

THE SPLIT 1964 - 1970

how it happened - what we can learn from it

a personal view

Private and Confidential
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Introduction

Why write something about a split, about a negative development in a spiritual movement, something which should not have happened and still did happen. This may be exactly the reason why such a development should be studied and written about, as what has happened to us may still be threatening other great spiritual movements in the future. And it may be possible to discern where things are moving in the wrong direction before it is too late.

There are of course reasons why nothing comprehensive has been written before about the split in Moral Re-Armament in the sixties. One reason is that by necessity at the present moment the relevant documents are only available on one side, and whatever one writes will present an incomplete picture. And if one writes only from the perspective of one side, the temptation is to present one side as the perpetrators, the others as the injured party.

For most of us who were part of this unfortunate development we felt more like victims of something that could not be stopped anymore. I still do not know, whether there was a person or a group of persons who really wanted things to happen as they did happen. In the long run, both sides lost much more than they gained. And the momentum of a great spiritual movement present all over the world was lost. If something of this momentum has been regained since then, the losses of substance still cannot be overlooked.

For the above described reasons my original plan was that we would be two to attempt to describe what had happened, one from the side of those who kept on the original track and who were labelled by many as the "traditionalists" or "enclavers", and one from the group that wanted to relaunch the movement on a completely new basis which were considered by some as "rebels" but really felt as pioneers of something new or "freebooters". The basic text to understand this distinction came from Peter Howard, the man who followed Frank Buchman as world-wide leader of Moral Re-Armament and whose death really brought the whole conflict to the surface. Howard said:

There are two schools of thought which may be called that of the 'enclavers' and that of the 'freebooters'. The enclavers are keen to create a 'fellowship in which the great truths of morality and God are held secure and where, in the midst of a planet that has turned its back upon such things, they can continue to live and induce some others to live in a way that seems best to them.

The freebooters are out, night and day, with flashing swords, determined to win back from the modern world the property of God that materialists, intellectuals, Fascists and Communists have stolen, tried to destroy and hidden. They fight, sing, crawl, run, zig-zag, carving their way wherever they can. They live off the territory they move in. Establishments hate them. The hands of the powerful are against them. Millions love them. Not all understand them. They are on the rampage to create a revolution whereby God will become more authoritative to everybody than wife, husband, child, wealth, position, Mao Tse-tung, Krushchev, or even Mr. Kennedy.

Maybe we need both enclavers and freebooters. The certain thing is that freebooters now need to shed every non-essential action from their lives, to cleave to each other with a far less glutinous and more absolute honesty, to safeguard health, strength, time and passion, to see that every weapon put to use is of a professionalism and polish that enables them to have a better chance of advance before the gaze of an earth that is beginning to pay very serious attention to their activities. (*Anne Wolrige-Gordon, Peter Howard, Life and Letters, p. 209*)

What I shall attempt in these pages is not to write an authoritative historical account but to describe a personal experience. Thirty years after the event it is too early to establish a truly objective, fully documented view of things but with some detachment one may be able already now to draw some conclusions and lessons. And as there will be new spiritual renewals and movements also in the future, I can only hope that the responsible persons concerned will be able to avoid the pitfalls into which we fell.

I would like to concentrate on three aspects of this story: The first is to try to discern the symptoms of crisis which should and could have been taken seriously in time, during the period after Frank Buchman's death but even before. The second is to show what part the tensions between the Swiss - who were responsible for Caux - and the German MRA-leadership played in the conflict. Finally, I like to show where attempts have been made to re-establish a dialogue, not necessarily always on the highest level but between friends in various situations and where further "healing-actions" could be undertaken now and in the future.

1. Frank Buchman's last years and the transition after his death

By necessity, the first inklings that things were not going as well as we had thought, date from a good while back. For any spiritual movement, to have to cope with the death of the founder is a traumatic experience. As Buchman lived to be 83 years' old, but had not been well for quite some time, we should have been prepared for the experience of transition - and most of us thought we were.

I found myself during these years in a particular situation. Due to various circumstances I was never part of Buchman's inner circle. I was not invited to be part of it and did not particularly want to be. I was perfectly happy to work first with various musical shows and then in Caux and different countries of German-speaking Europe, interpreting, helping to prepare the visits of plays, writing for newspapers and editing MRA-newsletters. Then in the early fifties I was invited to join a team of over two-hundred which went to Asia with Frank Buchman at the invitation of leaders of several Asian countries. During this tour from Sri Lanka to the North of India and then down to Karachi in Pakistan I accompanied, together with others, two German couples from the German Ruhr which had been for many years involved with the Communist Party and who had found in Caux what they called a "superior ideology". As none of these friends knew English, we had to interpret day and night for them. At the end of the nine-months tour fifteen of us stayed behind to "follow up" the extraordinary openings that had been made. From then on, for many years I was practically based in one Asian country after the other, then in the Middle East and Africa, and returned to Europe only for the Caux-conferences and on special occasions.

How did we decide, during these years, what we were going to do and where we would go? Some of those who were engaged in this work at the same time have memories of strict control from Buchman down to any local situation. My memory or experience is a different one. Of course Buchman - and later Peter Howard - exercised authority but at least in my case it was authority combined with great care and freedom. For the above-mentioned Asian trip I had hesitatingly mentioned my conviction that I could cover this unique enterprise for the German-speaking press in Europe. My conviction was taken seriously by Buchman and his team and I was invited to take part. Some times later Fulvia and I found ourselves in Vienna to invite some of the Austrian youth-leaders to take part in a conference in Mackinac Island (United States) to prepare a positive alternative at a World Youth Festival organised by

Communist-dominated international youth organisations in Austria later that year. We had just been married for a few months and felt quite lost. Just at that time, totally unexpectedly a very warm and encouraging letter from Buchman arrived with a cheque that would cover the whole expenses for our Austrian friends and ourselves to fly to the States for a World Assembly on Mackinac Island.

