

Regeneration in the Ruhr

The unknown story of a decisive answer
to Communism in postwar Europe

by Kenaston Twitchell



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On February 9, 1950, *The Manchester Guardian* of Great Britain carried a seven-inch item about an unusual happening in the German Ruhr.

The report had to do with "a new ideology" that had caused a revolution in the industrial heart of Germany. Under the caption: *A New Communist Heresy—Moral Re-Armament*, it called attention to a shake-up in the Communist Party.

The account quoted a statement by the newly appointed chairman of the Party, Ledwohn. He called the connection between Party members and the Moral Re-Armament Movement a "most dangerous symptom."

The facts were that more than forty leaders of the Party had either resigned or had been expelled because of that connection.

The Party had a setback from which it never recovered.

Except for that account in *The Guardian*, the news media of Britain and America missed the story. The meaning of the events, however, was not lost to the inner circles of the Communist Party.

After World War II, Communism had selected the Ruhr, one of the world's most important centers of mining, steel-making, and heavy industry of all kinds, as a prime target in their plan to take over Europe. They believed that if they could control the Ruhr, they would control Germany, and then the Continent.

Communists during the War had fought valiantly in the resistance movements, and were dominant in many of them.* This fact had given them a strong influence in the Allied nations at the end of the War. Using this advantage, and the desolation of the conquered, the Communists moved to take control.

According to labor leaders of that time, such as Hubert Stein, on the Executive of the Miners' Union, Communists dominated some 70% of the works councils of the Ruhr.

America, Britain and France, after the Potsdam Agreement and the attempted take-over of Greece, had begun to understand the intensity and aim of the Communist strategy.

Yet it was one thing to grasp the strategy. It was another thing to forge and deploy an answer.

The Marshall Plan and the Schuman Plan were basic foundations for economic and political recovery. There was, however, another catalyst at work in the regeneration of Europe. The nature and results of this further action merit a fresh look today when the ideological struggle is hardening, under the threat of weapons that can destroy our civilization in an afternoon.

From the bitter winter of 1948, a hundred trained men and women of Moral Re-Armament, most of them under thirty, were at work in the German Ruhr. They came from

* An exception was the resistance movement in Norway, where the Oxford Group, precursor of Moral Re-Armament, had been at work since 1934.

America, Britain, Canada, France, Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia and, increasingly, from Germany itself. They were ordinary people, often working 16 hours a day, for no pay with inadequate food and shelter, to bring to birth a new Germany and a new Europe.

Many of them, only a few years before, had been fighting the Nazis in the Allied armies or in the resistance movements.

Their program was spearheaded by a powerful industrial drama called *The Forgotten Factor* by Alan Thornhill, which had produced spectacular results in the coal fields of Britain. Translated into German, with a German cast, it was seen by some 80,000 miners, steelworkers and company managers, with their families.

Living in the homes of the region, this task-force met with the leadership of the Ruhr. Night after night, at the play and in discussions after the performances, a new thinking began to spread through the minds of the workers and the councils of management.

Freedom has still to win the ultimate victory in the war of ideas. Yet the battle for the Ruhr was won in those early postwar years. And much of the victory was made possible through the insight and initiative of General Lucius D. Clay, Commander-in-Chief of the American Occupation Forces, and his Political Advisor, Robert D. Murphy.

A fresh awareness of what it takes to make democracy work in government and industry, came into the consciousness of many Germans.

The work later to be given the name Moral Re-Arma-

ment was initiated in the early part of this century by an American from the heartland of Pennsylvania, Frank Buchman. Its principles were those of basic Christianity. Taking root in the universities of America and Britain, its major base of operations in the late 1920's had come to be Oxford University.

As it extended its scope throughout the world, it was dubbed: *The Oxford Group*. In later years it became still more widely known by the name of its program: *Moral Re-Armament*.

It advanced the belief that the basic need of humanity was a new spirit in man himself. Only when men and women change, would nations change. God would lead them into freedom and truth when they learned to listen and obey. It was Christianity with a moral backbone.

By 1939, the Oxford Group had spread into more than sixty countries, including Germany. During World War II, the Nazis made plain their understanding of the irreconcilable conflict between their own ideology and the Oxford Group. In 1942, at the height of their success, when they controlled the Continent from the North Cape to the Black Sea, the Gestapo printed a classified report entitled *Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung* (the Oxford Group movement). The wording of the document was as significant as its timing. In it, this work was described as:

uncompromisingly taking up a frontal position against National Socialism, in that they encourage their members to place themselves beneath the Cross of Christ, and to oppose the cross

of the Swastika. . . . The Group supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims.*

After the War, Moral Re-Armament, as the work then became most widely known, was active on every continent. The full story of the results in the lives of men and nations cannot be told here. They record the adventures of ordinary men and women doing extraordinary things.

What is recorded in these pages is something of what happened in Germany in the critical postwar period.

In 1946, enterprising Swiss in Moral Re-Armament bought a large hotel complex at Caux, in the Canton of Vaud. Located 2,000 feet above Lake Geneva, it occupies one of the most spectacular sites in Europe. Its nucleus of hotels, since that time, has often been the setting for many conferences of over a thousand people at a time, drawn from all parts of the world.

It was clear that the failure of the victors to deal with the vacuum of leadership in Germany after World War I had set the stage for Hitler. In postworld War II Germany, a vacuum of leadership was playing into the hands of Communists' strategy to take over Europe.

In Washington, during the spring of 1947, the thought came persistently that the leaders of the new Germany should be invited to Caux.

The difficulties swiftly pursued the thought in my mind. Germans at that time were not allowed out of Germany. There was bitter hatred of everything German, especially

* See Appendix I.

in Europe that had experienced such cruelty from the Nazi terror. Unknowable expense would be involved. And how to select those who should be invited?

However, my wife and I pursued the idea.

On June 11, 1947, I wrote to Frank Buchman, who was in Europe:

In Washington last week, Alex (U.S. Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, my father-in-law) arranged for Jack Ely and myself to see General Marshall, the Secretary of State.

He is, as many have said, most striking in his humanity and humility, as well as a statesman in world affairs.

His reception was most gracious. He demonstrated the almost lost art of listening.

On hearing about Caux and the opportunity it gave for training new leadership in democracy, he said he would like to look through the material about Caux which had been prepared.

Secretary Marshall made it clear that permission to enter Germany would be required from Secretary of War, Robert Patterson. We sought the right introduction to him. It came through Representative James W. Wadsworth of New York, one of the ablest men in the House of Representatives and a warm friend of Moral Re-Armament.

On hearing of the possibility of German leaders being invited to Caux, he immediately telephoned the office of Secretary Patterson, and asked for an appointment for us. Wadsworth said over the phone:

I would like the Secretary to know that I am heartily in sympathy with the proposal which these men have to offer, and I think I am right in saying that the Secretary of State would be in sympathy with it too.

Judge Patterson quickly grasped the opportunity that would be offered for the training of a new kind of leadership in a German democracy, and offered to help remove the obstacles that stood before us.

The first step was for my wife and myself to obtain visas for Germany. The Joint Chiefs of Staff had to approve every entry from this country into the American Zone. According to Mrs. Ruth Shipley, head of the Passport Division of the State Department, there were already 600 applications waiting for approval.

However, the visas were granted, and we sailed on the Queen Elizabeth on July 2nd.

It was like coming home to be in Britain after an absence of eight years. We had maintained a home there for thirteen years at Oxford, where I had attended Balliol College, and in London.

The ruins were shocking evidence of the insanity of war. Even more we were struck by the apathy of the people, who had so long been physically and spiritually drained and undernourished. The way the British had taken their suffering had been a forceful demonstration of their courage. Yet their present weakness of body and spirit laid them open to wishful thinking about the situation facing Europe at the time. The threat of a Communist take-over seemed impossible to take seriously.

I talked with one British Peer who said that Britain was in no danger of Communism, because no Member of the Labor Party was allowed to be a Communist!

One bright star in the economy was the increase of pro-

duction in the coal mines of North Staffordshire. Miners of the region had been coming at their own expense to London to see *The Forgotten Factor*, the MRA play which was shortly to have an important role in Germany.

This play dramatizes the battle between labor and management in a strike, as seen through the families of the president of the company and the president of the union. It had been premiered at the National Theater in Washington on May 14, 1944, sponsored by a Committee of Invitation under the chairmanship of then Senator Harry S. Truman and Representative Wadsworth. The Committee had included the heads of the AFL and CIO, the American Bankers Association, and representatives of the farmers' National Grange, the National Association of Manufacturers, and leading members of the Senate and House.

The plot of the play discloses how a strike situation is aggravated by a Communist-led faction in the union. It portrays the courageous actions of individuals on both sides, leading to the resolution of the industrial conflict and the defeat of the extremists' plans to take control of the industry. It leads to a solution based on the principle "It's not who is right, but what is right." God is the forgotten factor.

It was on the invitation of the miners that *The Forgotten Factor* had come into the area of North Staffordshire. Seven thousand of them had come to see it, bringing with them their families. They had since produced more coal

than the quota set for them by the National Coal Board, and had even asked the Board to increase their quota.

Yet the basic problems of Britain were not only economic. Writing to my father-in-law on July 17, I reported:

The best of the British realize that we are not in the early stages of the 1920's, recovering from World War I, but as in the middle of the 1930's, in the early stages of another war, unless there is a rapid change of heart and conviction.

Ernest Bevin, the Minister of Labour, with his experience of Communism in his own trade-union background, knows more clearly than most, what Britain and Europe are up against in the threat of this ruthless ideology.

America and Britain may labor to put Germany back on her feet, only to fatten her for a take-over by the Russians, if Russia captures the trade-union movement in Germany as she has in France.

Some who see the danger of Communism, try to fight it as a political force, rather than as an ideology. Food and support of every kind are certainly needed in Europe. It will all, however, be tragically irrelevant unless we can speedily develop an ideological counter-strategy which brings inspired leadership and a super-national moral structure to this stricken land of Germany.

While in London, I met with twenty Members of Parliament over luncheon to discuss possible moves in postwar Germany.*

* The British Government in 1939 had authorized the use of the name *The Oxford Group* with no commercial tag. Over 245 Members of the House of Commons, of both major parties, had supported the decision; 45 had opposed.

Oxford colleague Garth Lean and I called on Lord Pakenham, who was in charge of the British Occupation Zone in Germany. A Roman Catholic, he was deeply convinced of the need for a moral and spiritual awakening in that country.

“Along with food,” he said, “the kind of work you are doing is the only thing that will do any good in Germany now.”

He immediately gave permission for German nationals to come to Caux from the British Zone, and a list of 55 potential leaders began to be screened.

From London, we flew to Geneva, and motored up to Caux. It was our first postwar sight of this amazingly beautiful spot facing the French Alps.

Caux was then in its second season as an ideological training center. There we found 800 people gathered from 20 nations, including the president of the Austrian Parliament, the president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, members of several parliaments, the Indian Davis Cup Tennis Team, and many others.

Frank Buchman gave every encouragement to our German venture. He began to think of families there he had known, and how he could help them.

Four of us entered Germany in mid-July, in a heat wave. My wife and I were joined by journalist John McCook Roots, Harvard '25, a former editor on *The Crimson*. The fourth member of our party was Eugene von Teuber, who had come to America some twenty years before the War, from a baronial family in what was now

Czechoslovakia. Our shiny, new Ford station wagon was overflowing with cans of gasoline and food packages.

