd., Calcutta

I am the director of one of India's leading industrial organisations. I believe with all my heart that when man listens, God speaks, and when man obeys, God acts, and on that basis every Indian is free to be the most ideological man on earth. For me that means being committed to give all my resources, my energy and my life for this world force for remaking the world.

MR. A. S. G. HOAR, Director of Operations in the World Bank for Europe, Africa and Australasia

What the world needs first is not a great financial plan but the simple truth that man can change and God can guide. The developed countries need economic stability, and the under-developed countries need to advance so that they will share adequately in the resources of the world. But all the time underlying all these things comes human nature, and I have seen time and time again abundant finance wasted and technical aid frustrated, all because at some point along the line one runs into unchanged human nature. We must liberate the finest qualities of men so that they will find the most speedy and efficient means to solve these problems. We are finding that answer here—change—that clears and cleans every area of our lives and opens our eyes to reality. My own commitment is that every decision every day will be submitted to the guidance of God. Moral Re-Armament is top priority for me in my work across the world.

TRADE UNION LEADERS

MR. JAMES HAWORTH, British Trade Union Leader and Member of the Executive of the British Labour Party

The Labour Movement of Britain which had a spiritual foundation, needs the leaven of MRA. The good road of MRA is not an economic theory but a way of life that supersedes all economic theories. Moral Re-Armament is a global idea that unites all men, and replaces our self-will with a superior will that is the road to a new age.

MR. OTTO CADEGG, National Secretary, Swiss Railway Workers' Union

One of the aims of my life was the creation of a classless society. But you cannot build a classless society by means of one class alone. We can only attain this classless society by creating a new type of man. We can only create this new type of man by change social change, national change, and supernational change, all based on personal change. We need men from every walk of life, from every nation who are prepared to base their lives on the standards of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. That is the only idea and the only conception which is big enough to meet the deepest needs of every human heart.

MR. MOHAMMED SHERIF, President of the Libyan Federation of Trade Unions

I was very much impressed this morning by the words said by Angelo Pasetto, the Italian.¹ I would like Angelo to stand beside me here and take part in the few words I am going to say.

Angelo, your speech this morning moved me very deeply. I, as representative of the trade unions of Libya, I promise to you that when I return to my country, I am going to change the whole idea and base them on the four standards of Caux.

Right up until a short time ago, 50,000 Italians in Tripoli were prevented from taking part in any trade union activity. But I promise you on my return that every one of these 50,000 workers will have every door open to them and take full part in our trade union activity.

MR. SADAO YAMAMURA, Chairman, Kanto area, All-Japan Telecommunications' Workers' Union

Moral Re-Armament is the full ideological answer to the growing tensions in Japan which are due to moral corruption and fear of economic collapse and war.

MR. SINFOROSO R. CORTERO, Government Representative of Miners' rights and Union official of Catavi Mine, Bolivia

People who work with MRA are not acting for their personal interest but to save humanity. On this right road we stand together. Dr. Frank Buchman shows the way, complete change from the individual to the whole of society. We must not abandon the fight

¹Angelo Pasetto, former Italian Communist (see p. 166), had apologised for wrongs done by Italy in North Africa in the past.

at the point of our personal convenience, but go to the end of the journey, the remaking of mankind.

MR. LEONARDO DE ALMEIDA, Director of Co-operative in Port of Rio de Janeiro

The dockworkers in the principal port of Brazil want to be part of the international force of MRA to establish harmony between workers and management on a new basis.

THE CHRISTIAN FRONT

MR. JOSEPH SCOTT, Los Angeles, a leading Catholic Layman of America

I have come to Caux to show my respect and veneration for Frank Buchman. In the present world struggle of ideologies he is meeting issues head-on. This great man is like St. Francis of Assisi. He is not a controversial figure. The present trend toward Godless materialism will destroy the foundations of our civilisation unless we apply what MRA has shown us.

DR. PAUL BRODERSEN, Dean of Copenhagen

The Primate of Denmark said this summer that the coming to Denmark, in 1935, of Frank Buchman and the Oxford Group, "has been written in golden letters in the life of our church and nation."

Our task is to turn the thinking and living of nations from materialism to creative responsibility on the basis of absolute moral standards and a living faith in God.

Some of the things such national change requires are these: to win leaders of labour to a new order based on absolute moral standards and guidance of God; to give leaders of industry and agriculture a God-inspired responsibility not merely for the whole of the nation but for Europe and the world; to give to education and the Army ideas of true, inspired democracy; to make the men of the press draw clear moral and ideological battle lines in all issues of private and public life; not least to change and train men and women from church, industry, labour and youth to live and bring to others the ideology of MRA and send them out in the world to all the key points in the ideological battle.

DR. EDOUARD BLOCH, Head of Catholic Action in Tunisia

My family have been in North Africa for 130 years. I am a doctor and a Catholic. I would like to say how deep my gratitude is for the welcome which Dr. Buchman has given to us from Tunisia.

On the level of my country's needs, the action of Moral Re-Armament has been tremendously fruitful. Caux has the answer which in no way detracts from my Catholic faith yet makes it possible for me to fight with men of other faiths on the common basis of the four absolute moral standards.

We in Tunisia must see where we have been wrong. Western Civilisation, in accenting always the technical and materialistic side of progress, has de-spiritualised Eastern man. The men of North Africa have drawn away from their faith and their traditions, and so have become an easy prey for materialistic, totalitarian or communistic ideologies.

Moral Re-Armament is one of the most effective ways of developing mutual confidence. The four standards can be the common denominator for men of goodwill, thanks to which our country will re-discover its true visage of sunshine and clarity. Moral Re-Armament seems to me to be the crystallising point of the whole human fight against materialist tyranny. I have no doubt at all that this way is written in the plan of God to bring man back to his true destiny of loving his neighbour and his Creator.

SIGNOR BARTOLI, Mayor of Trieste

I want to underline briefly the positive points that I have found fundamental ones. First, it is not against our Catholic faith, it is not against any faith, but it serves to reinforce every faith. How otherwise could I explain the fact that every morning in these last days I have been to Mass, a thing that does not happen in Trieste? Secondly, it is not against my country, it is not against any country, but it serves to bring us together and to make us brothers.

The only other place where I have seen this kind of universality has been in the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome, when I have gone in there and seen the peoples from all over the world—white, black, brown, yellow—all colours and all races, coming into this common basis of universality for all peoples. At Caux I have re-found this joining together of all the peoples of humanity.

REV. ROBERT D. BOHAKER, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, Detroit

I have come to see that the Church can find its real meaning through Moral Re-Armament.

Often, in the Church, we fight to preserve the life of the Church rather than trying to help the Church give its life for the world. But when the Church faces the Cross, willing to give everything, God blesses it with great gifts.

First He gives the Church a sense of destiny. Prayer and moral standards become gateways into a new life, not just burdens that duty demands.

Next the Church discovers how to unite the world. Changing men and women brings unity in place of division.

Then God shows the Church how to communicate truth. We ministers too often aim at nothing and hit it. We say the right thing, and it isn't really convincing. We are learning again through Moral Re-Armament that guidance of God that cleanses, convinces and sets men and nations on fire.

I know that the Church will find God's plan when I find it. It is the revolution brought about by men and women who will walk the way of Christ. They will have their hearts and eyes upon the rebirth of the world. This is what God promised if only we turn to Him for Moral Re-Armament in time.

THE AGE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

PROFESSOR ROBERT J. MOON, Nuclear Physicist, University of Chicago¹

We are in the twilight of mankind, where man's story as written by man alone is near its end. If we continue to act by intellect alone we shall only produce craftier weapons for man's destruction. We must find a force that will make atom bombs impossible. Unless we find this force there is no way to prevent total destruction.