Looking back I find it amazing that the MRA-organism - Buchman did not like the word organisation very much - functioned without any of us having a "work-contract", any written agreement or any regular income. When a common priority was agreed on, there was a "critical mass" of people available and free to move. When it worked, the balance between authority, freedom and flexibility was a remarkable feature of these years.

At the time of Frank Buchman's death in August 1961, I was in Japan preparing the visit to Caux of the former Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi. I arrived there a couple of weeks after Buchman's funeral. The person who fetched me at Geneva-airport tried to transmit to me what had happened in the weeks before Buchman's death and how Buchman with the help of Peter Howard had made a final effort to get the men and women who had been working with him for many years to return to their original commitment again which, he felt, they had lost. I realised that many of my colleagues - including the man who was driving me - were weighed down by a feeling of guilt and the fear of having to take responsibility for something they were not prepared for.

Although I felt uneasy I had no one to talk to at that moment, especially as I had my hands full with the Japanese delegation. A true world-conference was taking place and Peter Howard's aim was clearly to show to the world that with the death of Buchman MRA had not reached its end but that a new mighty chapter was in the making.

There was one incident which made me feel even more insecure. Having been in Japan for a year I was expected to do a kind of de-briefing and as Peter Howard himself was very busy, I chose another of the men who had worked closely with Buchman to tell him all I had experienced in Japan during the first half of 1961. A couple of days later I was told by Howard that he wanted to know the whole story himself. I realised that communication in that immediate post-Buchman-era was not easy and that there were some serious tensions between the different men involved in the leadership at that moment.

But while Howard was alive, it was clear who the reference-person was and I had no difficulty in keeping in close touch with him whether we were together in one place or

thousands of miles apart. Thanks to an intervention by Howard I found myself, together with Fulvia, in the cast of a new musical *Space is so startling* in which there was a core-group of our generation from which Howard expected new leadership to emerge. He told us once: "I think you have absorbed enough of MRA to face opposition, but I shudder to think what would happen if you ever had success." The play had its premiere in Japan and then spent three months each in Britain, Germany and the United States.

It was in America that I realised the degree of inner tensions we were facing in our work and found myself involved in several controversies myself. The man in charge in the States was a Virginian called J. Blanton Belk whom I had known since the late forties. It became obvious from the first moment of our arrival with the *Space*-cast that Belk had a concept of leadership which was new for us and different from what we had experienced before. When we gave a preview in the MRA-centre near New York, Dellwood, Belk said that he was not happy with what he had seen and that we needed some more work on the play in Mackinac Island before starting an expected tour of the country.

Once we were touring with the play, some of us who had grown up in the tradition of feeling fully responsible for all that was happening, suggested some planning-meetings, where all of us would be included. But this was not considered necessary, and so most of us just did our part on the stage and left everything else to Belk and the men working immediately under his orders. There was another factor which made our situation unusual: in order to be able to present a play across the country we had to join the union and had to be paid. So life was not too difficult and it was rather easy to relax a bit too much. The effect on our spiritual life was not very satisfactory. But when I raised a question or two I was told in unmistakable terms that I should mind my own business.

When we arrived in New Delhi and joined Peter Howard and a group of Indians to prepare a tour with *Space* across India, the spirit was not good. After a long talk with Howard, I received a hand-written note from him. It included strong encouragement but also some uncomfortable truths. Howard said that he had expected from us to live and act differently while we were in America. He added with a note of sadness that he had to go there and clean up some of the mess we had left behind. He wrote: "I want to give you the assurance that you have and will always have my fullest confidence and comradeship - if that is any help. Having said this, I am clear we have somehow got to do things differently. Our work has grown too big for mean motives....Lack of honesty always leads to politics. And they are

not our job..." (1) Howard had a gift of telling you strong truths to your face and at the same time indicating clearly that he was expecting you to be as responsible for the whole work as he was. At that particular moment he asked us to show special care for some of our Indian friends. He wrote of them: "Frankly, if the full brunt of faithlessness, and indifference, and callousness which I have had to bear in the last two or three weeks, is hurled at them, it will have a disastrous effect on the future in India."

Notes:

(1) Peter Howard to PSP, 30. 10. 1963.

2. After Peter Howard what?

During the end of the year 1964 and the beginning of 1965 those who felt responsible for Caux and MRA in Switzerland were facing great difficulties. It had become rather painfully evident that to run two international conferences, one in Mackinac Island in America, and the other one in Caux, at the same time, put the international force carrying the world-wide MRA-work under serious pressure. In addition, there was a change of government in the canton of Vaud, where Caux was situated and where the Foundation owning Caux had its seat. The new finance-minister of Vaud did not accept the decision of his predecessors that gifts for MRA and Caux would be tax-free and declared that we would be taxed like any other organisation that was not of "pure public interest".

At the end of 1964 it was decided to close Caux for a while and to transfer the seat of the Foundation to Lucerne where MRA had strong support in the population and amongst the governmental parties. I had returned to Switzerland from India in the autumn of 1964 to support my Swiss colleagues in the many battles they were fighting.

During the summer of 1964, Peter Howard was in Mackinac and made a serious bid to capture the minds and hearts of the younger generation of the American continent. At the same time he kept a close eye on what was happening in Switzerland and around Caux.