From the neatly prosperous Swiss city of Basle, we drove north over the German frontier into another world. The vacant stares of the people on the streets gave us an indication of what lay ahead. Only the children seemed alive. They gathered around our car as we stopped in a street in Freiburg. One small boy reached out and tentatively touched one of the fenders. Then others, seeing our smiles, followed his example.

Some miles to the north, we found the village where Moni von Cramon, widow of a German general, was living. Her former home was now in the Russian Zone.

Moni had made a valiant effort to redirect the thinking of the people she knew in the Nazi hierarchy from their ideology to Christianity, at great risk to herself and her family. She had not succeeded, but she had tried.

Needless to say, she was glad to see us. With her, in a modest house on a small village street, was her daughter and her grandson. The father had been killed.

We shall not forget the radiant smile that crept over that child's face as he came out into the sun and saw his first-ever orange.

Driving on towards Frankfurt, we entered our first autobahn, the one legacy of Hitler's rule for which the Germans were thankful. Dr. Fritz Todt had displayed his genius in the design and construction of this network of controlled-access super highways, and set a pattern that was to be followed in the rest of the world.

The signs on the autobahn were then in English and French. Those in English often illustrated the different usage of that language by the British and the Americans. At detours, the American signs read: GO LEFT. The British: PLEASE PASS TO OTHER SIDE OF THE CARRIAGEWAY.

Frankfurt was the first devastated city we saw. It gave a curious sense of unreality, as if you were passing through an abandoned Hollywood set, with false fronts on non-existing buildings.

Rubble was everywhere, usually piled up to the second floor, behind gaping shells of walls. Yet, even there, you occasionally saw signs of habitation, as people tried to eke out an existence.

The central railroad station was a mass of twisted steel, yet somehow trains were running, and a throng of people hurrying through the ruined passages.

Across the station plaza we found our hotel, most of it still intact. Nearby was the U.S. Army car parking lot, closely guarded and ringed with barbed wire. We soon learned that anything left unguarded for a few minutes was likely to disappear. People were starving, and had little hesitancy in stealing from the conquerors, who seemed to have everything.

We applied for an appointment with Robert Murphy, Political Advisor to General Lucius D. Clay, in command of the Occupation. His office was in the giant I. G. Farben Building, which had been spared by the Allied bombers to serve as headquarters.

Murphy had been U.S. Consul in Munich during Hitler's early years. He was later to become the equivalent of a five-star general in the hierarchy of the State Department.

Characteristic of Bob Murphy was his gracious and cordial personality. He received us in his office, and warmed to the potentialities in our proposal to invite the leadership of postwar Germany to Caux.

He made it clear, however, that permission rested with one man alone, General Clay. So, after a phone call, he accompanied us down a long corridor to the Military Governor (U.S.).

Another general, though unseen, was part of our team. Albert C. Wedemeyer had recently been through Germany, and had spoken with General Clay about our work. Wedemeyer had been for some time a friend who could evaluate what was being accomplished, and had known of the possibility of our inviting German leaders to Caux.

Our conference with General Clay lasted only a quarter of an hour. I explained the purpose of our visit, the potential of Caux for Germany, as we saw it, and asked for his help in bringing the idea to fruition.

After a brief pause, during which we prayed silently but fervently, he told us that he believed our idea had merit, and told us to meet him in Berlin in a few days' time, at his permanent headquarters as Commander-in-Chief of the American Armed Forces in Europe.

Getting to Frankfurt was one thing. Getting to Berlin was something else, since this meant driving through the

Russian Zone. Robert Hofmekl, the civilian in charge who "cut our orders" in Frankfurt, told us, "You will be on your own."

He warned us not to stop on the autobahn as we crossed the Russian Zone. There were only two posts of American soldiers on the way, with miles of uncontrolled territory in between. Neither the Americans nor the British could guarantee our safety.

At Helmstedt, we reached the frontier between the British and the Russian Zones. While our permits were being examined in the border hut, a Russian soldier stood beside our car.

We had bought some doughnuts at the PX (U.S. Army store) before leaving Frankfurt. I offered some to the soldier. He reached out his hand with a friendly smile.

At that moment, a Russian officer emerged from the hut and saw what was happening. A curt order was shouted. The soldier froze. Black fear came over his face as he walked away.

There was to be no fraternization.

With this happy sign of cordiality, we started towards Berlin, several hours away. On the road we passed truckloads of Russian troops. Some of them ignored us, some of them waved. We greeted them all as we passed by. Meanwhile, we prayed that our Ford would cooperate; it did as always, and we reached Berlin without further incident.

Berlin was a shambles. The remaining people, mostly old men and women, were gray with fatigue and hunger. They lived in the ruins.

One German girl told us, as it started to rain, "Over half of those who are left in the city will be putting out their bathtubs and every sort of container to catch the water coming through the ceilings."

We were told of daily kidnappings out of the American Sector. One girl we talked with had worked in a newspaper office with four colleagues. All four had disappeared.

A class in a technological school in the Russian Zone had reached its graduation day. Shortly after, the entire class was taken away. No one knew where.

The Social Democrats reported that an average of two of their leaders disappeared every day.

I spoke with an Associated Press correspondent and asked why the shocking conditions in Eastern Europe were not brought to the attention of the American people.

"America isn't interested," was his reply. "I send the stuff over, but it never gets printed."

A Catholic leader who lived in the Russian Zone told us, "It's a monolithic materialism, absolutely inhuman. No consideration of any kind is allowed to stand in the way of a policy that is completely ruthless."

General Clay received us in his usual courteous and brisk manner. He told us to meet him in early August at the Villa Reitzenstein, in Stuttgart, headquarters of the Laenderrat, the Consultative Assembly of the four Laender making up the American Occupation Zone States. He was to have his monthly meeting with the Minister-Presidents there, and hold his second press conference with German journalists.

General Clay also introduced us to his aide, Captain

Edloe Donnan, and told us to keep in touch with him for further instructions. Captain Donnan, from Richmond, Virginia, turned out to be a most helpful friend and counsellor. Moving in a military framework in occupied territory, there were to be many times when we would be strangled in red tape, lost orders, mazes of bureaucracy and other snags. When at such times we would ring the General's office, the Virginia drawl of Captain Donnan was one of the more reassuring melodies we were to hear.

While in Berlin, we met with Countess von Trott, whose husband, Count Adam von Trott, had been one of the July 20, 1944, conspirators in the attempt to kill Hitler. Shortly before his death, von Trott had arranged for some of our Swiss friends to fly out of their country through Germany and Portugal, to America. When they arrived, they had the news that von Trott had been hanged.

We visited the cold, damp room where the executions had taken place. The hooks were still there.

Before leaving Berlin, we walked beyond the Brandenburg Gate into the Russian sector, passing beyond the ruins of the Reichstag. We came to the Reich Chancellery, built by Albert Speer for Hitler, and opened in 1939. We reached the inner bunker where, in 1945, Hitler's dream of a thousand-year Reich had come to its grisly end with his suicide and Germany's total collapse.

The bunker had been flooded by the Russians. The vast shell of the Chancellery was still standing.

In his illuminating book, *Inside the Third Reich*, Speer recounts how he and Hitler had planned the main entrance hall to make an impression of grandeur for visiting diplo-

mats. Now, eight years later, the only grandeur lay in the size of the disaster. And the remains of that dream were soon to be torn down by the Soviets, so as to leave no rallying ground for future megalomaniacs.

We packed our belongings at Harnack House, where we had been quartered, and once more set out on the autobahn, this time for Hannover and the British Zone.

Lord Pakenham, British Minister in charge of that Zone, had telephoned his Deputy, General Sir Brian Robertson, to give us every aid as we travelled through their territory.

We entered the Ruhr. Essen had been 80% destroyed. We walked through the tangled mass of twisted steel that had once been the Krupp works. We saw the famous bathtub of Frau Bertha Krupp, for whom the "Big Bertha" cannon that had bombarded Paris in World War I, had been named.

In Cologne you could still smell the bodies in the ruins. Only the massive towers of the cathedral stood high above the desolation, symbols of hope for a better day.

The hunger of the people was critical. We spoke with the Minister of Labor of North-Rhine Westphalia. He had had two narrow slices of stale bread for breakfast, a few potatoes and some decaying cabbage for lunch. The caloric diet was supposed to be 1500 a day, but rarely made it. The potato crop had failed.

Yet we met no adult begging. There was simply a lifeless pallor on every face, except the very young, who played among the ruins as if they were a playground made for them.

Writing to my father-in-law on August 12, I referred to

what was nevertheless at the heart of the battle for Germany:

The former Nazis have been put in prison. . . . The de-Nazification process, admittedly difficult, is very slow.

There is a quip here that Hitler was right about his thousand-year Reich. There have been ten years' of Nazification. Now there will be 990 years of de-Nazification.

It was clearly a tough problem for the Allied authorities, as their only evidence could come from the Germans themselves, and this gave an opportunity for every spite and antagonism to be worked out by the Germans on each other. At the moment there are some 2,000,000 people yet to be passed through the process, at the rate of 30,000 a month!

Apart from the Nazis, however, we have done tragically little to give the constructive force of true democracy to the non-Nazi elements in the country. Professors in the universities have been told to reorient their courses, and yet we hear that they have received no books from outside Germany for some twelve years. And they have been reduced to one third of their former numbers. . . .

It would be serious enough if we were only dealing with the recovery of a nation that is the economic key to Europe. When you consider the position of Germany as the meeting-ground between East and West, the lack of a positive policy for redirecting her thinking, becomes a matter of the greatest importance.

Now we must look to the future. If Russia were to capture the German nation, Europe would be easy for them. And, if they capture Europe, there is no reason to suppose they could be stopped in Asia.

It is certainly true that we must punish any real aggressors of the past, and must deal as speedily and as judiciously as possible with the real offenders. It is also true that, as time goes by, it

may be a matter of the greatest importance for us to win the allegiance of the German people to fight with us in the now thoroughly-engaged war of ideas.

We were told that the first U.S. troops to arrive at the end of the War were warmly welcomed by the populace. Many of them had been in combat and were, according to these reports, a fairly high calibre of personnel.

These first troops had been succeeded by men of a different stamp. Pleasant to meet and talk with, as most G.I.s are, there were a large number who were taken in by the temptations that went with their position. With only six hours of orientation before their arrival, they were little prepared for the opportunities that the situation gave.

Looting and black-market operations were widespread. Prostitution was standard procedure. You scarcely ever saw a jeep without a Fräulein. Many of the young women of Germany, having been disillusioned by the Nazis, were in their present circumstances, often starving and ripe for exploitation.

We could not pass judgment on the American soldier. He was only too typical of many of us back home. Yet we shuddered to realize that our country and its allies were missing the chance of bringing an answer to the void of spirit and thought in the Germany of the future.

Most of the people were sick of Nazism, and terrified of Communism. The victors had the historic opportunity of redirecting the thinking of Europe, yet, apart from the Marshall Plan, we seemed to be throwing it away.

We talked with Kurt Schumacher, head of the Socialist

Party. A gnarled old fighter, his one arm and the lines on his strained face showed the marks of his years in prison.

We also talked with August Schmidt, the head of the Miner's Union, and Karl Arnold, Minister-President of North-Rhine Westphalia. From these, and many more, we received the strongest encouragement. They said they were thankful that someone was thinking of the future of Germany, beyond revenge and the much-needed economic recovery.

Out on the autobahn, we headed for Stuttgart and the Villa Reitzenstein, where we met with General Clay on the 4th of August.