We are faced with a moral and spiritual challenge if the achievements of the intellect are to turn out to be a blessing to mankind. We have to decide whether we want the destruction or the blessings of the force of atomic energy.

¹Professor Moon is one of the inner group of American physicists who developed the atom bomb.

The Atomic Age began on 2 December, 1942—in the laboratory of the University of Chicago under the football stadium. Now there are hydrogen and cobalt bombs a thousand times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. One cobalt bomb—for which is needed about fifty tons of neutrons, some cobalt and an explosion—could spread an undetectable radioactive dust (Cobalt 60) which destroys life within two weeks. It could bring about the eclipse of the Western civilisation.

Yet on the other hand, this energy can be used for peaceful means. Plans have been completed for the construction of a locomotive that can run on 20 pounds of atomic fuel (Uranium 235) for two years, making no ash or smoke and needing no air. In 1959 the first power station for atomic energy will be built in the United States, and by the year A.D. 2,000 a third of all the energy delivered in America will be atomic energy.

I cannot express to you how great a burden was lifted off me when I shook hands with Mr. Keizo Shibusawa (former Finance Minister of Japan) at the MRA Assembly in 1952 when I expressed a deeplyfelt apology to the Japanese people that the atomic era had not been inaugurated by something other than the destruction of Hiroshima.

This is the age of the absolute. In an age of absolute weapons, we need the articulation of the absolute level between good and evil of the four absolute standards. Here is the answer; here lies true security. We must learn to listen to God in this fusion era. Then confusion will disappear.

This must become the age of the Holy Spirit first, the intellect second.

When man listens, he can hear God's voice. He speaks to everyone. He speaks in the laboratory; I have experienced it. He spoke in the development of atomic energy; I was a witness of it.

Under God's guidance we will arrive at a stage in history when atomic energy will be a blessing to mankind.

MESSAGES TO ASSEMBLY

The following is a representative selection of the messages sent to Dr. Buchman on the opening of the Caux Assembly, 1954

FROM H.I.M. THE SHAH OF IRAN

Dear Dr. Buchman,

On the occasion of the Caux Assembly which coincides with your seventy-sixth birthday, I am commanded by the Shah to express His Imperial Majesty's warm congratulations as well as his admiration for your inspired ideology.

The noble principles you advocate coincide with the tenets of Islam, namely: complete submission and commitment to the will of Allah, whose guidance we must seek.

Yours sincerely,

HOSSEIN ALA Minister of Court

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND

I have always in mind the power for good of MRA in this present conflict between beneficial and adverse ideologies.

Field-Marshal P. PIBULSONGGRAM

FROM THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS

As members of the United States Congress we wish to express our greetings and gratitude to you, Frank Buchman, on your 76th birthday and on the occasion of the opening of the 1954 World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in Caux, Switzerland. Freedom is a moral concept. It can only be achieved on a basis of the absolute moral standards which you and the world force you have trained have applied to personal and national problems. This is a way of life by which all people everywhere can have a part under God to bring an effective solution to the basic conflicts confronting the

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statesmen today. You have given a uniting idea to nations that can turn the ideological tide in the world today.

> From Vice-President RICHARD M. NIXON, Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., 13 Members of the United States Senate and 73 Members of the House of Representatives

FROM THE CHANCELLOR OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Most sincerely I wish you happiness on your birthday and God's blessing for your work.

DR. KONRAD ADENAUER

FROM FRANCE

Sending the assurance of my ardent faith in your mission.

GENERAL CHASSIN, Commander of the Metropolitan Air Force, France

FROM SWITZERLAND

Your radio-message is more hopeful than the daily reports from Geneva. There men meet as opponents; in MRA as obedient to a common Master.

> MAX HUBER, former President, International Court of The Hague, former President, International Red Cross

FROM CHRISTIAN LEADERS IN AUSTRALIA

May the Spirit of Pentecost inspire the thinking and planning of the Caux Assembly.

> R. C. HALSE, Archbishop of Brisbane; G. F. CRANS-WICK, Bishop of Tasmania; B. P. ROBIN, Bishop of Adelaide; F. DE W. BATTY, Bishop of Newcastle; D. B. BLACKWOOD, Bishop of Gippsland

FROM MALAYA

God be pleased to grant you many more years to continue building up a God-guided society and remaking the world.

> DATO MAHMUD BIN MAT Speaker, Malaya Legislative Council

FROM NIGERIA

Your life has been a great inspiration to us in building our nation on a basis of love instead of hate. We are slowly emerging to realise ourselves on the basis of not who but what is right. *The Boss* which we have seen tonight has great possibilities for change in Labour and Management and we are so glad it has been shown in Nigeria.

> NNAMDI and FLORA AZIKIWE, President, National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

FROM TRADE UNION LEADERS OF AMERICA

As American workers we greet you. Through the years the force you have trained has been strengthening union loyalty and leadership, and uniting people above party, race, class, point of view, or personal advantage.

Today it is essential that absolute moral standards become the trade mark of our personal, national and international life. This is the answer to class war and to the materialism of right and left. Moral Re-Armament is calling us and every nation to our true heritage under God.

> IRVIN BARNEY, President, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America; W. C. BIRTHRIGHT, President, Journeymen, Barbers' International Union; LEO E. GEORGE, President, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; PATRICK E. GORMAN, Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. America; CHARLES B. GRAMLING, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Operating Engineers; past-President, Georgia State Federation of Labor; W. P. KENNEDY, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; GEORGE E. LEIGHTY, President, Order of Railroad Telegraphers; Chairman, Railway Labor Executives' Association; WILLIAM J. MCSORLEY, President, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; JOHN L. REILLY, Industrial Secretary, National Postal Transport Association; GEORGE J. RICHARDSON, Secretary-Treasurer. International Association of Fire Fighters; HARRY J. STEEPER, Treasurer, American Federation of Musicians; ASHLEY L. TOTTEN, Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Also signed by 102 other Officers and members of AFL, CIO and independent unions

Your inspired ideology and living has brought change to our family. We are united and fight with you to bring unity in our own country and to people in all nations.

JOHN RIFFE

FROM EGYPT

I take this happy occasion to present to you and MRA our very best wishes.

ABDEL KHALEK HASSOUNA, and Family, Secretary-General of the Arab League, Egypt

FROM SOUTH AFRICA

We stand with you in the task of remaking the world.

A. J. LUTHULI, President, African National Congress; M. T. MOERANE, President, Confederation of African Teachers' Association; J. M. MOHLALA, of Kwa-Thema; REV. SETH MOKITIMI, Governor, Osborn Mission; REV. GEORGE B. MOLEFE, Principal, Newell Bantu High School; REV. O. G. D. MOOKI, President, South African Advisory Boards Congress; DR. J. S. MOROKA, former President, A.N.C.; DR. J. M. NHLAPO, Editor, Bantu World; MISS MINA SOGA, President, National Council, African Women of South Africa; REV. Z. TANTSI, Former President, A.N.C. Transvaal; REV. S. S. TEMA, Dutch Reformed Church; R. V. SELOPE THEMA, former Editor, Bantu World; A. T. HABEDI, Principal, The Wilberforce Institute

FROM MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

The World Assembly at Caux this year has a very special significance at this late hour when humanity seeks a way out of the threat of destruction. Our only hope lies in the building of a world force of men fighting for what is right in national and international affairs. The father of our nation showed the way how moral force and the power of God could solve the most difficult problems. We have been following with keen interest the great efforts made by MRA in Africa for creating a new dimension of racial unity. It is our hope and conviction that MRA will provide the basis of understanding for East and West and will answer the prejudices that divide men and nations.