After Mackinac, Howard went to Latin America on a whirlwind-tour around the continent. In Peru, he was taken ill and died of a virulent virus infection. Some of the letters written from Peru and from his earlier stops reached us only after his death. He was taking us to task for underestimating the strength of the opposition in our country and of announcing the move from Caux to Lucerne before knowing for sure that this step would assure our future. He ended this last letter we ever received from him with the words: "However, this is all past now, and let's move ahead as one." (1)

Fulvia and I heard the news of Howard's death while we were in Germany. We conferred with Ernst Reinecke in Bonn for a day and then moved on to Denmark where I had a speaking engagement. Soon after, the whole leadership of the world-work and hundreds of friends met in Suffolk to accompany Peter Howard on his last journey. Dr. Morris Martin spoke at the request of the Howard family about his life.

Looking back on this day, I ask myself why there was no real meeting of minds and hearts between us all who had come to say good-bye to this friend who had held us together

with his passion, his ideas and his heart. I do not know if different individuals or groups met after the funeral or during the next day in London. In my case, we - the Swiss contingent - left by our special plane to return to Switzerland. One very important opportunity to search for God's common plan for us all was lost. Why did we not think of it beforehand? I do not know. I only feel a sense of responsibility for having missed this important chance to discover what God had in mind for all of us at this decisive junction for our work.

Nothing of all this was said in public. Our British friends issued a press-statement saying that a "collective leadership" had taken over responsibility for the world-work of MRA. If I remember right, even some pictures of the possible members of this collective leadership were added to the article. Personally, I did believe in this concept but I - and I guess many others of my colleagues - had no idea of what it would take to make it work. One of my friends who also was present at the funeral of Howard said to me that he felt that we were like a flock of sheep without a shepherd.

Not all did feel that way as a letter from Belk to me shows which reached me a couple of weeks later. He wrote: "I was so grateful for the chance to catch a glimpse of you and Fulvia during the momentous hours of Peter's home-going in Britain. We must all move together like never before and carry the world and our work into a new era." Belk had just returned from a meeting in Bonn with the German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer. With Belk were at this interview Prince Richard of Hesse and Ernst Reinecke. Speaking to the three men, Adenauer stressed the need to reinforce the work of MRA in the USA and the relationship between Europe and America: "He kept underlining that the situation in the world and in America was in acute danger and that Moral Re-Armament was the essential factor needed. His evaluation of our work and the ever greater need for it seems to be higher than some of our own people. The fact is that Adenauer sees Moral Re-Armament as the one factor that can unite Europe with America at this critical stage, and he lives on that level..." Belk also discussed with Adenauer his concept for the summer-conference in Mackinac he was planning for, saying: "Mackinac this summer must do for the world what it did last summer for America." (2)

Notes:

- (1) Peter Howard to PSP, Buenos Aires, 11. 2. 1965.
- (2) Blanton Belk to PSP, 18. 3. 1965.

3. The summer 1965 and the launching of the "Sing Outs"

If we had been asked in the spring 1965 what we were seeing as a priority for the whole world-work, I guess we all would have said that the tremendous openings which Peter Howard with his team had created amongst the younger generation in North America had first priority. So the Mackinac-summer of 1965 was planned not as an imitation of the summer before but was aimed not only to consolidate the momentum with the the young Americans but at mobilizing the young Europeans and possibly the youth of other continents as well. Fulvia and I had the conviction to support Ruedi Hahnloser and some German students who had decided to charter a plane to take a major group of young Europeans to Mackinac. On the plane were young men and women of high-school- and university-age from France, Italy, Switzerland, Scandinavia and Britain, also groups of younger people from the Middle East and India.

The first week or so for our delegation went according to plan. The Americans had created, with the help of excellent professionals of stage and music a spectacular musical show which they had called *Sing Out*. We all were deeply stirred, uplifted and keen to keep the pace of these young men and women which included also a good group of Latin Americans. The Europeans were also asked to produce a show and tried their best with the limited talent that was available. It did not have the Schwung and originality of the American product, although Blanton Belk tried to encourage us by calling the show a "European all-out".

But then some things started to go wrong. Amongst the young Europeans was a group of senior Italian students, medical students from the university of Rome and others. When they did not appear for gymnastics early in the morning and were punished by having to wash windows, they started to rebel. It was a clash of cultures plus, probably, a total mis-conception of what the conference in Mackinac was all about. In any case, the Italians left in a huff, and some of the Europeans, including ourselves, found ourselves being blamed for having brought this group. As a group and as individuals we were really "in the dog-house". I tried three times to meet with Blanton Belk to try to sort things out and to get clarity on how to continue with those present, but the doors to him remained closed, and I was told by a secretary that he was too busy to see me.

Then, after about three weeks, during which we tried to make ourselves useful but did not quite know how, the atmosphere suddenly changed. Belk asked us to come and meet him in his office and asked us to travel in his personal plane to New York to prepare the ground

for performances of *Sing Out* ont East Coast. From Dellwood, a big MRA-centre near New York-City, we were sent to Washington and did our best to prepare things for the planned performances in the U.S. capital.

As we had a speaking engagement at a youth-conference in France, we could not stay on but asked Belk whether he wanted to see us before we returned to Europe. He invited us to meet him in Tucson, in Arizona, and so we flew to Mackinac to pick up our things, then on to Tucson. We thought that only some weighty discussions on the future of the work or so would justify such a long journey, especially as we could only stay for 24 hours. (We then flew back from there via Los Angeles to Paris). But the substance of our talks was very meagre. We enjoyed a delicious dinner and were shown Belk's headquarters with all its new technological equipment. But where our own plans for Europe were concerned Belk only suggested that we should ask the Swiss Foundation to give us a house outside the Caux-centre and wait for further instructions.