There we watched as he held his second press conference with German journalists. He was friendly and encouraging, while setting firm limits as to what might be printed attacking the Occupation.

After the press conference, he asked us to wait in a room nearby, into which were soon ushered the German political leaders of the four "Laender" (states) in the American Zone. He had given them no hint as to what was in store for them, and their curiosity was evident.

With the expert translation of Eugene von Teuber, I told them about Caux, and issued, in the name of Frank Buchman, an invitation to come as our guests, and to bring their families with them. We suggested that they might draw up lists of other men and women in their Lands who would profit from such a visit.

Their bewilderment gradually brightened into surprise and appreciation. Most of them had not been out of Ger-

many since 1933. Some had been in prison. Most of them had been against Hitler for many years. The thought of their wives and children visiting a free country, with good food and friends, had been beyond their dreams.

Yet, from the start, these men understood that they were not coming for a vacation. They began to realize the possibilities of a genuine re-creation not only for themselves and their families, but also for Germany and for Europe.

The arrangement was made that, if they would get themselves to Basle, on the Swiss border, we would take it from there.

Merrily we rode the autobahn towards Munich, in high spirits and in gratitude to God for the way in which we had been led.

A little too merrily, in my case. It was very hot, and as our Ford breezed along the highway, my wife said to me, "I think you are going a little fast."

With quick male assertiveness, I replied that I was going at just the right speed, and that we needed to get to Munich.

A few seconds later, a tire blew. The heat of the air and the road had been too much. Then before we could stop, another tire blew.

There was silence in the car. There was, in fact, not much that could be said!

We limped into Munich, where I spent the first day searching for a U.S. Army garage and pleading for two new tires, while the rest of the party went to see the city.

In Munich, the Executive Director of the Bavarian

State Government Chancellery arranged interviews with the leaders of that state, heart of Catholic Germany. We found the strongest response from them all.

The three top officials of the state government decided at once to come to Caux, along with the Catholic Bishop, who said, "I feel it is a joy and a privilege to be asked to come to Caux, because in that kind of work lies the answer for Germany."

The president of the Bavarian Parliament said, "You are the first people to come to me with a universal answer, and you give me the chance to have a part in it."

After a most welcome night of rest at the Army Recreation Center at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, we motored over the mountains into Austria, and turned west towards the Swiss border.

Driving near Innsbruck, we saw walking along the road a young woman. Gene von Teuber yelled out, "Stop! That's my cousin!"

And so it was. Her family had no food, and she had spent the whole day walking in the mountains in search of berries to keep them alive. We shared with her our last food packages.

Arriving at Caux, we found the Assembly in high gear. On August 14, General Clay had written:

We have authorized the Military Permit Office in Bern to issue permits upon application for repeated journeys to our Zone for you and your party.

However, we have to go through the prescribed procedure because of our quadripartite rules. You may be assured that

requests that you have endorsed will be expedited to the fullest extent, and also that it will be our purpose to facilitate the travel of the Germans to participate.

You have our best wishes for success in your plans.

The first German participants began to come, in a matter of days. At Basle, they received some Swiss francs, food, and a round-trip railroad ticket to Caux. More than 150 Germans came to Caux in 1947. Most of them had been against Hitler and the Nazi regime. Yet most of them had a collective sense of guilt for what had happened through their countrymen. They mingled at Caux with people who had come to realize that all of us shared responsibility for the past, and that all of us could have a part in creating a new kind of life for the world.*

The German visitors began to find a way of life that combined freedom with discipline and reached out into every area of family, industrial, social and political affairs.

Moral Re-Armament had been from the beginning a statement of basic Christianity. But, as its initiator, Frank Buchman so often said, "MRA is a great lake, in which an elephant can swim or a lamb can wade."

At Caux, Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, Buddhist, Jew, and people of no faith, gathered to hear, in a non-proselytizing ambience, evidence of change in men and nations.

That the world needed to be remade was a conclusion not hard to accept. That a change in man himself was a first necessity, was no less clear. Convictions born of experience came from the platform, over the footlights, and

* See Appendix II, *After The Catastrophe*, by Dr. Carl Jung.

in thousands of conversations that opened the way for each man or woman who wanted to experiment in life on a new road.

There was little argument over differences. There was such an obvious need to answer the hatred, fear, disunity, and cruelty that had poisoned the air of so much of the world. There was too much to be done to waste time in argument.

For the hundreds of full-time workers at the heart of the action, the Bible was central, and faith in Jesus Christ a basic conviction. Yet the guests at Caux were encouraged to let themselves be guided by such truth as they had obtained, and to search for more.

It was an atmosphere of reconciliation. Men who had been fighting a cruel war found themselves together with their former enemies. Hatred had burned so deeply into so many hearts, and seemed to have ample justification. Human nature's ugliest depths had spewed out their horrors. It was not with immediate delight that these former enemies found themselves sitting at table together.

It was also an atmosphere of reality. Dr. Erwin Stein, Minister of Education for Hesse, told the Assembly:

Here is the last chance my country has. We have often tried to make democracy a reality, but we have never succeeded. Now our job is to build a God-inspired democracy in Germany. Then it will be our own, and not something we take from England, France or America.

We Christians in Germany knew the right way but, because of our weaknesses which have made us guilty, we did not take it. We ought to have confessed our faith more courageously,

and love should have burned through our hearts. I do not exclude myself from this guilt, in spite of the sorrows I have gone through.

Out of the recognition of our guilt and responsibility, we find the strength to make a new start. My nation brought great suffering and misery to many nations when we forgot that only God and God's commands have absolute right in human life and action. Culture and progress have no final value in building an ordered state. Social and economic renewal must be preceded by moral and spiritual renewal. Without this moral and spiritual rebuilding, nothing in the economic sphere can last.

I came to Caux very much worried, afraid and troubled. I have been given here the confidence of which the world is in need. Here is a new community being built, which is reaching out to other nations of the world.

Caux also brought an atmosphere of decision. Not all who came found a change of direction for their lives. Some spoke with eloquence about the ideals of Caux, but went away much the same as they arrived. Many more, however, recognized their need for forgiveness and a basic change of motives and behavior, and accepted an ideology of freedom for their lives.

Dr. Rudolf Pechel, Editor of the Berlin literary monthly *Deutsche Rundschau*, told the Assembly:

Here at Caux is the dictatorship of the Holy Spirit, which is the only dictatorship for which I will ever be a fighter.

We Germans must wait and listen, and remain in the background, not in bitterness or seeking false glamor. We must think not only of what we can get, but of what we can give. Let us remember not only our own needs, but the needs of

others which we have caused—the serious crimes to England, France and China.

Dr. Alois Lippl, head of a million Bavarian youth:

Caux meets the needs of the German youth. The teamwork contains the answer to all our difficulties—social and otherwise. We have found here that the guidance of God is an adventurous thing that makes everything different, and gives the answer to all our problems.

Dr. F. J. Schoening, co-Editor of *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, the largest paper in the American Zone:

Germany is like wax in the hands of humanity. We must prevent an atheism from making it the mask of a grinning devil. . . . The youth of Germany are filled with mistrust and believe in nothing. If, in 1920, there had existed such a place as Caux, the whole development of history might have been different.

Baron Karl Karwinsky, former Austrian Cabinet Minister, who had been Himmler's personal prisoner for 4½ years in Buchenwald, Dachau and Maulhausen:

Caux gives us a new hope of overcoming the materialism that grips the world, including my country. The Austrian people are disillusioned, and hopelessness grows.

On this dark picture now falls a beam of light. The spirit of Caux is a ray of hope breaking through thunder clouds like sunshine.

Dr. Klaus, correspondent of the *Berlin Tagesspiegel*:

My wife and I can go back to a people who are branded with darkness, resignation, bitterness and confusion. These days at Caux have given us a new heart and hope for a new world.

None of us Germans here escaped the terror of the Nazi regime. There are many of us who, owing to the inhuman treatment of the Gestapo, have had our health destroyed, ordinary life broken, and closest family members taken away from each other.

We German Socialists warmly welcome Moral Re-Armament. Through it we shall construct a world based on the rights of man, so that people of good will will not be obliged to take up arms against each other, nor use the weapons of propaganda against one another.

Dr. Hans Peters, Member of the Berlin Municipal Council, and Professor at Berlin University:

Germany is a colossal example of what happens to a nation when it leaves Christianity behind. I know that Germany's guilt is very great, and that many of you have suffered from her actions. Today, she herself is suffering complete collapse. There are many people in Germany who are without hope and who see no way out of the catastrophe. The spirit of Caux will break the ice in their hearts.

Dr. Gustav Heinemann, then Lord Mayor of Essen, and later to become President of the West German Republic:

We simply cannot travel along the old road. We must find a new basis and a new aim. Here in Caux one recognizes no divisions of race, class or nation. The conference is the living example of the fact that all men are equal in the sight of God.

At Caux, that summer of 1947, there was presented a musical revue called *The Good Road*. With humorous sketches of contemporary life in the home and in industry, it included a moving pageant of history, featuring such figures as Moses, Joan of Arc, Abraham Lincoln and others.

It proclaimed dramatically the basic ideas of freedom and the necessary conditions of a sound society. The revue was to have a profound effect in Germany and other nations in the succeeding months.

The European premiere took place at Caux on September 11. The occasion was the visit of the Smith-Mundt Committee of the U.S. Congress. This committee had been appointed by Congress to investigate conditions in Europe with respect to the future of the Voice of America broadcasts. They were also gathering essential information for the forthcoming debates on the Marshall Plan.

At Caux, these men heard evidence of a new spirit at work in the postwar world, answering class war, increasing production, curing bitterness, and bringing hope to a stricken Europe.

Introducing the premiere, I said, in part:

We give you *The Good Road*, designed as a weapon in Europe's war of ideas. Its purpose is to help find a passion, a philosophy and a plan by which democracy can become contagious and effective among the nations.*

After the performance, Senator Alben Barkley, later to become Vice-President of the United States, spoke from the stage:

May I, on behalf of my colleagues, express our deep appreciation of the moving performance which we have seen tonight. I do not know when I have seen so impressive an exhibition of the spirit that can actuate the hearts of people.

* See Appendix III.

As the experience of the Germans deepened, they began to think of the new Germany that had to rise from the ashes of the old, and the new ideas on which that nation could stand.

The result was a pamphlet: *Es Muss Alles Anders Werden* (Everything's Got to Change).

In a letter to General Clay, those of its authors who were political leaders in the American Zone wrote:

In August of this year, thanks to your personal support, political leaders from the U.S. Zone were able to attend the Conference for Moral Re-Armament at Caux.

As a result of the thorough-going discussion here, it was felt that the ideas developed ought to be made available to the German people in a brief, clearly written hand-book. The Germans who have been at Caux all took part in finding the right words so that this book would appeal to everyone, especially the man in the street.

The book is now in draft form. It will be laid before you by Americans who were at the Conference. Entirely of their own accord, the German representatives are agreed to do everything that lies in their power to support this project. They believe that such support would be a practical contribution to our common efforts towards reviving the democratic forces in the German people through a positive political idea.

We hope that through the American and German cooperation, the technical difficulties of the publication of the hand-book may be overcome, and to that end we request your personal support.