> Members of the Indian Parliament: M. ANANTHASAYA-NAM AYYANGAR, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha (House of the People). N. KESHAVAIENGAR, N. RACHIAH, R. VELAYUDHAN, B. K. MUKERJI, LAKSHMAN SINGH CHARAK, C. P. MATTHEN, T. HUSSAIN, AMARNATH VIDYALANKAR, BALWANT SINHA MEHTA, PROFESSOR N. R. MALKANI, H. VAISHNAV, RADHA RAMAN, DR. STAYANARAIN SINHA, UDAI SHANKAR DUBE

FROM DOCK WORKERS IN BRAZIL

Dock workers of Rio de Janeiro congratulate the great pioneer of MRA for the solution to social problems and the hope of a new world through peace and justice.

> ZENITH AGUIAR, VALDO ARAUJO, MURILLO MORE-IRA, NELSON MARCELLINO, DAMAZIO CARDOSO, and others

FROM TUNISIA

On the eve of historic negotiations the teachings of Caux will allow us to conquer prejudices, suspicion and various obstacles. I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Buchman for having re-armed us and prevented us from sinking into hatred.

> MAHMOUD MASMOUDI, Minister of State in the Tunisian Cabinet

FROM THE GOVERNOR, SENATOR AND MAYOR OF HIROSHIMA who cabled the Assembly on the ninth anniversary of the atom bombing of the city:

Strongly requesting the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly to lead the world on to the highway of peace and unity.

THE WORLD ASSEMBLY AT MACKINAC ISLAND

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"An idea to turn the tide of history"

BY THE RT. REV. GEORGE WEST

Bishop of Rangoon, 1935-54

I spent some six weeks of this summer of 1954 at three successive conferences. They were all world conferences and they were all held in America.

The Pan-Anglican Conference in Minneapolis helped many of us to understand more fully and appreciate better the Church to which we belonged. Assembled in that beautiful and hospitable city in August of this year was the Anglican Church of today in terms of flesh and blood. I listened to thinkers like the Bishop of London, who depicted the role of the Anglican Church in history, to scholars and liturgical experts, to Bishops from Dioceses like Johannesburg and Sheffield situated in the midst of racial and industrial tension. The Congress had no authority to legislate or to make pronouncements; but it enabled the Archbishop of Canterbury to meet the leaders of his world-wide flock who had gathered in this one place to get to know one another, learn from one another and worship together.

Evanston was an Assembly of representatives of Christians dispersed throughout the world. Immense in size, brilliant in organisation, with personalities of world-wide fame, and with a maximum of press coverage, Evanston provided the platform from which Christendom could speak to a distraught world on the theme, "Jesus Christ, the Hope of the World."

Both these conferences have been fully reported and their

findings are readily available. It is of the third conference that I would write more fully. The aim of Minneapolis had been to enable Anglicans to understand Anglicanism and its vocation in the world of today. The aim of Evanston was to enable the Churches, not only to come together and to stay together, but to give a message to the world. The main theme of Moral Re-Armament at Mackinac was "Statesmanship for a New World."

If Minneapolis had been homogeneous, Evanston heterogeneous, Mackinac might be allowed the word "cosmogeneous."

If Minneapolis had been at times theological, Evanston eschatological, Mackinac was ideological.

The first thing that struck me about the World Assembly at Mackinac was the people who came. These included Catholics, pagans, and Protestants, men of every faith and men of no faith. It was as wide as humanity. There were literally all sorts and conditions of men.

Why had they come?

They had come either to find or to help to bring an idea for the world of today.

The idea itself was expressed in plays as well as in the Assembly sessions. These helped me to understand the meaning and significance of "ideology" as much as did the speeches. The truth I heard was global in extent and universal in relevance, applicable to every situation and effective wherever applied. It violated no truth which I had been taught as a Christian, no promise which I had made as a Bishop. Rather, it enhanced and illumined what I had been taught and what I had promised.

The agenda of these meetings was people rather than items. And the meetings ended in illumination, conviction and decision, rather than in "resolutions."

It was evident that as the root of the problem everywhere lies in people, the answer can only be found where the problem lies. Plays and speeches and conversations produced an atmosphere in which personal conviction became inevitable. Few, if any, can have left the Mackinac Assembly the same as they came.

I had, of course, long been aware of the importance of "commitment," in my case to Jesus Christ and His Church.

I was now to see some of the reaches of total commitment.

Commitment to the ideology of Moral Re-Armament meant not only the giving of one's self to it, but of putting all that one had at its disposal. So an international industrialist, a great trade union leader, an African Chief, helped me to see what happens when a man puts his home, his work, his position as well as himself at the service of an idea.

I saw, at the same time, that no idea could claim the allegiance of every man unless it was moral and spiritual.

And how did all this affect me personally?

I saw that Christianity lived out fully is an ideology.

I went back to the Bible, the Sacraments, to my Thomas à Kempis and St. Francis of Assisi, to my Prayer Book, to the Church Seasons of Advent and Christmas, to find them illumined by what I had seen and heard, and these spiritual sources helped in turn to illuminate for me the idea of Moral Re-Armament.

My own conviction is, from what I have seen and heard after twenty years of intimate association with Moral Re-Armament, that Frank Buchman and others with him are offering an idea to the nations, to statesmen, as well as to ordinary people, which may yet be in time to turn the tide of history.

THE MACKINAC ASSEMBLY, 1954

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The Assembly drew 1,029 delegates from 42 nations to Mackinac Island, and amassed evidence from five continents supporting the theme "Statesmanship for a New World".

At a time when the Nine Powers were meeting in London to deal with the question of German re-armament, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of Germany underlined "the significance at this moment" of the Assembly in a message read to the delegates by Ludwig Kroll, Member of the Bonn Parliament from Baden-Baden. In the message the German chancellor told Dr. Buchman, "I am convinced that your meeting will contribute to creating better understanding between the nations of the free world. This understanding was never more vital than today, when our task is to find new ways of co-operation betweeen nations which will have, as its sole objective, the preservation of freedom and the maintaining of world peace."

Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had cabled Dr. Buchman in Switzerland: "We are grateful for your superior ideology of Moral Re-Armament on a world front answering the world crisis with changed men. The news of the MRA advance this year in Africa, Asia and Europe leads us to await with keen anticipation your return to America to present this vital evidence of a world awakened."

Among statesmen from many nations present were representatives from the United Nations; the Secretary-General of the Arab League, whose eight nations have a combined population of 42,000,000; and members of ten parliaments.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES AT THE MACKINAC ASSEMBLY

FROM THE MIDDLE EAST

The chief of Iraq's UN delegation, DR. FADIL JAMALI, who has twice been Prime Minister of his country, told the Assembly that the United Nations "permeated with the spirit of MRA could lead the world to peace and harmony. There is hope for mankind if the statesmen of the world are led by this spirit."

Dr. Jamali, who first met Dr. Frank Buchman at the formation of the UN in San Francisco and has since led his country's delegation at every session, said that the world today was suffering from two forms of materialism—the materialism of the reactionary right and the materialism of the militant left. "Both sap our physical and spiritual consciousness. We need the third way, the way of Moral Re-Armament, to save mankind from this materialism. The hour is late and we are on the brink of catastrophe. This third way will save man from destroying himself and point the way to a new world."¹

Speaking of the Arab world of 80,000,000, he said that they faced many problems—of refugees, defence, oil, poverty and feudalism. "All these," he said, "await the application of this third way of MRA for an adequate solution. I personally have great hopes."

DR. ABDEL KHALEK HASSOUNA of Egypt, Secretary-General of the Arab League, endorsing Dr. Jamali's statement, traced his association with Dr. Buchman back to 1937. Referring to his own country,

¹Dr. M. F. Jamali, addressing the United Nations Political Committee in the disarmament debate on 19 October, said, "Along with the achievement of ideological disarmament we must achieve moral rearmament. We must recognise that our problems and differences as nations cannot be resolved as long as we are selfish.