So we returned to Europe, rather baffled, not really understanding what was going on but determined not to deepen the divisions between our continents and between the two leadership-concepts. Only much later we heard that our Swiss colleagues had been wondering whether our American journey had brought with it also a change of loyalty in us and whether we would from then on accept orders from over-seas. That it would not be so easy to be loyal to all sides was shown when a young Scandinavian arrived in Caux straight from the United States and asked me what he should do. When I did not seem to understand what he meant, he added that Belk had told him that Ernst Reinecke and I would be in charge of his European operation and so he had come for instructions and advice. I did not know what to say.

Fortunately, these little incidents did not keep the Americans and us from continuing with the work that had been launched on either side of the Atlantic. Basil Entwistle wrote me from Mackinac: "Right now we are moving into high gear for Labor Day weekend. Congressman Gerald Ford (1), Minority Leader..is arriving here with another Congressman to speak on Friday morning. We will put *on Sing Out '65* for him later that day. Then we have arriving on Friday night a plane from Washington with diplomats, senators and congressmen, and another plane from New York and Montreal." In the same letter Entwistle writes that seventy of the remaining young Europeans from our special plane were leaving on the day of writing for Washington and New York. Thirty of them had decided to stay behind in the United States to work with their American counter-parts in *Sing Out '65*. (2)

Belk wrote a bit later: "We are grateful for all the Europeans and overseas youth who have stayed to fight here in America. There are over 100 of them now in Los Angeles. Yesterday they addressed 17 labor union meetings...gave training to the Fire Department at the request of the fire Chief..and have invitations to speak in 27 high schools in the greater Los Angeles area." (3) *Sing Out '65*, meanwhile, had flown to Japan and Korea.

Notes:

- (1) Gerald Ford, then Congressman, later President of the United States.
- (2) Basil Entwistle to PSP, September 1, 1965.
- (3) J. Blanton Belk to PSP, September 29, 1965.

4. Autumn months 1965 - continuing as if nothing had happened

We in Europe had also plans which we wanted to pursue. In Switzerland we were still waiting for the final confirmation that the Lucerne Government had decided to grant our Foundation a tax-free status. We had applied for this in the beginning of the year but the decision only finally came through in the autumn. We had moved the offices of the Foundation in January expecting this confirmation to be only a formality. So it was a difficult situation with this Damocles Sword still hanging above our heads at the end of the summer.

Two plans had been in the pipe-line for some months and their realization were taken in hand after some of us returned from the States. In both cases, plays by Peter Howard were to be prepared for showings by professional casts in the French- and German parts of Europe respectively. A French version of *Through the Garden Wall* was billed for an extended run in a well-known Paris theatre, while a German version of *Mr Brown comes down the Hill* would go on tour around German-speaking Europe after a premiere-performance in Munich, Germany. All of us Swiss were directly or indirectly involved in the planning for these two enterprises. Many of the French-speaking Swiss were to be stationed in Paris for several weeks, and some of us from the German part of Switzerland worked closely with our German colleagues and had taken on in particular to prepare the Austrian part of the operation.

One issue that created some tension between the Germans and the Swiss was that some of us Swiss were very keen for the plays to go behind the Iron Curtain, at least to Yougoslavia but if possible also to Prague and Budapest. A few of the German colleagues in charge of MRA in Germany had a much more pronounced view on the division between East and West and did not like us to have contacts with official bodies in the East European countries without whose help it was impossible to plan any showings of the plays. As it happened, a move into these countries was probably premature. There was a polite refusal from some of the places and a total silence from others. Another hope to build up new contacts with friends from the other side of the Iron Curtain seemed to be offered by Chancellor Dr. Josef Klaus from Austria who suggested that together with performances of *Mr Brown comes down the hill* in the Austrian capital an international MRA-conference, obviously also with East-European participation, would be held in Vienna. This plan also had to be postponed as the Austrian government was forced to resign and new elections had been called.

What did take place was an "extraordinary MRA planning conference" which had been suggested by Prince Richard of Hessen. The Prince who had been very close to Frank Buchman and had been with him at the moment of his death in Freudenstadt, felt that Chancellor Adenauer's conviction, expressed to him and Blanton Belk in May 1965, that the work of Caux and MRA had to be extended "to preserve the order in the world", was a good basis for discussion of a group of Europeans who were giving leadership in politics and the economic life. The plan was also to have a good representation of the young generation present at the meeting as one could expect from it some fresh breeze of conviction. As it happened, 150 people accepted the invitation of Prince Richard and the Swiss.