Very respectfully,

Dr. Reinhold Maier,
Minister-President, Wuerttemberg-Baden

Konrad Wittwer,
 State Councillor, Wuerttemberg-Baden
 Erich Rossman,
 Secretary-General, the Laenderrat, U.S. Zone
 Dr. Erwin Stein,
 Minister of Education, Hessen
 Dr. Michael Horlacher,
 President, the Bavarian Parliament
 Dr. Wilhelm Hoegner,
 Former Minister-President, Bavaria
 Dr. Karl Geiler,
 Former Minister-President, Hessen

On December 23, General Clay wrote to Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd in Washington: (in part)

I too have followed closely the work of Moral Re-Armament at Caux, Switzerland, and was pleased indeed to see representative Germans from the United States Zone of Occupation attend the Assembly and return to Germany refreshed and invigorated in spirit.

I am equally impressed with a pamphlet which is now being published in Germany by these German visitors to Caux, which explains democracy in simple and moving terms.

On December 24, Lord Pakenham wrote to Jacob Kaiser, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party for Berlin, replying to a similar letter sent to him as Cabinet Officer responsible for the British Zone:

I am writing to you to express not only my personal good will, but to tell you how much I applaud the spirit of cooperative Christianity that has produced the booklet: *Es Muss Alles Anders Werden*.

It shows the kind of spirit that Germany, indeed all nations, require to show in these difficult times, Christianity in practice

—that is what the world needs, and it is for that which the booklet stands.

I feel that it is written for Germans by Germans, and that it would be best, therefore, not to publish my views along with it, but you are, of course, at liberty to make use of this letter in any other way that you think fit, including subsequent publication if you wish.

The production of this handbook called forth united initiatives and sacrifices on the part of German leaders and European friends of Germany.

In Munich, in early December, 1947, a publishing committee was formed, headed by the President of the Bavarian Parliament, and including Hans von Herwarth, Director of the State Chancellery. Against all odds, paper being in almost as short supply as food, this committee found a printer, artists, and materials, and was able to produce a first edition of 5,000 copies two days before Christmas for the leaders of the country.

Citizens of Sweden, led by Bishop Arvid Runestam, mobilized resources to make possible the first national edition of the pamphlet. The Uddeholm Paper Company contributed one-third of the cost of sending 100 tons of paper to Germany "for the furthering of inspired democracy." Citizens from all parts of Sweden contributed the remainder of the cost. The paper was transmitted by Count Folke Bernadotte, president of the Swedish Red Cross, who had himself spoken at Caux that summer.

On February 25, 1948, an unusual scene took place in the Council Chamber of the City Hall in Munich. Leaders of Bavarian political, cultural and industrial affairs gave

an official welcome to the precious gift of 100 tons of paper, which were to bring fresh hope to Germany.

The American paper industry also sent carloads of paper, carried free to Europe and up the Rhine by Danish and Swiss freighters.

One and a half million copies of the pamphlet were circulated in all four Zones, including 400,000 in the Russian Zone.*

Meanwhile, the war of ideologies had become intensified during the year of 1947.

Greek citizens participating in the Caux Assembly brought dramatic evidence of what could be in store for other countries unless an answer was brought in time. Many of the atrocities had been witnessed at first hand.

One priest and 17 members of his family had been killed because of his profession.

When the Communists had taken over Athens for a few days, they had rounded up 600 of the trade union leaders and massacred them all.

A recent coup d'état had been forestalled by a matter of hours. The Communists had planned to burn the city of Athens and kill the resisting leadership. 2500 men had been rounded up before the coup had been stopped.

Thousands of children had been kidnapped and taken to Communist countries for training.

The choice began to strike home to men and women

* See Appendix IV for English translation of "Es Muss Alles Anders Werden."

who had only been concerned with the defeat of Hitler. Ideology had not died in that Berlin bunker.

A number of British miners, dockers, and steelworkers left the Communist Party after being at Caux. A leading British Communist, Fred Copeman, made this statement as he left Caux for home:

The appeal of the Communist Party is an appeal that goes deep to the heart. It asks for the best that is in human nature. The tragedy is that, when a person's loyalty is obtained, that loyalty is misused. As one goes higher in the Party, one finds justice has to be given up to loyalty to the Party, at whatever price. The leadership of the Party must retain its place by force, at any cost.

To defeat forces as strong and with roots as deep as the Party, it is necessary to have a belief stronger than human nature. It is only the people in Christianity itself who can do this.

These five days have been for me the greatest struggle of my life. I have seen in people here things I have not seen outside this Movement. I wish my daughters could grow up like the young girls I have seen in this hall. I promise you that I will do my best, wherever like takes me from now on, to follow the practices of Moral Re-Armament.

On December 6, General Clay wrote:

I know from the Germans who visited Caux that they valued their visits highly, and returned with a new determination to stand for democracy. Their visits helped them very much indeed.

Please know that your kindnesses to our German officials have done much to restore their confidence.

On December 30, 1947, the *New York Times* reported that 4,000 people from 48 countries, including delegations from 21 Parliaments, had attended the Assembly at Caux that summer.

1948 was a year of decision in the savage Twentieth Century. The free nations dug in their heels, and said, "Enough!"

As in 1939, men committed themselves to fight for the survival of a hard-won civilization.

The vapors of Yalta had evaporated across Europe before the ruthless might of Soviet power.

The Poles had been denied their promised elections.

When Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk fell—or was pushed—from a high window in Prague, the brief life of free Czechoslovakia came to a bloody end.

Turkey and Greece threatened to become hostages to Communist control.

Germany was a desolation.

Britain, exhausted by the war, had to abandon her aid to Greece and Turkey. Now the hour of tough decision had arrived for the United States.

It is small wonder that succeeding Republican as well

as Democratic presidents have kept the bust of Harry Truman in the Oval Office. The man from Missouri, the politician who came to Washington through the notorious Prendergast machine, the man who had been appointed a judge without ever being a lawyer, the President whom the Establishment disparaged, was the man who took up the challenge. He dealt with the "buck" that landed on his desk.

When President Truman announced that America would provide economic and military aid for Greece and Turkey, the stage was set for political clarity in Europe. Three other actions followed—unprecedented, expensive, and risky thrusts of strategy that fought for the freedom and economic viability of Western Europe, and brought hope to a stricken world.

In 1948, the Marshall Plan was voted by the U.S. Congress. A flood tide of goods and services from the United States was to reach a total of \$12 billion, bringing the nuts and bolts, the vitamins and energies of economic recovery.

The London *Economist* called the Marshall Plan "the most straightforward, generous thing any country has ever done for others." The fact that America herself greatly benefited from the enterprise, did not lessen its importance.

The second decisive action in 1948, came when America and Britain called the bluff of the Soviets to take over Berlin, and launched the Berlin Airlift.

Three years later, the Schuman Plan, mounted on the insights of Jean Monnet of France, was to become the third fulcrum of recovery.

To these three historic initiatives of the Allied powers,

the further catalyst of Moral Re-Armament has been given significant recognition by the political and industrial leaders of Germany and France, who saw its work at firsthand.

"You are giving to the world the ideological equivalent of the Marshall Plan" was the subsequent evaluation of Paul G. Hoffman, the Plan's Administrator.

In America in late 1947 and early 1948, *The Good Road* played to packed theaters in Washington during the decisive debates on the Marshall Plan. Five times in 26 hours, speakers rose on the floor of Congress urging their fellow members to attend the performances.

As in Boston and Montreal, an extra matinee was necessary to cope with the demand for seats. Ambassadors, Members of Congress, Presidential Advisors, State Department officials, leaders of labor and management and the Farmers' Grange, mixed in the lobby of the theater until well after midnight.

Among the reactions from all parts of the city, Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, who was central to the decisions concerning the Marshall Plan, wrote:

This movement has my most complete endorsement. It renders an indispensable service to the nations. I wish you every success and shall continue to help in any way I can.

In the spring of 1948, an invitation was sent by 82 Members of Congress to the leaders of many nations, inviting them to a World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament to be held in California. To this Assembly came delegations from Europe and Asia, most of them bringing news of the great interest that had been aroused in their countries.

The German delegation included Dr. Gustav Heine-
mann, Mayor of Essen, who said:

In the months since MRA has taken hold in Germany, we
have had more volunteers for rubble removal and reconstruction
than we have been able to employ.

With him came Dr. Michael Horlacher, President of
the Bavarian Parliament; Dr. Hoegner, Leader of the Op-
position in that body; Dr. Erwin Stein, Minister of Educa-
tion in the Government of Hesse; and Hans von Her-
warth, later to become Germany's first postwar Amba-
sador to the Court of St. James in London.

In an interview in the *Hollywood Citizen* on March 31,
von Herwarth stated what had become the conviction of
most of the Germans who had visited Caux during the
previous summer:

Democracy in Germany in the years between 1918 and 1933
was not a success, and finally did not prevent Hitler's com-
ing to power. . . . It had no real conviction and fighting spirit.
Therefore, when faced with Hitler's National Socialism, a
wrong ideology, it was defeated.

We must now build up a new ideologically inspired democ-
racy. Then Germany will not turn totalitarian again.

We in Europe must go back to our old Christian traditions.
It is not sufficient to unite politically and economically. We
need a strong ideological base. The inspired ideology of Moral
Re-Armament will give to the German people and to all Euro-
peans the strength to unite and to fight for the reconstruction
of a new world, inspired by good will.

Messages to the California Assembly included one from
Robert Schuman, then Prime Minister of France:

I salute in Moral Re-Armament one of the animating forces at work for inspired democracy, which must re-establish the supremacy of all the spiritual values at the heart of our tormented humanity.

Paul Hoffman wrote:

The people of the United States, through the Congress, have pledged themselves to help our friends abroad to help themselves. . . .

The only earnest hope of victory in our common endeavor to promote free institutions throughout the world is that we work together in a common faith and for a common cause. That faith and that cause are being dramatized at the Hollywood Bowl tonight, and you have our unlimited confidence and support.

Returning to Europe via Washington after the Assembly, the delegates were received at a luncheon at the Carlton Hotel, hosted by Administrator Hoffman and attended by, amongst others, Secretary of State Marshall.

After the delegates had spoken briefly of the results taking place in their countries, General Marshall asked if he might say a few words. He acknowledged his interest in what he had heard, and added that, while Paul Hoffman was concerned with the material things, which were a vital necessity, he wanted to stress his own conviction that they were only the foundation, and that it was absolutely necessary that we have a spiritual awakening throughout the world.

In that summer of 1948, 500 Germans took part in the Caux Assembly. Their delegations included 12 Cabinet

Ministers from the Land Governments, who were joined by over 5,000 people from 50 countries.

In a message to Frank Buchman in June, 1948, eight Minister-Presidents of German Laender expressed their convictions:

Germany is ready for this message, which has restored meaning again in daily life to many old and eternal truths. The spirit of genuine and unselfish love of one's fellow men is needed to bring Germany through her present distress into a better future. Moreover, the ideology of Moral Re-Armament is the indispensable foundation for peace, and the reconstruction of Europe and the world.

In early October, a cable came from Dr. Karl Arnold, the Minister-President of North-Rhine Westphalia, and his Cabinet, inviting a task force of MRA to visit the Ruhr, bringing with them *The Good Road* and *The Forgotten Factor*.

Karl Arnold's aim was "to spread the spirit of Caux in our land, and thereby give our nation new hope and strength." Similar invitations came from the Minister-Presidents of Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden.

Permission had once again to be secured from the military authorities. This was to be the first entrance into Germany of a civilian force from many nations.