"International problems and tensions if dealt with in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament shall be easily resolved. For we shall search our souls for our own motives and weaknesses, recognise our mistakes first and then cultivate mutual brotherhood, confidence and faith in each other's integrity. Mankind will become one great family. Discrimination on the basis of ideology, religion, class, race or colour shall disappear."

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he said: "We are going through great economic and political changes. If these changes are couched in the principles of Moral Re-Armament, they cannot but result in benefit to all."

The Secretary of the Iranian Delegation at the current United Nations General Assembly, ALI NOURY-ESFANDIARY, read a message from the SHAH of IRAN addressed to Frank Buchman. The message expressed his "deep interest in the valuable service you are rendering to humanity and sincere wish for your continued success in maintaining peace."

The Shah's personal representative to the Assembly, DR. A. F. HAZEGHI, three times Member of the Iranian Parliament and professor at Teheran University, said he had been "charged by His Imperial Majesty to arrange adequate representation for our country at all Moral Re-Armament Assemblies."

Dr. Hazeghi declared, "Iran greatly needs a moral and spiritual ideology above party and class. Only the ideology of MRA can give a satisfying and universal answer."

The Prime Minister, General Zahedi, and Foreign Minister Abdullah Entezam have joined the Shah in this request.

LATIN AMERICA

Representatives of seven Latin American nations attended.

The President of the Senate of Puerto Rico, SAMUEL R. QUINONES, stated: "I have attended many international conferences to which I have gone with a mind full of questions, and then I returned empty. But this is altogether different. I have received a profound orientation here and my questions have been answered. You have the fountain here to quench the thirst of humanity."

The delegation of eighteen from Guatemala included representatives of the United Fruit Company, the International Railroad of Central America, Pan American Airways and the owner and director of Radio International.

LUIS PUIG, member of the executive board of the National Committee for the Re-organisation of the Guatemala Trade Unions, addressed the Assembly. "In Latin America," he said, "we have had many revolutions but MRA is a new kind of revolution that does not divide, but can bring to reality the long sought unity of the Americas. The problem of Guatemala is part of the world problem. The greatest aid the U.S. could give my country and the rest of Latin America is to encourage and foster the development of this world ideology of Moral Re-Armament."

Other Latin American nations represented included Brazil, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Cuba, Panama and Venezuela.

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN INDUSTRY

In a personal statement to the Assembly, JOHN V. RIFFE, the distinguished American labour leader, said: "Labour led by God can lead the world. There are so many of us, why not?" He called on American labour to "think on a global scale and take responsibility for the welfare of all the peoples of the world."

Riffe said that when labour "fights on a basis of 'what's right, not who's right ', it will win the right battles and build a bridge that will last. Fighting on a basis of self-interest only helps to tear the nation apart. But MRA has shown me the way to build unity."

Riffe also said that his department had operated last year at "half a million dollars' saving, yet all 35 international unions say we have done the greatest job that has ever been done."

Riffe and his wife, Rose, told how MRA had brought change and unity to their home by applying absolute moral standards and listening to and obeying God. This kind of change, he said, enabled him to "settle many bitter labour disputes." Riffe said he first tried absolute honesty in an apology to the management of a steel company for his attitude during a strike for a nine cents an hour increase. The management responded in a like spirit and the strike was settled, to Riffe's amazement, for a 14 cent an hour wage increase.

The Ottawa Citizen stated in a report from the Assembly that JOHN DIBBLEE, manager of personnel for the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, "who has taken the lead in rolling up for the Ontario Hydro an unparalleled record for labour relations, attributed his entire success to Moral Re-Armament."

Speaking with Dibblee was RICHARD HINTON, personnel manager of Shell Oil Company of Canada.

Heading a Pan American World Airways delegation of 70, including labour and management representatives, was A. J. L. HUME of Miami, manager of industrial relations of the Pan American Latin American Division. The National Air Lines delegation of 40 was led by the President, GEORGE T. BAKER. Flying with the group from Miami was Captain W. T. "Slim" BABBITT of Eastern Air Lines, Vice-President of the Air Lines Pilots' Association. Another 20 were present from Eastern Air Lines.¹

AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERS

Through DR. MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, founder and first president of the National Council of Negro Women, representatives of the coloured world from Africa, Asia and the Americas issued a joint statement at the Assembly, urging "acceptance of Moral Re-Armament throughout the Negro world."

CHARLES P. HOWARD, Chicago, read the statement on behalf of representatives from Nigeria, Kenya, the Gold Coast, Ceylon, New Zealand, the West Indies, Brazil and the United States.

"We have seen here at this Assembly the working answer, on a practical scale, to racial discrimination," they stated. "The principles of Moral Re-Armament provide the best answer we know to the problem of conflicts in families, conflicts between management and labour, conflicts between peoples and nations. This ideology is so pregnant with hope and promise that it deserves acceptance throughout the Negro world."

MRS. BETHUNE called the Moral Re-Armament world conference "the most important assembly of our time. In my judgment Moral Re-Armament has the answer to the conflicting problems of America and the world," she said.

"I thank God for Frank Buchman who blazed a path so simple that the most humble of us could grasp it and help build a new world. I have turned the searchlight within and found myself lacking. I have decided to change at 80 years of age. I rededicate the remaining years of my life to uniting peoples and nations on the basis of absolute moral standards."

Other Negro leaders from America attending the Assembly included DR. J. M. ELLISON, president of Virginia Union University in Richmond; DR. STEPHEN WRIGHT, president of Bluefield State College, Bluefield, West Virginia; Mr. and Mrs. I. J. K. WELLS, editors of the national monthly illustrated magazine, *Color*; Dr. ¹See page 199. F. HAVIS DAVIS, secretary of the *Color* Corporation; BELFORD LAWSON, U.S. Supreme Court attorney; CHARLES HOWARD, JR., and FRANCIS KORNEGAY, director of vocational services of the Detroit Urban League.

CHURCH LEADERS

Leaders of the Churches of all denominations, from many parts of the world, took part at Mackinac this year.

Bishop ELIS GULIN of Finland said: "No Christian body or movement has been able to portray Jesus Christ crucified so livingly as Moral Re-Armament in our time. MRA has the Cross of Jesus Christ in the centre of all activities. You do not talk about it everywhere, but you have it in your hearts—that is the inspiring thing. MRA offers the deepest fellowship I have ever felt in any Christian group in the world. When Frank Buchman started the world-wide movement he centred everything upon the Cross of Jesus Christ. He dispelled the misconception that the Cross is a cushion for our heads and emphasised that it is a spearhead that goes through our own egotism and our will to take it easy."¹

¹The Rev. J. Levering Evans, of Richmond, Virginia, wrote to Dr. Frank Buchman (December, 1954): "You put the good news of personal change through Jesus Christ in a way millions could reach it—all who would. You, God using you, have put into words the average man can understand the New World Jesus came to build. You are His answer to this generation and the precursor of the new age. Our thanksgiving offering to God goes to you as His spokesman, pioneer, and prophet today. Thank God for you."

ARMS IN THE WAR OF IDEAS

Thirty-five years ago Dr. Frank Buchman saw that we were not just at the end of a war between great powers, but at the point of the breakdown of civilisation and the start of the greatest revolutionary era in human history.

He did not stop at diagnosis. He built an answer that works, that is tried and tested. And he built a force of men and women to carry it to the world.

The programme of MRA is not anti-Communist, not anti-capitalist, not anti-American nor anti-Russian. It is for all men everywhere. It fights on a world front for the full dimension of change—social, political, economic, national and supernational change, all based on a change in human nature.

PETER HOWARD

speaking at a performance of one of his plays, The Dictator's Slippers before an audience of delegates to the Asian Conference and the ILO in Geneva, June, 1954

THE MRA PLAYS

BY VINCENT EVANS¹

On a recent Saturday evening—and allowing for the variations from Greenwich Mean Time—curtains were drawn open in theatres across the entire world. That night twenty-six Moral Re-Armament plays were being produced on five continents, in nearly a dozen languages. I doubt whether any British plays throughout history—and certainly none running on the London stage at the moment—have a record to equal that.