One German colleague wrote after this planning-meeting: " During such a week-end it becomes very obvious how we miss Peter (Howard) or better, how we ourselves need to do much more of the forward-thinking which we have so often left to him to do". (1) I informed Blanton Belk of what had happened - as I saw it: "It was a very unexpected and inspired weekend. About 80 people from the senior generation and 70 youth responded to Prince Richard's invitation, and the enthousiasm and passion of the younger crowd added to the wisdom and vision of the older made a very good combination". I took the opportunity to express an invitation to Belk, in the name of all those who had assembled for the planning-conference, to come and address a major conference in Caux which was to take place between December 26 and January 10. (2)

Ernst Reinecke wrote to me: "It is a good omen for the future that for our planning-conference 150 people appeared instead of fifty. Prinz Richard said to me: 'We have reached our aim. Something of Caux has gone out to the world again.' " (3)

Lawson Wood wrote: The weekend was a noteworthy step for Europe and Africa in particular, and I believe also for our wider march in the world...We were especially grateful for the privilege of sharing that suite in the Maria with Doë (4)..As we gain momentum, many of our minor difficulties will be overflown." (5)

While some of us were meeting in Europe, Ruedi Hahnloser, the son of one of the founders of Caux, Georg von Erlach and other young Swiss were with *Sing Out 65* first in Japan and Korea and then in different American cities. Their enthousiasm for the new departure and the new weapon showed in every line of their letters. Hahnloser agreed with me that *Sing Out 65* should be a central part of the planned Christmas/New Year conference in Caux and that from there it could visit all the countries of Europe starting with Germany.

Hahnloser wrote: "Now the moment has come to invite *Sing Out* to Europe. Its most important task, to have a constant impact on Washington, can best be fulfilled by fast actions in the United States itself and on other continents...Europe is still Americas most important ally. With all the present tensions it would mean much in Washington if leading European statesmen would see it and declare that Europe wants to carry together with America the responsibility for the world...Blanton himself is very open for Europe. He says: 'I see clearly for the month of November...I do not know what we should do in December'...Personally I am convinced that Sing Out should be for Christmas in Caux!!" (6)

In my answer to his letter I warmly invited Ruedi Hahnloser to return to Europe to help with the preparations for the winter-conference and with the possible visit of *Sing Out* in Europe. Obviously Prince Richard had also sent a telegram to Blanton Belk to invite him and *Sing Out 65* to be for Christmas in Caux and then visit different European capitals. Ernst Reinecke wrote me in this connection: "I am eagerly awaiting to hear the response (of Blanton Belk). As much as I wish that we can get *Sing Out 65* to Europe, we must also weigh the needs of America, as the forces of moral-spiritual pacifism obviously seem to be growing stronger and stronger." (7)

Roly Wilson, from Britain, spent late November "three marvellous weeks" in America and wrote me that when he left "Washington on Thursday morning we did so in fullest unity of purpose with Blanton and his friends...I had two intensely valuable days with Blanton, Basil, Garrett, Ken Twitchell, Ken Twitchell Jr. Don Birdsall, Dave Carey (8) and a number of others in Washington before we left. Blanton had a stirring time with both Rusk (9) and Humphrey (10) at the White House reception and in brief compass gave them a direct work on our work and found them more than responsive." (11)

After his return from Washington, he flew to Bonn to see Ernst Reinecke and his colleagues. He wrote me: "I was particularly glad to get a few hours with Ernst in Bonn. I have not seen him since the funeral last February. I respect his constant battle for country and continent. Among other things we discussed the question of *Sing Out '65* and its possible visit to Europe, which I know has been much in your own mind. Ernst feels very keenly the orientation of Germany towards America at the present time. and this is one factor in his eagerness to seize the chance of enlisting America's aid with Germany. As you may have heard, he was seeing Zehrer (12) yesterday. He tells me Springer (13) now controls more than half the newspapers of Germany. If Zehrer, backed by Springer, supported an invitation to

Sing Out, and if Ehrhardt (14) or his representative would add his weight to it, that might give us the lead we are seeking...Ernst was considering some personal touch with Blanton over the whole of this and if he felt keen on this I should personally support it. " (15)

During the month of November my Swiss colleagues and I visited all seven members of the Swiss government to invite them to the winter-conference in Caux. An Austrian colleague, Peter Orglmeister, and I then accompanied the German cast of *Mr Brown comes down the hill* through the Austrian cities. In Vienna, with invitations to the play, we were able to meet people in government, trades-unions, cultural clubs, university and the churches. A Jesuit priest who had been in Caux 15 years before gave a sermon about *Mr Brown*. And there were many contacts with representatives of Embassies from Eastern Europe.

We kept in close touch with our German friends especially as we also had some unexpected and difficult problems to solve: the driver of the bus carrying the cast of the play around Europe was hit while crossing a road and died 24 hours later in the hospital of St. Pölten. We also had to replace one of the main actors who suddenly got ill shortly before the premiere of the play in Vienna. At the premiere Mrs Klaus, the wife of the Chancellor was present, the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, Dr. Bobleter, and the leaders of the Employers Organisation of Austria.

The press-comments were mixed. But the most popular paper, *Der Kurier*, and the Communist paper both encouraged the leaders of the two squabbling government parties to see the play especially during the election-campaign! Before we left Vienna, we had a date with the Foreign Minister - and future Chancellor - of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, who accepted on the spot our invitation to address the winter-conference in Caux.

The whole correspondence of the last weeks of the year were devoted to the preparation of the winter-conference. Christoph Köhler wrote from Bonn suggesting that Ernst Reinecke should be asked to give the key-note speech at the beginning. (16) The fact that Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky had accepted to come encouraged friends in different capitals to express invitations to their leaders also.