American colleague Garrett Stearly and I flew into Berlin from Frankfurt on the Berlin Airlift. After the Soviets had closed the roads, the rails and the canals that led to Berlin, the Allied Forces had mobilized an unprecedented force of air power. General Clay, knowing what hung on

the freedom of Berlin, had flown to Washington and convinced President Truman that the saving of that city was vital to the future of Europe, and that only a massive force of airplanes could do the job. Truman put the full power of the USAF behind the risky adventure. It was soon joined by the RAF.

The flights were superbly synchronized. Around the clock, as one plane took off from Tempelhof and other airports in Berlin, another landed. Teams of Berliners were always there to unload.

On our flight we received a sharp reminder of what went into a normal day's work for those airmen, as our plane flew into Berlin in a heavy fog. As we neared the airport, with visibility nil, the plane suddenly shuddered into a sharp nose-dive. Peering out of the window, I saw at what seemed to be a few feet away, the steel girders of the radio tower. We were glad to be on terra firma.

General Clay gave his warm assent to the proposed visit of the delegates from Caux to Germany, and a list of those who were to receive visas was prepared.

There were more than 250 names of many nationalities.

On October 9, 1948, a cavalcade of busses provided by the Swiss, and 10 private cars, left Zurich for the German border. As they rolled towards Munich, they passed through the ancient city of Ulm.

A crowd had gathered in the Cathedral Plaza. A chorus of trumpeters sounded their welcome from the great Gothic Gallery above the entrance. It was a moving moment as the people of a large German city met for the first time in

many years the people of other lands, with many of which they had been at war.

Out of their meager rations, citizens of Ulm had made ready what they could in the way of coffee and pastries. Many brought roses for the visitors.

A French girl movingly spoke in German. She told the people of Ulm that she had buried her hatred and now wanted to live to build a new world, together with the Germans. She touched the heart of a city.

Munich gave the same kind of welcome. Half the force from Caux was taken to live in the homes of the city, 40% of which had been destroyed.

American journalist DuBois Morris described the scene:

For the first time since the currency reform, there are queues outside a Munich theater. Just rebuilt, it is one of Germany's finest, and has been put at the disposal of the visitors by Bavarian officials for *The Good Road*.

The first night audience, according to local newspapermen, is the most distinguished and representative gathered in Munich since the War. The crowd stands in cheering approval as Minister-President Ehard speaks from his box. "That's the way it should be," he describes what he has seen on stage. "That's the way it could be. That's the way it must be."

Everywhere we find German leaders who have attended the Caux Assembly, and who have grasped the meaning of an inspired democracy. There is a new teamwork in Parliaments and in the unions. The word "Caux" has come to represent for Germany a new way of life.

The Good Road was presented in Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Essen and Dusseldorf. There were sixteen per-

performances in fifteen days. The tickets were free. Invitations were sent out by German Committees of Invitation to leading representatives of government, industry, the trade unions, education, the press, the youth, and all branches of civil affairs. Expenses were covered by these Committees.

Performances were in English, with a German synopsis provided. Through the vision and courtesy of IBM in New York, 200 earphones had also been provided for simultaneous translation.

It was standing room only in the theaters. The audiences usually stayed on for hours after the performances, discussing with the cast and other visitors what they had seen on the stage.

The sound basis of a nation built on integrity and compassion was focussed for thousands in positions of responsibility, who were hungry to see their nation live again in a new way.

The Good Road was seen by thousands who were to build the new Germany. Many more who could not get into the halls and theaters, heard about this new thinking over the radio, at meetings, and in discussions as the people from Caux travelled through the country.

The British newspaper *News Chronicle* quoted a military government official as saying:

Moral Re-Armament has done more to win the German people to democracy in three weeks than we have in three years.

Writing to my father-in-law from the Ruhr on October 21, 1948:

At the moment we are in the Ruhr. This morning we addressed 1500 of the men who run the entire coal industry here. We had an hour with them. They listened like statues, with a resounding response.

We have seen in this week what may be a decisive change of heart among the political leaders of both major parties. Germany, as you know, split up into some 50 political parties in the Weimar government, and the chaos brought in Hitler.

Now one can see the opposite tendency taking place. People are uniting around this common democratic ideology above party differences, and finding a common strategy at a time of common danger.

At the end of October, the cast of *The Good Road* left for London. Many had been housed on board a Dutch boat on the Rhine, loaned for that purpose.

As the cast pulled out in their Swiss busses, we saw standing on the pier in a pouring rain Dr. Heinrich Lübke and his wife. He was later to become another President of the West German Republic. He and his wife, along with the Karl Arnolds and other members of the government of North-Rhine Westphalia, had been that week our warm-hearted hosts and fellow-fighters for a new Germany.

Minister-President Arnold had summed up the conviction that lay behind the work of the task force:

The Ruhr is the center of the power lines of Europe. From us here, a strong and distinctive contribution towards European recovery is awaited. A new order can be set up only when we first set up a new order in the heart of man. This new order must then be worked out in social, political and economic stability. Moral Re-Armament is the spiritual road to a new Europe.

At the invitation of Dr. Arnold, a German cast of *The Forgotten Factor*, and a smaller task force of 50, stayed behind in the Ruhr. They were to be at the heart of an intensive battle for the thinking of that key region that was to have far-reaching results.

The Forgotten Factor, with its German cast, opened in Essen on November 23, 1948. It was introduced by Mayor Heinemann and by Minister-President Arnold.

In the "Green Room," a pre-performance meeting of the cast for quiet, news and prayer, Dr. Heinemann told the cast:

You are sitting 20 meters away from the Krupp works. Here was the greatest armament concern in the world. On this same spot, we are going to bring an answer for the world. This is an historic evening.

During that winter of 1948-49, the German cast of the play performed before 120,000 workers, trade-union officials, industrial and political leaders in the Ruhr and throughout Western Germany.

The play had its own powerful impact. But the conversations after each performance, and later in the homes of the workers and management, brought its truths realistically to bear on personal and industrial affairs. Men and women, young and old, began to accept the ideas and implications of change for themselves and for their society. The mounting power of a God-centered philosophy, working through ordinary men and women, began to affect the life of the Ruhr. And, inevitably, it came into collision with the Communist Party.

The British Foreign Office published on January 16, 1948, the text of a secret Cominform document, "Protocol M." It reads:

The coming winter will be the decisive period in the history of the German working class. Through persistent battle, and in conjunction with the working class throughout Europe, it will conquer the key positions in production.

This battle is not concerned with ministerial posts, but is for starting positions for the final struggle for the liberation of the proletariat of the world. The unconditional prerequisites for the final victory of the working class, are the maintenance of discipline among the comrades and the unscrupulous employment of all functionaries. There must be no doubt that in order to achieve its final victory, all the weapons of the proletariat are utilized.

The home of Socialism, the Soviet Union, can and will support this battle against the monopoly-capitalist Powers with every means at its disposal. The Communist Information Bureau in Belgrade (Cominform) will coordinate the common battle of all Socialist Movements in Europe. Although the German party is not yet a member of this Bureau, it has nevertheless a key position in the impending battle it will have to fight for the center point of European production, the Ruhr. The working class of all nations will provide the necessary assistance. The task of the German party is to utilize this assistance unscrupulously wherever it will produce the best results.

According to Hans Wessoleck, founder of the Communist Party in the Dortmund area of the Ruhr in the early 1920's, the timetable set by Moscow for the take-over of the Ruhr was that it would be accomplished in 1951.

The men and women of the Ruhr who had fought for

their convictions as Communists for over 20 years became the focal point of the ideological struggle as they met and accepted the ideas brought to them by *The Forgotten Factor* and the men and women of MRA. The first showdown took place in the mines of the Rhein-preussen Coal Company in the city of Moers.

Paul Kurowski had directed ideological training for Party functionaries in the Moers district. He had a record of 25 years as a Communist revolutionary.

After a performance of *The Forgotten Factor*, Kurowski talked with Canadian Howard Reynolds, director of the play. More conversations followed in the Kurowski home.

Reynolds suggested that, since Paul was interested in new ideas, he make the experiment of being quiet and seeing if any new ideas came into his mind.

"Listening to God" was definitely a new idea to Paul, but he understood that basic moral standards would be involved in making the experiment a success. He was willing to try.

Three revolutionary ideas came to him. They had little to do with Karl Marx.

The first was that the "meetings" he had reported to his wife as taking up his evenings, had been meetings of a different kind. The second thought was that some of his friends ought to meet with members of the cast.

The third idea: "If this play is true, I'll have to rethink my whole philosophy."

He did.

A similar transformation had been experienced by Max

Bladeck, Chairman of the Works Committee of Pit No. 4, and Executive Member of the 120,000 strong Miners' Union, who had been an active Communist functionary for 25 years when his encounter with MRA brought him a new dimension of living.

A younger colleague of Bladeck and Kurowski was a Communist Party Secretary named Willy Benedens. During the War, the Nazis sent Benedens, whom they regarded as a dangerous character, to the Russian front, where he lost both of his legs. He also began to experience the reality of a new philosophy in action. These three began to express their new-won convictions to the men in the mines and to their colleagues in the Party. This challenge began to expose the motives and tactics of the Party leadership in the Federal Republic, and its leaders, in turn, began to persecute these men for their convictions. At Party meetings in Moers and other cities, Bladeck, Kurowski and Benedens were summoned by executive members of the Party and were violently attacked, accused of deviationism, and after a few days, were officially expelled from the Party.

Meanwhile, members of the task force were invited to address meetings of the workers. In Dusseldorf, they met with 40 shop stewards representing 80,000 factory workers. They were being trained by an official of the Ministry of Labor of North-Rhine Westphalia, who told them:

Management is the common enemy of Socialists and Communists. At the heart of every capitalist is fascism. The workers must control industry. We are undergoing a capitalist occupation. We want nothing to do with the American Federation of Labor, nor with the imperialism of Britain. International

Capitalism does not want democracy in the factories. International Capitalism is now planning the third world war.

Invited to speak about Moral Re-Armament, members of the task force told of the effectiveness of a democracy based on honesty, teamwork, and freedom:

It is easy to blame the other nation. The real problem is human nature itself. Management must change. Labor must change. This is for everyone everywhere.

We need the superior economics of democracy for everyone. If everyone cares enough, and everyone shares enough, everyone will have enough.

Labor is more divided today across the world than ever before. We have to find the uniting ideology. Systems may or may not need to change, but they will not solve the basic problem. Class hatred cannot bring peace to the world.

The real reactionary today is the one who refuses to change, whether management or labor. Labor across the world has a tremendous destiny to remake the world, if they learn this secret.

At the end of the evening, the Marxist official quoted above asked if he might come to Britain for training in this new thinking. Later, after seeing *The Good Road*, he said, "I am faced with the greatest decisions of my life. If your ideology is right, I can no longer believe in the class struggle, and it is going to be hard."

The official Communist newspaper in Western Germany, *Freies Volk*, on October 6, 1949, printed an article by Hugo Paul, chairman of the Party. In it, Chairman Paul attacked Moral Re-Armament for "recommending to the masses a new ideology of the heart and conscience," and for "confusing the masses by making use of Christian so-

cial phrases, such as the possibility of overcoming the class war by means of a moral renewal of people; and by propagating a new teaching for the prevention of new wars.”* The article continued:

The dangerous activity of Moral Re-Armament has been underestimated by the District Executive and by the Regional Executive of the Party, and has led to ideological uncertainties and to confusion in certain units of the Party.