The bare recital of the facts conveys only a small part of the story—a very small part. I was myself that night watching one of the plays at Greenwich Town Hall. On the stage with me before the play was an African college bursar from the Gold Coast, the wife of an African editor from Nigeria, a French teacher who had previously been a Communist intellectual from the Red Belt of Paris, a German miner who had flown over from the Ruhr during the day, and a Church of England parson.

In Washington on the same day, the platform held American Senators and Congressmen, an English journalist, men and women from Europe and the Far East.

There were plays in Tokyo that night. And all over Africa. There were plays in most of the European capitals—in many cases in cities where Germans and Japanese were mixing in genuine friendship for the first time with their former enemies. There were plays in India and Australia. There were certainly plays not far from the jungle and probably plays in the snow.

And there again that bare recital tells only a very small part of the story. For, as I was driven home from Greenwich by one ¹Until recently, Editor of *Truth*. of the cast—whose job did not stop, incidentally, as the last curtains had fallen on him—I estimated that nearly one thousand full-time Moral Re-Armament workers were devoting themselves that night to the work which their plays interpreted. Nearly a thousand men and women were either preparing for the plays, rehearsing, prompting, singing, acting or in some way or other seeing that they went smoothly, efficiently and effectively, or were engaged in personal work amongst the audience.

It is worthwhile in considering these Moral Re-Armament plays, to look at a little of the detail that goes into the preparation of them. Six of them and three musicals are in current production. The newest of them are of a quality that puts them on a par in technique with some of the finest in the world theatre today. They are not amateur efforts produced with enthusiasm but little knowledge of the theatre. They are theatrical achievements in their own right. Elizabeth Bergner has helped to produce them. Marion Anderson, Phyllis Konstam, Ivan Menzies and others whose names have been boldly billed in London, New York and Paris, act in them. The other actors and actresses are men and women out of whom unexpected theatrical abilities have been creatively drawn.

The plays deal with the normal problems of life with which we are all familiar—the personal, business, political, diplomatic and ideological problems which are relentlessly prodding a lethargic world closer and closer towards moral bankruptcy unless the tide is stemmed. In all the plays two things are conflictingly balanced against each other. On the one side there is the intellectual, moral and economic frustration that has found its modern militant expression in Communism; on the other there is the dominating and equally vicious force which expresses itself in unbounded greed for power and for wealth—for a wealth that is sought greedily and used greedily. Both these forces are, of course, partly the expressions of the modern chaotic devil-take-the-hindmost search after security. It is the conviction of Moral Re-Armament that neither of these forces does in fact give security. The opposing claims merely produce division, class and race hatred and a perpetuation of the materialist conception of life that is so nearly bringing us to self-imposed slavery. It is the conviction of Moral Re-Armament that the security which we seek so busily and ineffectively comes only through a personal and continuing experience of Christ—a deep day-to-day experience.

It is against that background that the plays are produced and it is that conviction which they seek to interpret. Christ a Christ who expects self-sacrifice—is at the centre of the production of every one of these plays. And that experience of Christ is the motive power behind the producers and casts in whatever country the plays are produced—whether the country is Hindu or Islamic, Buddhist or Christian.

One of the currently-fashionable criticisms of MRA is that the movement has deliberately played down the central and vital figure of Christ in its efforts to win the non-Christian world. Anyone who had seen an MRA play in preparation must realise how completely false is this criticism. In the first place, those who take part in the productions have literally given up everything—money, ambition, position, as well as the titillating pleasures of the world—so that they can take part in this work. The son of a poor man may have only his energy and devotion to give. The son of the rich man may have money. They both give freely and with a sense of intense commitment. It is the kind of self-sacrificial devotion which Christ Himself claimed and won in His own day, when economic materialism was precisely the same problem as it is today.

And if, knowing those facts, the critic still doubted that Christ was at the centre of MRA, then he should go back stage to the Green Room before these plays begin. There he would find the cast, and those who are helping with the evening's production, sitting round together, getting rid first of the little things that might clutter up the mind before an evening's performance. It might be the admission of stage-fright from one, a resentment that required an apology from another, or a clash of personalities to be cleared away. For, as one of the cast said to me at Greenwich that Saturday night: "The Holy Spirit cannot work through you with full power if your mind is muddled with your own personal problems."

And, once these have been dealt with, the boldness of the conception of the plays becomes apparent. They become revealed as the means towards a vast end-the creation of a world in which God's will and not man's will is dominant; and. as you listen to the exchange of ideas in that Green Room preparation, you realise that here are people who have successfully experimented with the surrender of their own will to God's-and yet retained the hard reality of modern living. The plays are revealed not as the vehicles of somebody's brilliance, not as an opportunity for personal stagecraft, but as a means of winning an audience. To that goal both the play and the players are subjected. They have no importance except against that background. And certainly there is no room in them for the prima donna-for the man or woman who sees in the theatre an outlet for his or her ambition or as the consolation for the other shortcomings of life.

The final act of that Green Room preparation is prayer, partly silent, partly spoken. And of the reality of the presence of God in that room there can be no mistake. A French abbè, a Danish churchman, an Anglican parson and many others have confessed to being won by the prayerful quality of those few moments before the plays begin. It may be that the minds of everyone there is centred on one single person; it may be spread over the whole audience. In either case the people gathered there become a powerhouse for God. The prayers are directed for the other side of the curtain, and for each other.

Then the curtains go up. Millions now have sat on the other side of the footlights from that little Green Room of prayer, and no one can remotely guess how many have been affected by it. But what is quite certain is that these people now inhabit every free country of the world. The thread that has one of its ends in the Green Room behind the MRA plays is now woven into the life of virtually every non-Communist country.

The themes of the plays are deceptively simple. The Forgotten Factor, which has now been seen by more than a million people in a dozen languages, and The Boss, which has bridged the five continents, both deal with the conflicting claims of owners and workers in industry-the problems which every manager and union official knows so well, and the one which produces ninety per cent of the class hatred of modern times. And they portray an answer which is directly relevant to the underlying ideological struggle in industry and in the world today. As Daniel Ironbank, the industrialist, says in The Boss, "We have got to match every decision to the ideological struggle in the world." The Dictator's Slippers, with its Kremlin-like setting, fascinates the audience as it shows how a superior idea can penetrate the toughest iron curtain, and what happens when it does in the inner councils of a dictatorship. The play emphasises too, the bitterness of the problem which dominates Colonialism-the white man's determination to maintain what he has got at all costs, and the black man's hatred of the system which has brought him up in political and social subjection. The Real News tells the story of the conflict of loyalties in a newspaper office-loyalty to the journalistic integrity of which Britain was once proud, loyalty to an ideology and loyalty to the demon-wage-packet. The Man With The Key is the story of the international conference tableof the conflict between the old now-listen-to-me-old-boy philosophy in diplomacy and the two new ones, the bomb-'emtill-the-pips-squeak philosophy and the callous, ever-menacing philosophy of the dialectical materialist. It is a study, at times hilarious, at times deeply moving, of how change in men can begin to unlock the most complex international problems. And finally We Are Tomorrow is the story of university youthof the conflict between the idealism from which the characters are just being successfully weaned by the false values of much

university teaching and the harsh disillusion of the life into which they are about to enter. It is the picture of the fateful choice before youth, between the roads which lead to totalitarian tyranny on one hand, and a God-led freedom on the other.

The picture in all of them is that of a world in which God as an effective force has been replaced by self-seeking, self-indulgence, self-pity and self-will—but it becomes the picture, too, of a world which can change vitally and purposefully as soon as the forgotten factor is allowed to get to work again.