Shortly before Christmas I received a letter from Blanton Belk : "Many thanks for your letter outlining your Assembly at Caux. I am pondering your thought of two or three of our best young men from America coming to help at Caux. We feel with you the very great importance of the re-opening of Caux.." In the letter he also describes the success of *Sing Out*

in Hollywood and at several army-bases and quotes a very encouraging letter from the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, General Greene. (17)

Notes:

- (1) Christoph Köhler to PSP, 13. 10. 1965.
- (2) PSP to Blanton Belk, 13. 10. 65.
- (3) Ernst Reinecke to PSP, 15.10. 65.
- (4) Doë Howard, the widow of Peter Howard.
- (5) Lawson Wood to PSP, 12. 10. 65.
- (6) Ruedi Hahnloser an PSP, 2. 11. 1965.
- (7) Ernst Reinecke an PSP, 4. 11. 1965.
- (8) list of the men who felt responsible with Blanton Belk's for MRA in America.
- (9) Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.
- (10) Hubert Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota.
- (11) Roly Wilson to PSP, 4. 12. 1965.
- (12) Zehrer, Editor of *Die Welt*
- (13) Axel Springer, head of the biggest newspaper-company in Germany.
- (14) Ludwig Ehrhardt, Chancellor of the Federal German Republic.
- (15) R. Wilson to PSP, 11. 12. 1965.
- (16) Christoph Köhler to PSP, 15. 12. 1965.
- (17) Blanton Belk to PSP, 17. 12. 1965.

5. Unity outside - first serious cracks inside - the first months of 1966

On December 27, Ernst Reinecke opened the winter-conference in Caux for which between 700 and 800 representatives of the young generation from all over the world had made the trip up the mountain from the Lake of Geneva. Reinecke started with the historical achievements of Caux, gave a masterly analysis of the ideological situation in the world at that moment and ended with the latest news from the United States and from *Sing Out*. Amongst the young people were a group of representatives of the American show who had been sent by Blanton Belk and their whole cast.

During the preparation-days I had found myself appointed Director of the conference, a title which I did not particularly appreciate. Jacqueline Mottu was my deputy. Most of the days I felt completely out of my depth. We had never had such a large group of younger people in the house and certain rules of discipline which we had agreed on beforehand became quite difficult to enforce. So I had on one hand to receive visitors like the Austrian Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky and his delegation and on the other send home some of the delegates who had refused to obey the rules. My memory of these ten days is a very mixed one. I probably felt very much like James Hore-Ruthven who wrote me after returning home: "It was a grand conference. We both enjoyed it very much - in spite of its 'moments'." (1)

But two things happened during this conference which were to prove themselves very costly in the months that followed. The first was a decision that was taken during the preparation of the conference. As the conference-hall was over-crowded and the dining-room filled to capacity with tables of twenty for young people, all our senior people, also those who had carried the responsibility and the finances of Caux for many years, were banned to the back of the hall and to a back-dining-room. They really were given practically no part in all that was going on - except to sit in the plenaries and to listen to the main speakers. I realised only later how precious it was that in Caux and in MRA in general we had learnt to integrate races, nationalities and generations and that we should never exclude anybody.

The other failure which was much more important concerned the relationship between the Germans and the Swiss (and in some ways between the British and the Germans also). I realised at the time that some serious tensions existed. I have mentioned the fact that some of the German colleagues had felt uneasy about our attempts to solicit invitations for Peter Howard's plays to Eastern European cities and felt that only a hundred-percent loyalty to the

Americans was right. But there were also personal elements in the Swiss-German relationship - which was a difficult one in the outside world also.

Only thirty years later I discovered some of the things that had happened in peoples' hearts during the days of the conference. In 1995 or 1996 at the funeral of a common friend, a Catholic priest called Engelbert Heller, I met up again with Fromund Helmes, one of the main leaders of German MRA from the sixties on. Fromund and I had known each other since the immediate post-war years and had been very close friends. But when those going with *Up with People* and those keeping to the traditional MRA parted ways - how it gradually happened will be described in the next chapters - we completely lost touch with each other and never met anymore. At the above-mentioned funeral Fromund and I agreed that we should meet and Fulvia and I travelled up to Davos where Fromund Helmes and his wife had lived and worked for several years. While the ladies talked in the house, Fromund and I went on a long walk around the Lake of Davos telling each other what we had lived through during this difficult period of twenty-five years. At the end of the walk the shadows in our relationship had vanished and we had found the old basis of friendship and trust again.

At the beginning of our talk I asked Fromund a question: "I have had a feeling for some time that an important element in the division in our work had to do on one hand with personal relationships between British and American colleagues, on the other with similar relationships between some of us Swiss and you Germans." He immediately agreed with this assessment. I then asked him concretely what he had happened during the winter conference in December/January 1965/66. He did not hesitate one moment and told me of two incidents during this conference. One was the question of a press-story which Fromund had written and which was vetoed by a senior British colleague. Whether I was also involved in that decision or not, I do not remember. But in the other case, it was a young German musician who played on one of the evenings and had such a success that the whole programme of the evening was a bit upset. When the young lady was scolded - probably by myself - for too much exploiting her success, she packed her bag and left. She also left MRA-work after that. After telling these stories, Fromund told me: "After these events I decided that we could not work anymore with the Swiss." Needless to say, I did not remember either of these incidents twenty years later and when I wrote a letter of apology to the lady in question, the answer was that this was a thing of the past and should not be discussed again.

Morris Martin, who had been the Personal Secretary of Frank Buchman and who was living at that time in Rome working on a biography of Buchman, got us Swiss and Germans together during this winter-conference to try to sort out things. I do not remember much about that meeting but I am sure that we were polite with each other and left the meeting without any of us feeling that either something important or on the other hand something irreparable had happened during this meeting..