The Communist Party Executive, faced with an outright revolt on the part of dozens of their most highly-trained members who had been to Caux, decided on a drastic purge of the Party. At their Conference in Essen, chaired by Hugo Paul, still at that time National Vice-Chairman of the Party, he attacked Moral Re-Armament and moved the resolution that:

No member of the German Communist Party may go to Caux. Every member of the German Communist Party is in duty bound to combat Moral Re-Armament because it is the enemy of the working class.

At this point there took place an action which must be unique in the history of Communism.

Hermann Stoffmehl, a member of the Provincial Executive of the Party, then spoke. He told his comrades what he had experienced, and challenged them to “seriously take up and consider the whole question of human nature and its change.”

* For Moscow's view see Appendix V.

He moved the Resolution that:

We functionaries of the German Communist Party here assembled are unanimous in accepting the aim of Moral Re-Armament as a basis for discussion.

Chairman Paul called for a vote between the two resolutions, that of his own and that of Stoffmehl. The result was 400 for Stoffmehl's resolution and 407 for that of Hugo Paul. So far had a new thinking penetrated into the ranks of militant German Marxists at the hot point of their offensive to take over the country.

It was this event which *The Manchester Guardian* of Britain uniquely reported on February 9, 1950.

It would be interesting to speculate as to what might have happened if four more men had voted with Stoffmehl instead of Paul at that Party conference. It may be more profitable to understand how this extraordinary development came about, and what its meaning may be for the ideological future of Europe and America. For this development became a part of European as well as American history, and has its implications for the future of both.

The men and women who made up that task force in the Ruhr well merit what they never expected to receive—a recognition of their achievement. Their reward was the belief that, to the best of their ability, they were building a new Europe.

They lived under conditions far more stringent than they would have known at home. They received no pay. Day after day, and night after night, their energies were poured out to the people of the Ruhr.

They would not expect their names to be recorded. Yet one of them might be mentioned, Bernard Hallward, a British-born Canadian industrialist, educated at Balliol College, Oxford, who had worked out the economics of this new thinking in his paper mills in the Province of Quebec.

Whimsical, fearless, he knew how much management needed to change, and said so in such a winning way that he became the friend of some of the toughest industrialists of the Ruhr. To workers trained in the doctrine that every capitalist is at heart a fascist, to hear this quiet Canadian enumerate the truth that *all* men need to change was a revolutionary experience.

Yale graduate Garrett Stearly, and his Vassar wife, Nan, were among those responsible for the life of the task force. He wrote in 1949:

We have just completed a week in Moers, coal mining town, where 35% of the miners are members of the Communist Party, and 40% are members of the Social Democratic Party, which is Marxist in its philosophy, but refuses the dictatorial disciplines of the Communists. The Director of the Mines in this town is the Chairman of the German Coal Production Board and is the most powerful figure in Ruhr coal production.

In this town we lived in the homes of the miners, especially the key union leaders. Each night the play was put on in the chief hall of the city. From the first showing we found ourselves packed out, with more crowding in each evening until the last night, when we had some 300 standing around the walls and the back of the hall, already jammed with 800 seats.

Symbolic of our week's work was J-E, a veteran coal-miner and union leader. He had been a Communist for thirty years, and was four times in concentration camps under the Hitler

regime, and shows the scars of bitterness and suffering in his rock-like countenance.

Everyone said J-E was too bitter and confirmed a Communist to pay any attention to our work. However, he came the first night to the show and thereafter turned up every night, as well as to the training meetings held at the end of the week.

J-E drank it all in like a child seeing a new world for the first time. We had one of the team stay in his home. Many late hours were spent in discussions and arguments. But his heart was won.

The amazing change in J-E had its effect. One of the youth who had been in the Hitler elite corps, had the following thought: "You as a German need forgiveness. Do not take it for granted that you are now on the same level as those who suffered under you. You would have identified yourself with a German victory without any thought. Now you have to carry the German guilt as a German, and as a former National Socialist. You must see J-E and say that you were at fault that he was in a concentration camp."

In this town, ideologically saturated with Marxist thinking, the immediate reaction to "The Forgotten Factor" was not industrial. It was ideological. Socialists and Communists of all ages and varieties saw at once that this was a new dimension for their lives. It was to be taken seriously and tested to see if it was inferior or superior to their own convictions. Such interest created many gatherings in homes after the play where discussions continued until the early hours of the morning.

A young married couple, leaders of the "Red Falcons," the Socialist youth of the city, arranged a gathering at their home at which our own youth spoke. The wife had begun to experiment in her own life with the ideology, and the husband finally conceded, "I was slow to begin with Socialism, and I cannot decide immediately about this, but I am with you." His wife looked at him as much as to say, "We'll hold you to it."

An agnostic doctor who came to the show took home several of the team to meet his friends, some of whom had recently escaped from the Eastern Zone. The discussion ranged along the following lines, and was typical of countless evenings with the German workers:

The first point—Where to place the blame. Wasn't it Hitler's fault? Wasn't it the capitalists' fault? Were not the present conditions in the Ruhr due to the wrong occupation policies?

All of this led to Frank Buchman's thesis: "If you want to see the world change, the only place to start is with yourself."

That raised the second point—the possibility of being completely different, and how it could happen. The third point: What the guidance of God can mean in personal life, industry, the community and the nation.

Then came the further idea: How can we fight for the nation, with a team moving on a national level, yet all the time carrying a life-changing program for the ordinary man as well as the leaders?

Finally, the evening boiled down to what was meant by absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

The doctor's home became one of the ideological crystallization points for the city.

Another member of that task force was Leif Hovelsen, from Norway. One of the Norwegian resistance movement, he had been imprisoned by the Nazis at the age of 19. After the liberation, at the sacrifice of study and career, he gave eight years of his life to help fill the vacuum in the defeated German nation. He takes up the story:

"The Communist functionaries and the miners who were drawn into the struggle, were confronted with a simple moral choice. The issue was never a political one. It was

the choice of whether or not they would commit themselves to the moral values and the truths that had been revealed to them through MRA, or to follow in blind obedience the Party line. They had to choose either to become free men under God, or remain exploited through the dictatorship of man.

“Nowhere did such an ideological struggle rage as in the Nordstern Mine in Gelsenkirchen-Horst. In the Communist battle to win the Ruhr, Nordstern was their chief stronghold. In 1946, a determined group of men had decided to get control of the mine. They succeeded. In the works committee, out of eleven members, ten were militant Communists.

“When *The Forgotten Factor* was presented in Gelsenkirchen in 1950, the miners were invited to see the drama. Miners from Britain came to meet with the entire works council, to tell them what had been happening in the mines of Britain.

“In November, a strike broke out in the mine. Two of the Communists on the works committee had been fired for provocative behavior. Less than thirty minutes later Radio Leipzig, in the Russian Zone, was broadcasting the news and urging all the miners in the Ruhr to come out on strike in sympathy. The works committee itself sent strike committees around the Ruhr to get out all the 90,000 men of the Gelsenkirchen Coal Company, of which Nordstern is a part. The National Executive of the Miners' Union had declared the strike illegal, but that made no difference to the Communists, who were out to cripple the industrial life of the Ruhr.

“The strikers’ hopes were not fulfilled. After three days the Nordstern miners returned to work. The plans for a sympathetic walkout came to nothing. What happened?”

“The Manager of the Gelsenkirchen group of mines reported: ‘There is just one reason why we were able to end the strike so quickly. The men in responsible positions had become acquainted with the principles of Moral Re-Armament. That applies equally to employers, trade union officials, and to the central works committee of the company, irrespective of whether they were Socialists or Christian Democrats. That led to our finding a common plan.’”

“It was told later on by some of the men who had been involved in planning the strike, that the blueprint plan was not only to immobilize German industry by it, but also to set off a wave of sympathetic strikes in France and Italy. In the perspective of Protocol M (see above, page 47), this can well be believed to be true.

“News of this ‘greater revolution’ spread like wildfire. The ideas and the way of life embodied in the men from Moers, Essen and Gelsenkirchen gradually spread and took root in other parts of the Ruhr. What had happened in those cities was now repeated in Dortmund, Bochum, Castrop-Rauxel and Lünen.

“In the works committees elections in 1949 and 1950, the Communists had suffered a marked setback. This was made one of the chief subjects of discussion at the Communist Party Congress in Weimar on March 30, 1951. ‘Such happenings as have been related here,’ said Party boss Walter Ulbricht, ‘show that our Party has suffered such a setback in the works committee elections in the mining in-

dustry in the Gelsenkirchen area of the Ruhr, that they should have been made the central point of the open discussions in preparation for the Party Congress.’

“The election of 1951 marked the changing of the ideological trend in the Ruhr. The results of the 1953 election were so remarkable that the Socialist daily in the Ruhr, *Westphalia Rundschau*, used the headline: ‘Election Sensation.’ Out of the new Works Committee of the Nordstern mine, which had expanded to a total of 23 members, only four were Communists.

“If these men had fought a political battle alone, they would have soon dried up in their limited conceptions, and become framed in their own spheres of action. If they had had only a personal experience of change, they soon would have found themselves self-satisfied with their gardens and TV sets. If their aim had been anti-Communism, they would have joined the ranks of fearful and bitter men, hard-fighting, but without hope or vision for the future.

“These men had found something far deeper, far more explosive. Grounded in the realism of their change, they had been catapulted into God’s space and vision for a new world in the making. Not always with an explicit understanding, the passion of Christ for a world gone astray, vibrated in their hearts.”*

Approximately 200,000 people in 12 cities of Germany saw *The Forgotten Factor* or *The Good Road*. 400 meetings for the Works Councils and management were held.

* Leif Hovelsen’s book, *Out of the Evil Night*, gives a rare and firsthand account of his years in the resistance and in the Ruhr. (Blandford Press, London, 1959.)

Among the MRA speakers was Mme. Irene Laure, former Deputy in the French Chamber and Secretary-General of the Socialist Women of France, married to a Marxist. Her son had been tortured by the Nazis. When she heard the German language spoken at Caux, she started to pack her bags.

Frank Buchman said to her, "How can you build a new and united Europe without Germany?"

She unpacked her bags, and found an answer to bitterness that was to have a far-reaching effect. With others of her country, she spoke to thousands of the responsible leaders of the new Germany. After giving the reasons for her former hatred, she told them of the answer she had found. I saw many stolid German officials and housewives deeply moved by what she had to say.

In a public letter welcoming the MRA task force to the Ruhr in the Spring of 1950, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who had attended the Caux Assembly with his family, wrote:

Moral Re-Armament is a household word in post-war Germany. I believe that, in view of the offensive of totalitarian ideas in the East of Germany, the Federal Republic is the given platform for a demonstration of this idea.

After the completion of negotiations that led to the Schuman Plan, Dr. Adenauer wrote:

We have seen the conclusion, after some difficult negotiations, of some important international agreements. MRA has played an invisible but effective part in bridging differences of opinion between the negotiating parties. It has kept before them

the objective of peaceful agreement for the common good, which is the true purpose of human life.*

On a visit to Atlanta, Georgia in 1960, Baron von Etzdorf, later German Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to Great Britain, was asked by the press, "What is the most significant development in Europe since World War II?"

Von Etzdorf replied: "The new accord between France and Germany. For this, the work of Moral Re-Armament is largely responsible."**

It was in 1948 that Robert Schuman first became aware of the work of MRA. A French industrialist, Louis Boucquey, met him on a train in France, and told him of some unusual happenings in industry in the northern part of the country as a result of a new spirit coming out of Caux.

Schuman asked to meet Frank Buchman on his next trip to France. They had dinner together in Paris.