A churchman of much insight, Dr. Woods, the late Bishop of Lichfield, once commented in the theatre after seeing *The Forgotten Factor*: "I saw the Cross of Christ on that stage tonight." And yet that is a play, I believe, in which the actual name of Christ is not mentioned in the script. But the Bishop knew the immense difference between the mere pious mouthing of a word and living the reality of that word. For it is the basic factor of all these plays that the people who take part in them live Christ in their daily lives and have earned the right to try to interpret Him in a way that will have world, and not parochial, consequences. And, in practice, it turns out that God has not only got a world strategy for the use of these plays but He has an immense and unexpected sense of fun!

I think I can best illustrate the effectiveness of these plays by giving some examples of what they have done in relation to the type of problem with which they deal.

First of all there is David Waruhiu in Kenya—a Kikuyu and son of a loyal senior chief. David's life had been filled with bitterness against the white man who had come to his country and set black man against black. Waruhiu saw *The Forgotten Factor* one night in Nairobi. In that play he saw a white man change through an experience of Christ. And he decided to change himself. Waruhiu's father was the first of the loyal chiefs to be murdered by the Mau Mau. On the night of the murder the young Waruhiu was at an MRA Assembly at Caux in Switzerland. That night he surrendered to God the desire for revenge on the murderers. And later he decided to spend the whole of the patrimony he received on his father's death in bringing Mau Mau tribesmen back into decent communal life. With some white men and some fellow Africans he started the famous Athi River experiment, of which the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd, spoke so warmly in the House of Commons last December. In the Athi River camp hard-core Mau Mau fighters are being won back from the evil devilry of the pagan oaths which they have sworn. Here, indeed, is the practical application of the problem which is so graphically delineated in *The Dictator's Slippers*.

And secondly, there is the story of the American Air Line pilots. Air line pilots are probably some of the toughest individualists in the world. They have to be. In America, their profession was bedevilled after the war by a series of savage struggles between pilots and airline managements for a share of the operating profits. The pilots, quite naturally and rightly, sought payment that was related to the risks and great responsibilities which they carried. The airline managements, faced with bitter competition from other airlines within America itself and even severer competition from an upsurging British aircraft industry, sought to cut back costs to the bare minimum commensurate with efficient running. The clash of the economic needs of the two sides was industrial dynamite. The airline immediately concerned was National, operating from Miami. The two men principally concerned were G. T. Baker, company president on the management side, and Captain Slim Babbitt on the pilots'. To say that, in 1951, they disliked each other would be a slight under-statement of one of the historic industrial and personal conflicts. The welfare of one thousand families, and the running of a major airline, depended on whether those two men could find a common understanding. The story of how they found that understanding is old. They found it through God. And the MRA plays had an intimate part in the discovery.

It is sometimes said by the critics of Moral Re-Armament

workers that these successes are flashes in the pan-that the work is done and left to wither on the vine. But this airline story is in fact the story of The Boss-of the implacably opposed representatives of men and management who find their common understanding through mutual respect and then build on it together and not in opposition. And the practical results of the Miami settlement are first, that there has not been an airline strike there since MRA went to town, and secondly, that representatives of other great airlines-Pan American and Eastern for example-are now co-operating with Baker and Babbitt of National in spreading the message of MRA. It is estimated that, during 1953, pilots, mechanics and management of airlines centred on Miami flew half a million miles on MRA business. They made their own film-An Idea Takes Wings-to tell the story of how the remarkable change in airline operation had come about down in Florida. It has been shown in all the free countries in Europe. The chief pilot of the Pacific-Alaskan division of Pan American flew across the Pacific to show the film in Honolulu, Wake, Guam, Manila, Saigon, Tokyo and Hong Kong. It was an historic retreat in victorious reverse. Here indeed was a lonely seed that had fallen on fertile ground.1

The other remarkable factor about the MRA plays is the incidental effect they have had all over the world in breaking down class and race hatreds. The historic enmities of the black and white man—and their historic fears of the motives of each other—amount in the aggregate to one of the key problems of the world. Looking down on Africa from Moscow, the men in the Kremlin see a single continent to be won for Communism. From London that same continent looks like a patchwork quilt of unsettled problems, race violence, constitutional disputes and a mass of burning issues between white man and black man. There are the disruptive seeds of catas-

¹From the airlines at Miami, 140 personnel and management, including Baker and Babbitt, flew 2,000 miles to attend the MRA World Assembly at Mackinac Island, in September, 1954.

trophe being blown about amongst the tribes with whom the British, the French, the Belgians, the Afrikaner have chosen to work. By some means or other, a method must be found for black and white to work together in constructive amity. For, where hate rules as it now does it will thrive and grow on hate, and it will end in a racial holocaust. Liberalisation of thinking is not enough to cure it. For, in the long run, that is only the white man's compromise to win his own ends. Liquidation of hate is the only answer. That is a spiritual job which requires as much giving by the white man as it does by the black.

And it is one of the great and hopeful facts of modern times that that liquidation of hate is taking place through the MRA plays and the trained dedicated force of men and women who present them. In Cape Town, in Durban and Johannesburg in all of which *apartheid* is the rule of the day—the plays have been produced for audiences of thousands, amongst whom black and white and coloured have mixed freely, in many cases for the first time in the history of the hall or theatre. Here is a world problem being effectively dealt with.

During the past few years these plays have proved themselves the legitimate and creative instrument of God. They are not pious giveaways in an impious world. They deal with rock bottom problems. They deal with them in the places where the problems exist. And they approach them with candid modern reality. They have begun to give the theatre new meaning and a new use.

It was Elizabeth Bergner who said this of them, "They are the most intelligent plays in the world today. They are the theatre of tomorrow." And it was a group of top-ranking men and women in the Hollywood Film industry who said this of them, "You have pioneered the use of the drama of stage and screen as an ideological weapon through which all men everywhere can find this answer."

These plays will go down in history as the media through which the theatre changed its purpose.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 16

"WE NEED MORAL RE-ARMAMENT AT THE ILO"

From a speech at the ILO Conference at Geneva, 22 June, 1954, by Congressman R. T. Lim, the Philippine Government delegate

"I am at the moment reminded of the play I saw last night, entitled *The Dictator's Slippers*. Some of the delegates were present. It was a wonderful play in the sense that it was playing out the purpose of the Moral Re-Armament Conference, which goes on from 28 May up to early in September, with the objective of changing human nature itself. It sounds impossible, but I believe it could be done after listening to the actors in the play.

"What we need here in Geneva is really moral re-armament because we look at each other in this Conference with suspicion, fear and hatred; while we are caught between the two ideologies, namely communism and democracy, fighting one another, many of our purposes in the ILO will be defeated. Until the time comes when the heart of each and every man belonging to every country in this world shall be open to discussion in a brotherly and Christian spirit, we shall not be able to fulfil the prime purpose of the ILO."

Later, at the Caux Assembly, Congressman Lim said: "Our only hope is in the Moral Re-Armament programme. That is why I have invited Dr. Buchman to come to the Philippines as early as possible."

THE FINANCES OF MRA

BY J. B. MEAKINS

Member of the House of Laity of the Church Assembly

As I sit down to write, in a few words, of my personal knowledge of the conduct of the finances of MRA, my eye catches the quotation for the day on my calendar: "A man shows what he is by what he does with what he has;" an appropriate quotation to those who, not rich in material things, have accomplished much through the dedicated use of possessions.

"Where does the money come from?" is a pertinent and fair question and indeed a wise one, for the examination of the financial sources of any society can reveal very largely its quality and its vitality. The answer in this case is a remarkable one because it is unusual even in religious bodies. MRA is largely sustained and expanded not out of people's surplus but by sacrifice, the sacrifice of convinced and committed citizens. The old saying, "When one gives what he has the Lord makes it enough" is shown to be remarkably near the truth. Furthermore such "giving" is following precisely and unequivocally the teaching of Our Lord and the practice of first century Christianity.