Possibly these tensions would have been overcome in the course of the ensuing weeks and months if not at the same time, a similar clash had not happened in Tucson, in the United States. Roly Wilson had written me in December that his daughter Margaret would represent him at the Caux-conference but that he himself would go with Mary to Australia for a prolonged visit to the Pacific. He wrote: "I wish I could be with you. My guidance has been we are right to take this large trip and I have had a warm response from Blanton eagerly welcoming our having two or three days there en route. It truthfully seemed too much for us to attempt Caux too. " (2)

Clara Jaeger described in her book *Never to lose my Vision - The story of Bill Jaeger* some of the background of the meeting between the two men:

"In the next months (1965) , and following extensive tours with the show, an explosion of productions of *Sing-Out* took place in the USA. Casts sprang up also in many parts of Europe, and as far away as South Africa, South America and Australia. Bill (3) and several other colleagues attended performances. It was undoubtedly a superb show, but the moral and spiritual content of the original production had been superseded by a more specifically patriotic and educational theme. The success of the show itself seemed to be the chief objective. "

This very rapid expansion and popularity, coupled with the evident change of emphasis, created unease among many older colleagues of Buchman and Howard, especially in Britain. It was feared that some of MRA's most basic and universal foundations were being eroded. After many years of not infrequent attacks and misinformation about MRA, suddenly there was spectacular success and popularity for this show. Perhaps, some said, Buchman's concepts of a life wholly given to God, of seeking to live by absolute moral standards - which had never been easy and often attracted criticism - were being set aside in favour of a less difficult and more popular lifestyle.

An English colleague of Bill's went to the USA and attempted to discuss the growing division with his American counterpart. Unfortunately the visit did more harm than good, since hurtful words were exchanged by both men, and they parted amid deep mistrust." (4)

Whether it was this clash of minds between Wilson and Belk that finally convinced Blanton Belk that no common basis of heart with the senior British colleagues existed anymore and that he needed go ahead with even more vigour for his new concept, I do not know. I also do not know what were the deepest conclusions of Roly Wilson. The next letter of Roly Wilson written to me from Melbourne at the end of January 1966 was full of interesting news about his ideas for Australia and India but did not mention with one word what had happened in Tucson. It was only much later that I heard some of the details of the clash between the two men.

So some of us continued as if nothing had happened and worked very hard to prepare the coming of *Sing Out 66* to Europe. There was a meeting, already in mid-January, with Blanton Belk in Bonn where the conclusion was that *Sing Out* would possibly come to Europe in mid-March and be in Caux for a major Easter-Conference. Belk could not give a definite yes to this plan, as there had also been an invitation for *Sing Out* to travel to Latin America in the late spring of 1966. (5) After the meeting in Bonn I wrote a very up-beat letter to Belk in which I said: "The meeting in Bonn with yourself and the men from different parts of Europe was most useful. There is no doubt that in 24 hours direct talk one can get further than in miles of telexes and square yards of letters. We shall need to take much more time, energy and money to get a united mind on all aspects of our work and on all plans for the different continents." (6)

Our work, anyway, was cut out for the weeks that followed as we were working both on an invitation for Switzerland and one to Austria which was, hopefully, going to be issued by Chancellor Dr. Klaus and Foreign Minister Dr. Kreisky on the occasion of a visit to Vienna at the beginning of February.

James Hore-Ruthven wrote us that in Britain like in many other European countries elements were assembled to produce a musical show, not identical with the American one but with a similar content. The man who had produced several of Peter Howard's plays, Henry Cass, met with some of the young men and women who had been in Caux for the winter-conference and was so inspired by their conviction that he promised to help. Hore-Ruthven

added: " ...we will be ready to send a good group to fight with *Sing Out* in Germany if it seems best for them to go straight there, and have an assembly at Tirley (7) which would act as a preparation for *Sing Out* coming here. " (8) There was a week-end in London on February 12th and 13th where the best of talents from Britain and the continent assembled. A good representative group from Germany and Switzerland took part and several of the young men and women decided to change their plans and make themselves available for a prolonged period.

When at the beginning of March the news came through from Bonn that the German government had issued an official invitation to *Sing Out 66* with all expenses paid, the other countries of Europe were put before the challenge to initiate similar invitations. In Austria, Foreign Minister Kreisky had suggested that the *Bundesjugendring*, the association of all the youth-organisations of the country, would issue an invitation and that the political parties, trades-unions and cultural organisations would then support it. (9) When we finally got through to Chancellor Klaus who represented the Austrian Peoples' Party which had just won the parliamentary elections and had formed a government of its own, he agreed with Kreisky on the principle of the invitation and expressed the willingness to issue a supporting message. He said that he and his cabinet would sit in the front-row at the first performance in Vienna and that he would "feel responsible for the money". (10) During one of the visits to Vienna for which Richard Ruffin, Gordon Wise and Peter Orgelmeister had joined me, we also had a first prolonged audience with the Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal König.

In Switzerland, Denmark and Norway attempts were made to secure similar official invitations like the German one. The Foreign Ministers and in some cases the Prime Ministers were approached. In Oslo, the Norwegian colleagues had the support of Ernst Reinecke and Fromund Helmes who joined them in interviews with the cabinet-men. (11) But for one reason or another, no official invitations could be secured. The same was true in France where General De Gaulle was still President and in Britain where Harold Wilson was Prime Minister.