Schuman had been brought up in Lorraine, and had served in the German army in World War I. He was uniquely fitted to build a bridge between the two ancient enemies. But he lacked the necessary contact with the men then running Germany.

Buchman told him about the new German leaders who had come to Caux, mentioning especially Konrad Adenauer and Heinrich Lübke. On his next trip to Germany, Schuman met some of these men.

* See Appendix VI.

** Compare *New York Herald Tribune*, June 4, 1951: "Moral Re-Armament is credited for role in Schuman Plan talks."

On May 9, 1950, he wrote confidentially to Dr. Adenauer, who by then had become Chancellor of the West German Republic:

The elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany, and a pooling of resources and production, will make war between the two countries not merely unthinkable but actually impossible.

The courier who took the letter to Bonn returned immediately with the Chancellor's wholehearted acceptance. The basis was laid for the Schuman Plan.

The same year, Robert Schuman wrote the Foreword to the French edition of Frank Buchman's speeches: *Refaire le Monde*. In it he said in part:

What Moral Re-Armament brings us is a philosophy of life applied in action.

To provide teams of trained men, ready for the service of the nation, apostles of reconciliation and builders of a new world, that is the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society in which, during fifteen war-ravaged years, the first steps have already been taken.*

The Schuman Plan was an act of historic statesmanship. Yet good plans pile up in the dustbins of history, if they are not backed by the will of the people concerned.

A major part of that "far-reaching transformation" mentioned by Robert Schuman could be seen in the spirit of reconciliation that moved countless numbers of people in both France and Germany.

* See Appendix VI.

Epilogue

Today, three decades after the events described in these pages, West Germany has a vitality that is outstanding on the continent of Europe. Yet, like America, she risks losing the quality of life and leadership that are vital to the future of freedom.

Can she find that inner commitment that can win over the Communist world, and give humanity a lasting peace?

The Berlin Wall is a stark reminder of the war of ideas that has blanketed this savage century.

Western civilization has incubated over the centuries the secret of regeneration. The crucial question now, for us all, is whether or not we so rejuvenate our Judeo-Christian heritage that we make it the discipline and joy of our lives and the core of our societies.

That choice, above all others, will determine our future.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

The Gestapo Report

A 126-page Gestapo Report, *Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung* (The Oxford Group Movement), was printed in Germany in 1942 by the Headquarters of the Reich Security Department. Discovered in 1945 by British Intelligence during the German retreat from France, the contents of the classified report were first made public by Associated Press foreign correspondent DeWitt Mackenzie in a dispatch dated London, December 19, 1945.

Further details about the report appeared in a letter printed in the London *Times* on December 29, 1945, signed by Lord Ammon, Sir Lynden Macassey, Leader of the Parliamentary Bar, and other representative leaders of Britain.

The report denounced Dr. Buchman and the Oxford Group for:

uncompromisingly taking up a frontal position against National Socialism in that they encourage their members to place themselves beneath the Christian Cross, and to oppose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ, as the former seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ.

Frankly, the importance of the Group lies here. The very moment when we are making efforts to suppress Christian conviction of sin, which appears to us the first step towards the enslavement of the German, a movement is emanating from the Anglo-Saxons, who are racially related to us, which regards just this consciousness of sin as a basis for change in personal and national relationships.

Under the slogan of Moral Re-Armament the group has become the pacemaker of Anglo-American diplomacy, working to bring about new political and ideological conditions in the Reich.

The Group as a whole constitutes an attack upon the nationalism of the State and demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the State. It preaches revolution against the National State, and has quite evidently become its Christian opponent.

The Group breathes the spirit of Western democracy. It supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims. The Group and the democracies supplement each other and render each other's work fruitful.

APPENDIX II
After The Catastrophe

Excerpts from an Essay by Dr. Carl Jung, Swiss psychologist and psychiatrist, published in 1945, when Germany lay in ruins as a result of the war.

This is not the fate of Germany alone, but of all Europe. We must all open our eyes to the shadow that looms behind contemporary man. We have no need to hold up the devil's mask before the Germans. The facts speak a plainer language, and anyone who does not understand it is simply beyond help. As to what should be done about this terrifying apparition, everybody must work this out for himself. It is indeed no small matter to know of one's own guilt and one's own evil, and there is certainly nothing to be gained by losing sight of one's own shadow.

When we are conscious of our guilt, we are in a more favorable position—we can at least hope to change and improve ourselves. . . . Consciousness of guilt can therefore act as a powerful moral stimulus. In this respect, I rely on those parts of the German body politic which have remained sound, to draw conclusions from the facts. Without guilt, there can be no psychic maturation, and no widening of the spiritual horizon. . . .

Where sin is great, "grace doth much more abound." Such an experience brings about an inner transformation, and this is infinitely more important than political and social reforms which are valueless in the hands of people who are not at one with themselves. This is a truth which we are forever forgetting, because our eyes are fascinated by the conditions around us, and riveted upon them, instead of examining our own heart and conscience. Every demagogue exploits this human weakness when he points with the greatest possible outcry to all the things that are wrong in the outside world. But the

principal and indeed the only thing that is wrong with the world is man.

If the Germans today are having a hard time of it outwardly, fate has at least given them a unique opportunity of turning their eyes inward to the inner man. In this way they might make amends for a sin of omission of which our whole civilization is guilty. Everything possible has been done for the outside world: science has been refined to an unimaginable extent, technical achievement has reached an almost uncanny degree of perfection. But what of man, who is expected to administer all of these blessings in a reasonable way? He has simply been taken for granted. No one has stopped to consider that neither morally nor psychologically is he in any way adapted to such changes. As blithely as any child of nature, he sets about enjoying these dangerous playthings, completely oblivious of the shadow lurking behind him, ready to seize them in its greedy grasp and turn them against a still infantile and unconscious humanity. And who has had a more immediate experience of the feeling of helplessness and abandonment to the powers of darkness than the German who fell into the clutches of the Germans?

If collective guilt could only be understood and accepted, a great step forward would have been taken. But this alone is no cure, just as no neurotic is cured by mere understanding. The great question remains: How am I to live with this shadow? What attitude is required if I am to be able to live in spite of evil? In order to find a valid answer to these questions, a complete spiritual renewal is needed. And this cannot be given gratis, each man must strive to achieve it for himself. Neither can old formulas which once had value be brought into force again. The eternal truths cannot be transmitted mechanically; in every epoch they must be born anew from the human psyche.

(*The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, trans. R.F.C. Hull, Bollingen Series XX. Vol. 10: *Civilization in Transition*, copyright (c) 1964, 1970 by Princeton University Press. Excerpts reprinted by permission.)

APPENDIX III
The Good Road

An earlier form of this musical presentation, under the title *Ideas Have Legs*, had been created in America a few months before, largely through the genius of H. W. (Bunny) Austin, British Davis Cup tennis star, and his actress wife, Phyllis Konstam.

In the spring of 1947, what the press called "A Task Force in the War of Ideas" moved into the state of Michigan. It consisted of forty veterans of World War II, business and labor representatives, and many young people.

Invited to Grand Rapids by the mayor, George Welsh, the show filled the Civic Auditorium to capacity of over 6,000 with some 2,000 turned away. The auditorium had never been filled before.

The city was aroused. The newspapers awakened public opinion. The police force began to fight for a new spirit in the city. The response ran through the schools, into the homes, into business and city government.

The cast was invited to address the State Legislature at Lansing, where they were given a standing ovation. Ten leading Assemblymen stood up to say what the MRA force's coming had meant to them.

One of them, the chairman of the Committee on Taxes, apologized to his colleagues from the floor of the House for the misrepresentation he had given them about Moral Re-Armament.

With the encouragement of U.S. Senator Arthur Vandenberg ("too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fine work you are doing"), a state-wide program was launched.

In Detroit, the Music Hall was packed to its doors, with many turned away. At a time of industrial crisis, heads of management and labor talked, some of them for more than an hour after the performances, as to what might happen to American industry and production through this different kind of spirit.

APPENDIX IV

Es Muss Alles Anders Werden
(Everything's Got to Change)

Ideological Handbook for Inspired Democracy

Written by German leaders
Attending the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament
at Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland

1947

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Printed in Germany, 1948
(Translated from the German original)

“Everything’s Got to Change!”

As Hans Schneider walked out into the rain, elbowed his way onto the streetcar, and went, wet through, to work, he said it.

As he read in the newspaper he had borrowed from a friend—he hadn’t been able to get one of his own for weeks—about new cuts in the rations, he said it again.

On the way to the factory he had to make a detour—the street was closed because of the ruins—and he said it again.

As he worked in the draughty factory where there was still no glass in most of the windows, he said it again.

At lunch he said it for the 15th time. As he got up from lunch still hungry, he said it again.

By the end of the day he had said it 45 times and still wasn’t tired of saying it: “Everything’s got to change.”

Germany—our Fatherland

Land that spreads from the snow-capped peaks of the Alps to the murmuring, immeasurable ocean, crossed by rivers old in story, on whose banks ancient cities, ringed with towers and buildings whose exquisite beauty still speak of a great past.

Land rich in changing landscapes, whose people live in the shadow of broad wooded mountains, in the clear light of vineyards and soft hills, who wrest a hard livelihood from stoney mountain plots, or bring home their harvest from rich broad plains.

Land where craftsman's skill has preserved the golden heritage which the industry of their fathers created.

Land whose inventive power, hard work and thoroughness destine it to great achievements in industry in time of peace.

Land where were born great men of genius like Dürer, Kant and Goethe, who belong to all mankind, land that is the home of incomparable masters of music.

Land at the heart of Europe, bridge between the nations, whose calling is, in peaceful rivalry, gladly to welcome and to enrich the life of others.

Germany, why have you been disloyal to your great destiny?

Yes, This is Germany Today

Devastated cities, factories, houses.

Millions of dead, maimed, homeless.

Countless others who still wait for freedom and the sight of their homes.

A hungry nation, without enough clothing, heating and housing, amid shattered living and working conditions.

A country where deadly diseases spread relentlessly.

Broken homes which have lost their inner unity and let the youth run wild.

Men without hope or courage, wearing themselves out in fighting each other, always ready to blame others rather than themselves.

Men wide open to subversive ideas.

A nation without faith in the future.

A nation facing destruction.

For if things go on like this . . .

All over the world today—
Famine and disease spreading;
Strikes and industrial unrest;
Inflation;
The breakdown of the family;
Party against party;
Class against class;
Nation against nation;

And, hanging over all, the threat of the
Atom Bomb—

the end of civilization.

One day when Hans Schneider came home he found his son Fritz very excited. He asked no questions. He preferred not to know what was wrong. He suspected it had something to do with the black market again. Lilli wasn't home. There were more comfortable places to sleep than on a straw mattress in the living room.

"Youth has gone to the dogs," thought Schneider. But what could one do?

His wife was crying. There had been a row that morning with the Schulzes about the gas stove. And now this business with Fritz. Schneider paid no attention to her. What was she thinking about anyway? Didn't she realize how difficult everything was for him?

"Let's skip it. How about something to eat!" But that's just the trouble. There's nothing there. Practically nothing.

A policeman stood at Schneider's door. "You must come to the police station at once. Your son is mixed up in a nasty business. A very nasty business." Schneider thought, "That's his affair. Let him sup his own soup. It doesn't concern me." Aloud he said: "What's wrong?" "You'll find out soon enough," replied the policeman in official tones. They set out in silence.

As Schneider went down the street he thought: "And Lilli wasn't home again last night."