Moral Re-Armament is a commitment to a life wholly given to meeting the deepest needs of men and nations. It involves bringing every relationship, possession and plan under the authority of God's will. People who accept this commitment give up the right to have the last word on their money, time and energy and seek instead the mind of God for the use of these things.

For three years recently I found myself in a position where I had intimate day-to-day knowledge of the finances of the Oxford Group, and in that time I saw that it was this sense of stewardship and Christian revolutionary thinking that resulted in God-guided giving from people whose lives had been transformed, and what in many cases might be called sacramental thanksgiving.

There are now over a thousand men and women across the world who are giving all their time to this work. They receive no salary, bonus, pension, or endowment from the Oxford Group. Each is dependent on his own faith and prayer and those of his fellow workers—on the truth, tested in experience, that where God guides He provides. In this connection it is worth quoting from the conclusions of some Catholics who have recently been studying the work of MRA:

"There is nothing mysterious, especially for us Catholics, in the finances, which are run just like our works of charity, entirely by gifts and free-will offerings. What is less known is that the full-time workers live a very exacting and effective personal poverty, however unexpected its form might be for us. Moral Re-Armanent spares nothing to fulfil its aims (air journeys, modern setting for its public shows, its assemblies and its meetings). But many full-time workers live from day to day with no security for the future. Others give up the whole or part of their personal fortune. All live by an ascetic discipline (for example none of them smoke or drink)."

The spirit of sacrifice at the heart of the work has elicited a like spirit from those who have heard the Group's message. No appeals are made for funds. People have 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, want to do all in their power with their material possessions, their mental and spiritual gifts and their physical vigour, to make this essential life-giving principle available for others. They have seen in the supremacy of this spirit the one practical, social and economic security for their own and other nations.

The writer spent the first three years of his retirement upon

the accountancy work of the Group because there had not, and still has not, been presented to him a better way of contributing to the welfare of his Church or to the great needs and problems of the nation. He saw the same meticulous care of finance that is expected from every reputable association, exercised by the Group in every branch of its activity. The gifts in kind and of time are many, and they are a remarkable demonstration of the value which men and women place on the work of MRA. Many feel, as does the writer, that it is the best form of investment with which to produce a hate-free, fear-free world.

The programme of MRA has always grown out of the desire to find God's will for men and nations, and it has never been determined simply on the limitations of available funds. Experience shows that God honours this faith by providing material needs through the sacrifice of committed people. For example, the buildings at Caux were acquired at the end of the war by a small group of Swiss after much thought and prayer. They came to the conviction that it was the right place for a world centre where representatives of every class and nation could find unity and a new life and purpose and poured in every resource they had. This act of faith was immediately matched by the sacrifice of a number of other Swiss families, many of whom gave the whole of their patrimony to meet the purchase price and the subsequent maintainance of Caux.¹

¹The late Robert Hahnloser, one of the founders of Caux said in an address to the Caux Assembly in 1949: "Caux has been made possible through the sacrificial giving of many Swiss and many from other nations. People have given from their income. People have given from their capital. Some have given all they had in the world for Caux. A Bernese cook gave her life-savings and came here to work in the kitchens herself without salary. A young Swiss couple with three children gave their entire fortune. People have sold their life insurances, their houses, their possessions. It is not great wealth but great sacrifice which has made Caux possible. A friend of mine put aside 10,000 francs to build a ski hut for his children. He decided that Caux could mean more for the future of his children than a ski hut, and gave the money to MRA. Swiss people sometimes have a stocking under their pillow, and there are pieces of gold in it. This gold has come here to pay for Caux. To bring this world answer to the nations in time calls for a mobilisation of resources on an unprecedented scale, and for a revolutionary level of investment in the remaking of the world." One is almost bound to wonder and consider what the effect would be in the life of the nation if its economy were run on a like basis. It is almost certain that a new era in true national prosperity would commence. A change of heart in people does two things—it saves the needless costs in which unchanged human nature so constantly involves itself, the cost of dishonesty, conflict, self-will and division of all kinds; and the money that is spent goes much further because all are out to give. That is why the annual budget of the Oxford Group shows such economy for so far-reaching and extensive work.¹ Those who invest money, time and possessions in MRA recognise that it symbolises the new economy in which the resources of the world are used for the good of all under God's control.

It has been a great privilege to have contributed time and resources to the work of MRA which, as Archbishop Lang said, "is most certainly doing what the Church of Christ exists everywhere to do. It is changing human lives." To the writer it brought a deepening of Churchmanship and a new concept of what Church men and women could accomplish by facing the challenge of MRA in the realisation of the spiritual rearming that everyone needs today.

¹In a letter to *The Times* on 13 October, 1953, Sir Lynden Macassey stated: "MRA in the United Kingdom is incorporated as the Oxford Group. Its audited accounts are lodged annually with the Board of Trade. They show for the year ended 31 March, 1953, £80,796 as the income of the United Kingdom association, which includes sales of literature £24,725 and gifts £54,535. Of the gifts, fortythree per cent were under £10, forty-eight per cent between £10 and £99, and nine per cent were £100 or more. Gifts from industrial firms were less than three per cent of the total income. The accounts of MRA as incorporated in other countries follow the same pattern."

The Oxford Group's accounts are audited annually by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Company, Chartered Accountants, of 3 Frederick Place, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2.

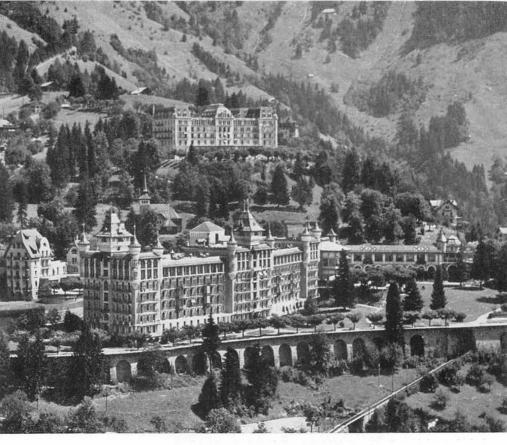
ILLUSTRATIONS



M. Robert Schuman with Dr. Frank Buchman at Caux

Dr. Konrad Adenauer between the President and Chancellor of the Swiss Confederation at the Caux Assembly





Caux, scene of the MRA World Assemblies, showing Mountain House with the other Assembly buildings and the chapels beyond



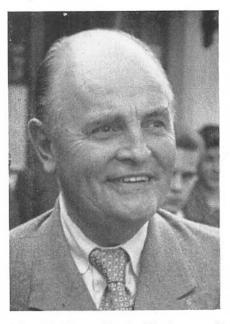
The Roman Catholic Church in the grounds of Mountain House, Caux



The English Church at Caux, dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels



Dr. Theodor Oberlander, Minister for Refugees in the German Federal Cabinet. (See p. 162)



Mr. Ole Bjorn Kraft, Chairman of NATO, 1952-53, recently Foreign Minister of Denmark. (See p. 3)

Political personalities at the 1954 Caux Assembly

The Tolon Na, President of the Northern Territories Council, Gold Coast. (See p. 107) Mr. John McGovern, MP, Member for the Shettleston Division of Glasgow. (See p. 6)







Dr. Buchman receives a message from H.I.M. the Shah of Iran, delivered by His Eminence the Ayatullah Modjtehedi of Nishapur, at the Caux Assembly. (See p. 176)

Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, MP, General Secretary, All India Scheduled Castes Federation, a representative of the 60 millions in the Scheduled Castes, at Caux





Dr. William Nkomo, South Africa (see p. 92), Professor Moon, Chicago University (see p. 175), Mr. Takasumi Mitsui, Japan; and Devar Surya Sena, Ceylon; a picture taken at Caux, 1954

Arrival of a joint Indian-Pakistani delegation of 45 by special plane at Geneva airport, en route for the Caux Assembly, July 1954





At Aachen: Chairman of the Schuman Plan Advisory Council, Dr. Helmuth Burckhardt (*right*) with (*right to left*) J. Haworth, British T.U. leader, John Craig, Secretary of Colvilles Ltd., Glasgow, steel firm, H. Wickham, former Midlands' Labour Party organiser

Visiting Italian workers in their home during MRA campaign: veteran French socialists from Marseilles, Victor Laure and Mme. Irene Laure, former Secretary of Socialist women of France (*seated on right*)

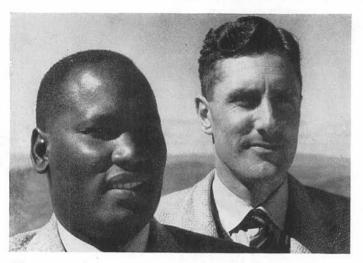




Mr. Joseph Scott of Los Angeles with Dr. Buchman. (See p. 172)

Negro leaders at Mackinac Assembly; (*left to right*) Charles Howard, lawyer; Dr. J. M. Ellison, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and first President, National Council of Negro Women; Dr. Stephen Wright, President, Virginia State College. (See p. 188)





Pioneers of the Athi River rehabilitation centre in Kenya: Mr. David Waruhiu, son of the late Senior Chief Waruhiu, first chief murdered by Mau Mau, and Colonel Alan Knight, Commandant at Athi River. (See p. 116)

Headlines in the Cape Times following an MRA Assembly

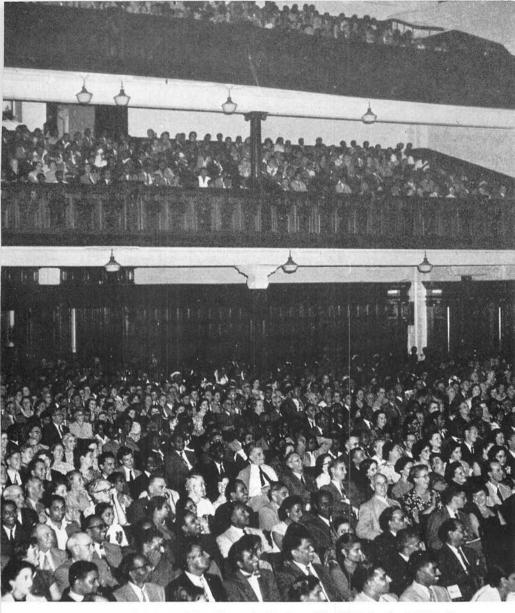
WHITE, BLACK ON MRA PLATFORM

2,000 People Hear Appeal in City Hall

MORE than 2,000 people in the Cape Town City Hall last night heard the founder and first President of the African National Congress Youth League and a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church speak on the same platform and pledge themselves "to fight for the remaking of South Africa on a new dimension under the direction of God."

They were Dr. William Nkomo, of Pretoria, and the Rev. George Daneel, | said, "It is impossible not to feel





Inter-racial audience in Durban City Hall for the MRA plays, March, 1954, the first occasion on which a mixed audience did not sit in segregated blocks in this hall. (See p. 80)





At the inter-racial Assembly at Johannesburg: African, Indian and Coloured plan together for the future of Africa. (See p. 85)

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. J. Claassen QC (*right*), (see p. 75), talks at the Johannesburg_Assembly with Mr. Godwin Lewanika, founder of the N. Rhodesia African Congress



The family quiet time in an African home: Dr. William Nkomo and the late Mrs. Nkomo, with their children, at their Pretoria home

Nigeria: Members of the Central Cabinet watch an MRA play in Lagos. In the front row is the Governor's representative. (See p. 102)





Hans Bjerkolt (see p. 165), co-founder of the Communist Party of Norway

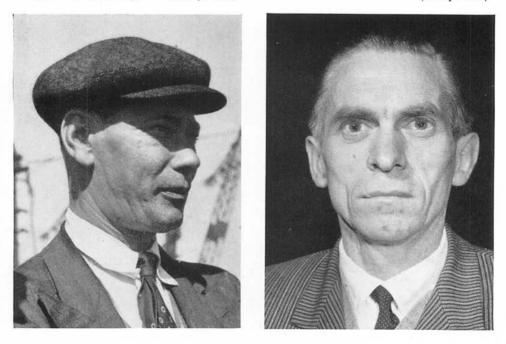


Paul Kurowski, Ruhr miner, 25 years active in the Party. (See p. 165)

Former militant Communist leaders, typical of hundreds who have been won by Moral Re-Armament in many parts of the world

Tom Keep, President, Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, 1945-6, 22 years in the Party. (See p. 166)

Angelo Pasetto, Milan, former cell leader in the Italian Communist Party. (See p. 166)

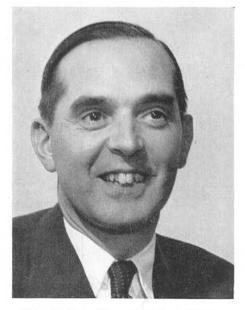




Labour leaders at Caux: (L. to R.) Otto Cadegg, National Sec. Swiss Railway Workers; Karl Albrecht, former Deputy Commissar for Forests, USSR; Carlos Pronk, Sec.-Gen. Independent Socialist Party, Holland; Maurice Mercier, Sec.-Gen. French Textile Workers (F.O.): Dr. Buchman; Egidio Quaglia, National Sec., Italian Chemical Workers; C. Pedroni, Steelworker, Milan



Henri Desbruerès, President of SNECMA, France (See p. 68)



Frits Philips, Vice-President, Philips Electrical Industries, Holland



France and Germany: Mr. H. Hellwege, Minister for Upper House Affairs, Bonn, and M. Claudius Petit, Minister of Reconstruction in successive French governments, both spoke at Royal Festival Hall

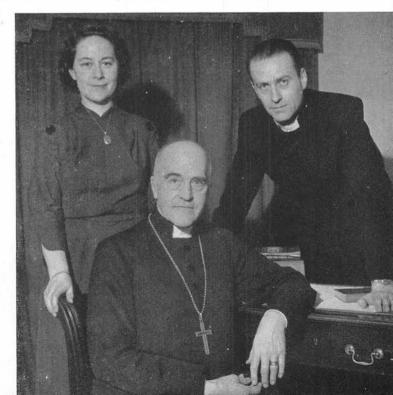
The Fifteenth Anniversary of Moral Re-Armament: the meeting in the Royal Festival Hall, June, 1953. There were two simultaneous overflow meetings and an estimated total of 6,000 people





Nativity play, *The Cowboys' Christmas*, seen by 1,100 in the Town Hall, Greenwich, marks climax to a campaign with the MRA plays in South London, at Christmas 1954

Below, Bishop Jonzon, of Sweden, with his son and daughter. (See p. 23)





Arriving at Mackinac Assembly (p. 181): (L. to R.) Mr. David Waruhiu, Kenya (p. 116), Mr. Michael Ogon, MP, Nigeria, Mr. and Mrs. John McGovern (p. 6), Phra Pannananda, Thailand

In the Office of the Vice-President of the United States, during MRA World Assembly in Washington, January, 1955: (Left to right) Brigadier Hassan, Egypt, representing the Prime Minister; Congressman Lim, Philippines (p. 202), G. W. A. Duthie, MP, Australia; Senator Wiley; John McGovern, MP; Senator Alexander Smith; Dr. Leimgruber, former Swiss Chancellor; Dr. Hazeghi, representing the Shah of Iran; Senator Togano, Japan; A. R. K. Mackenzie, Great Britain; P. N. Rajabhoj, MP, India