THE WAR OF IDEAS

Why is the Schneider Family—and the world—in such a mess?

The war of arms is over but already people are afraid it may break out again tomorrow.

Why? There is a war of ideas raging in every nation. Its outcome is not yet decided. It will determine your future and the future of Europe.

Where is the battleline?

Some say: "Between Right and Left." They lead us to dictatorship.

Some say: "Between Capitalism and Communism." They lead us to war.

Some say: "I don't see any battleline." They have already thrown in the sponge.

These false fronts always give the same picture—selfish materialism on both sides, while the men of good will are confused and divided.

The militant materialists have a passion, a philosophy, and a plan—an ideology. In that lies their power and strength. They know what they want and put all they have into it.

And then some people talk of democracy as the cure-all!

But democracy without an ideology is like a ship without a rudder, tossed aimlessly here, there and everywhere by the waves of materialistic ideologies.

We need more than a formal democracy. We have already seen this sort of democracy break down in Germany and in other lands. We need the kind of democracy that has never yet been seen in Germany or anywhere else in the world.

We need a *genuine* democracy where God stands on the bridge

and everyone carries out His orders. Then democracy will also have a passion, a philosophy, and a plan—an inspired democracy.

The true battleline runs between the materialistic ideologies and a God-inspired ideology. This battle will be fought and won by your thinking and living.

Germany has been the cradle of powerful ideologies. It could give the world the inspired ideology that would win the war of ideas and set the world free. It could be the first country to realize the ideology of the future—*inspired democracy*.

A NEW GERMANY

Not through dictatorship of
a man
a bureaucracy
a class

Not through
force
laws
money

But through men with a big idea

INSPIRED DEMOCRACY

It depends on you!

We change
We unite
We fight for a new world

EVERYTHING *CAN* CHANGE

WE CHANGE

Everybody wants something to change. They want a change of system, a change of government, a change of job, perhaps even a change of wife.

Sure, things have got to change. But there have been changes of governments and systems of government. Have things gotten any better? Revolutions in systems and conditions don't go to the root of the evil.

If only human nature could be changed! Impossible? A statesman has said: "To expect a change in human nature may be an act of faith, but to expect a change in human society without it is an act of lunacy."

Human nature is the real bottleneck on the road to a new nation. We need a revolution of the heart. And that means you.

You can change if you are willing. How?

Be practical and test yourself. How do you measure up? How does the country measure up? Test yourself by four standards: absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love. You will see plenty of places where you need to change. What happens when you point a finger at the other fellow? Don't you point three fingers at yourself?

How much does dishonesty cost Germany today? What does impurity mean for the family life and future of Germany? Where can you find love of neighbor? Isn't everybody out for himself?

The true strength of inspired democracy lies in the moral backbone of its men, women and children.

God gave a man two ears and one mouth. Why don't we listen twice as much as we talk? When you listen to God you will find the way and the power to change. Be quiet and write down the thoughts

that come to you. Don't say: "That's not important," "Everybody does that," "It's the other fellow's fault, not mine."

Change and act. Put things right with the other fellow. The word "Sorry" costs something, but it's the way to a fresh start. What would happen if everyone of us took full responsibility for the tragedy of the past years—not only for what we have done but for what we left undone? If we as individuals and as a nation find the strength to take this new road we shall be doing what every man and every nation needs to do. It will be the spark that will kindle everyone.

Men must be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants. Men who listened to God made Europe great. God-guided men can renew Europe. Obedience to God is the heart of inspired democracy.

You can change. As you are, so is Germany.

WE UNITE

Teamwork is the need of the hour. Why shouldn't families, works' councils, parties, and nations work together? Lone individualists will never solve our problems.

When we change we can unite and build new teamwork. Broken teamwork hinders reconstruction more than broken machinery. Teamwork may begin for you with the person you don't get along with. As soon as you change the other will take notice. Honest apology is the beginning of teamwork.

It's not a question of who's right but what's right.

Try it at home. When the family hide nothing from one another and each helps the other to give his best, a house becomes a home and the life-cell of a new nation. "And new life flowers from out the ruins."

Try it at work. When workers and bosses put all their cards on the table a new spirit arises. It creates confidence, responsibility, and a new incentive.

Try it everywhere. The good is infectious. Our capacity for work is our most precious possession. We waste it when we fight against one another instead of shoulder to shoulder. In football the team that wins is the one that plays best together.

Teamwork is the way to inspired democracy.

WE FIGHT FOR A NEW WORLD

It is the privilege and duty of every man to love his country and to fight for the fulfillment of the true destiny of his nation.

We Germans have fought much. But only too often for wrong ends. We have not loved our land too much. We have loved it too little. We haven't thought enough about its true destiny nor enlisted enough for its fulfillment.

Today we can enlist in the greatest of all battles—in the battle for a new world. For this greatest of all battles we need the greatest of all plans—we need God's plan. In it alone can the highest patriotism of all peoples unite to fight for a new world.

The decisive battle in the war of ideas is on. The fight is against fear, dishonesty, irresponsibility, selfishness—against materialism.

Defeat in this fight means annihilation. Victory means God-inspired democracy. The outcome depends on every man, every family, every office, every factory. It depends on you.

The fight is for

FAMILIES who become the rallying points for the constructive forces of their communities.

SCHOOLS where children, teachers, and parents are taught by God and unitedly lead the children to their true vocation.

INDUSTRY where workers and bosses set a pattern of revolutionary teamwork, where everybody cares enough and everybody shares enough, so that everybody has enough.

POLITICS where true patriots rise above personal ambition and party interest to work together for the common good.

A NATION which through its new quality of life wins back the lost trust of other nations, and therewith everything it needs materially for reconstruction.

A COUNTRY which wins the respect and friendship of its neighbors because it fights honestly together with them for a new world.

THUS EVERYTHING WILL BE DIFFERENT.

God has a plan for Germany.

Down through history many men who for a time followed a false road, changed and became pioneers for their day. Why shouldn't that be true for the life of nations as well? Why shouldn't our fatherland, through change, become a pioneer for a new world?

Already many people in Germany are beginning to take this new road which they must tread along with other nations if we are to escape catastrophe.

Our present fate gives us a unique opportunity to fulfill our true destiny. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

* * *

One day Hans Schneider got the surprise of his life. "Everything's got to change," he said for the thousandth time. Quite unexpectedly his wife replied: "Yes, we've said that often enough. Everything has got to change—beginning with me. . . ."

There was a long silence. One thought kept coming to Hans Schneider: "Apologize." At last he said: "I've been a dictator at home. I'm sorry."

From that small beginning everything changed. They were honest with each other. They learned to listen to God. They acted on the thoughts that came. Even the Schulzes noticed the difference.

When Fritz came home, they gave him such a hearty welcome that he forgot all about the coldness of the room. The change in his parents gave him new hope. Lilli too was glad to be home now.

The Schneider family's new spirit was contagious. Others were gripped by it too.

Once in a great while Hans Schneider starts to say: "Everything's got to . . ." Then he stops. For he knows: "Everything can . . . change." He is proving it every day.

* * * *

Hans Schneider is Germany. What happened to him can happen to Germany. It can happen to you and to your family.

IT DEPENDS ON YOU.

NEW MEN

NEW NATIONS

A NEW WORLD

APPENDIX V

Excerpts from an article by N. Sergeyea in *New Times*, published in Moscow by the newspaper *Trud*, official organ of the Soviet labor unions, on July 21, 1948. The article was entitled: "Buchmanism—A Tool of World Reaction."

Imagine a gathering of politicians, industrial bigwigs, shady dealers of various kinds, retired generals, wealthy widows and tipsy landlords, publicly, for all to hear, repenting of their sins. In a fine religious frenzy, they proclaim to the world the frauds and swindles they have committed, their political intrigues and downright criminal offences. Then they all join voices in a hymn and betake themselves to their homes or drinking houses.

There you have an outward picture of an organization figuring with some prominence in the life of the contemporary capitalist world. In 1946 and again this summer, this organization has held much-publicized international congresses, and at the present time it is increasing its activity very perceptibly. Founded in the 'twenties by the evangelical preacher Frank Buchman, it goes by various names of "Buchmanism" or "The Oxford Group" or the "Moral Re-Armament Movement. . . ."

Buchman's organization is a religious-political one, but the religious phase is entirely overshadowed by the political. Buchman's purpose was to put people in a mood that would allow them to seek jointly for solutions of economic and social problems, particularly in eliminating the class struggle.

In other words, it was to campaign against the progressive ideas of our time and in support of the tottering tenets of capitalism. . . .

The Buchmanite movement mirrors to the full the internal

disintegration and decay of the top crust of bourgeois society. . . .

Buchmanism is to supply Marshallized Europe with spiritual pabulum which is to prevent minds from being swayed by the progressive ideas of our day. . . .

In their drive to make a colony of Western Europe, the American bankers are sending in quack missionaries. . . . American Big Business is pressing the offensive against the democratic movement and the progressive forces of Western Europe.

APPENDIX VI

Konrad Adenauer and Robert Schuman

The two principal statesmen of the postwar world in Europe were Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the West German Republic, and Robert Schuman, seven times Foreign Minister and twice Prime Minister of France.

Both of them came to Caux. Their convictions about the action of Moral Re-Armament were registered in their messages and writings of the time. Following are some of them.

Konrad Adenauer

MRA has become a household word in Germany.

At this time of confusion in Europe we need, and especially in divided Germany, an ideology that brings clarity and moral power into shaping international relations. A nation with an ideology is always on the offensive. A nation without an ideology is self-satisfied and dead.

Now is the time to work more strongly than ever for European unity through MRA. A Europe in which freedom and brotherhood should reign only can be created when nations are mutually conscious of their moral responsibility. MRA has given most valuable stimulation to the great work of uniting Europe. Unless this work is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained.

We can be grateful to the men and women of Moral Re-Armament that, in this world of destruction, they have had the courage to raise the banner of moral values.

The German people recognize gratefully the help which has come to them through MRA. Very soon after the War, this

ideology reached out a hand to the German people and helped them make contact again with other nations. In Western Germany, MRA has worked very forcefully in the creation of good relations between management and labor.

Begin with yourself—that, in my opinion, is the basic challenge of MRA. May this challenge ring out far and wide across the whole world.

Robert Schuman

(From the Foreword to the French edition of *Remaking the World*, the collected speeches of Frank Buchman.)

If we were being presented with some new scheme for the public welfare, or another theory to be added to the many already put forward, I should remain skeptical. But what Moral Re-Armament brings us is a philosophy of life applied in action.

It does not claim to have invented a new system of morals. For the Christian, the moral teaching of Christianity is enough, and he draws from it all the principles that must guide his life as a man and as a citizen.

What we need, and what is quite new, is a school where, by a process of mutual teaching, we can work out our practical behavior towards others; a school where Christian principles are not only applied and proven in the relationships of man to man, but succeed in overcoming the prejudices and enmities which separate classes, races and nations.

To begin by creating a moral climate in which true brotherly unity can flourish, over-arching all that today tears the world apart—that is the immediate goal.

The acquisition of wisdom about men and their affairs by bringing people together in public assemblies and personal encounters—that is the means employed.

To provide teams of trained men, ready for the service of the state, apostles of reconciliation and builders of a new world, that is the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society in which, during fifteen war-ravaged years, the first steps have already been made.

It is not a question of changing policy; it is a question of changing men. Democracy and her freedoms can be saved only by the quality of the men who speak in her name.