While countless interviews took place in this connection in different countries of Europe, some of us also kept in close touch with friends on other continents as well. From India we heard that Rajmohan Gandhi who had returned to India after a prolonged stay outside, was shocked by what he found in the public life of his country and was debating in himself and with others whether he should enter directly into the political arena and present himself as candidate for the parliamentary elections which were to take place in the course of

the year. There was a big group of younger Indians who worked with him in a *Roving College Force* with a musical called *Sing It, Asia*. The Indians expressed a warm invitation to a similar group of young Australians to join them and travel with them through India. (12) Roly Wilson wrote us that he was going to Japan at the invitation of Masahide Shibusawa for a visit which would possibly include Korea, Taipei and Hong Kong as well. (13)

During these spring-months we in Switzerland faced a dilemma: on one hand we were looking forward to the coming of *Sing Out 66* to Europe and realized that nobody could predict the outcome of such a visit. On the other hand we found the uncertainty concerning the *20 years Caux Conference* which was to take place in the summer difficult. All the members of the Federal Council in Berne had already been asked to give official support for this event.

If all these developments in Europe and Asia seem to indicate that we were all pursuing with one heart and one soul one common aim, this may be a somewhat mistaken impression. One of the meetings in Bonn whose real content is not recorded in any of the letters I have in my files is nevertheless strongly recorded in my memory. It took place in the spring of 1966 and is probably the one which I refer to in a letter dated April 13 addressed to Ruedi Hahnloser who was on his way to join our German colleagues in Bonn for the preparation of the visit of *Sing Out* to Germany. (14)

What I remember about the above-mentioned meeting in Bonn is that both the British and the Swiss were under serious attack because they had not secured an official government-invitation for *Sing Out*. The German hosts - I think with the support of Blanton Belk and his colleagues - made it quite clear that without an official invitation *Sing Out* would not visit any of the European countries. The fact that we had *only* an invitation signed by sixty Members of the two houses of the Swiss Parliament, Federal Judges and heads of cantonal governments was judged as wholly insufficient. The same was true for the British invitation which was signed, if I am not mistaken, by five-hundred Mayors of cities from all parts of the British isles. The Austrian invitation just slipped through as Chancellor Josef Klaus had given his whole backing to it.

How things looked from the German point of view Hansjörg Gareis writes in his book *Das Beste kommt noch* (The best is yet to come.):

"Chancellor Erhard initiated a decision of his cabinet that *Sing-Out 66* would be invited for a series of showings in the Federal Republic. Since 1949 there had been no such a commitment from the side of the political leadership of the country. It would have seemed natural that this initiative would also be supported in the other European countries with all possible forces available. We invited therefore the responsible MRA-people from France, England, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland to come to Bonn for a meeting on strategy. We were, if I remember rightly about 40 men..

We did not reach our aim to reach a consensus on how to proceed. On the contrary, during these talks in Bonn some seemingly unbridgable differences concerning key-questions in our work were expressed with such harshness as I had not experienced ever before. Especially the British, all people who had worked during the times of the Oxford Group with Frank Buchman and some Swiss indicated that they saw in the American Sing-Out movement some dangerous nationalist tendencies and that this could affect "the good name of MRA"... They could not share our conviction that with the extraordinary response of the younger generation a possibility was offered to us to transmit our ideas which had only very rarely been available to us if ever. We separated in profound disagreement. (15)

A letter from Lawson Wood to myself written a short time later takes me seriously to task. He writes that he had had a phone-call from Ernst Reinecke who "told me how disturbed he was by the Caux invitation (which had by then been printed) that announced the German government's invitation to *Sing Out* in a wholly wrong perspective." Lawson Wood added: "I understand more of what Ernst means when he has told me in the past that he does not feel wanted in what you do. Personally, I would never dream of announcing news which is essentially Ernst's without asking him how and when it should be done." (16)

So, as the cast of *Sing Out 66* approached its landing on European soil, there were many feelings around, often more unspoken than openly expressed, but still very effectively blocking a united thrust of heart and mind.

Notes:

- (1) James Hore-Ruthven to PSP, 15. 1. 1966.
- (2) Roly Wilson to PSP, New Year's Eve 1965.
- (3) Bill Jaeger, the husband of Clara Jaeger and the central figure of her book.
- (4) Clara Jaeger, *Never to lose my Vision - The story of Bill Jaeger* (Grosvenor Books, London 1995) Chapter XII - Conflict and a new beginning.
- (5) PSP to James Hore-Ruthven, 21. 1. 1966.
- (6) PSP to Blanton Belk, 31. 1. 1966
- (7) Tirley, the MRA-conference centre in the Midlands, U.K.
- (8) J. Hore-Ruthven to PSP, 26. 1. 1966.
- (9) PSP to Lawson Wood, Morris Martin, Ernst Reinecke, Philippe Mottu, Erich Peyer and Henrik Schaefer, 11. 2. 1966.
- (10) PSP to Blanton Belk, 29. 4. 1966.
- (11) letters of Jorg Thygesen to PSP, 2. 3. 1966 and from J. J. Wilhelmsen to a group of friends (incl PSP), 18. 3. 1966.
- (12) letters of Rajmohan Gandhi to Lawson Wood, 8. 2. and 14. 2. 1966 and to Jim Coulter, 14. 2. 1966.
- (13) Roly Wilson to PSP, 18. 2. 1966 and 6. 3. 1966.
- (14) PSP to Ruedi Hahnloser, 13. 4. 2000
- (15) Hansjorg Gareis, *Das Beste kommt noch* - Erinnerungen aus vier Jahrzehnten (Herausgegeben von Hansjorg Gareis, Schorndorf 1994) pp. 437 - 440.
- (16) Lawson Wood to PSP, 26. 3. 1966.

6. *Sing Out 66* in Europe - the reluctant decision to go separate ways

Sing Out 66 arrived in Bonn at the end of April. I wrote to Blanton Belk welcoming him and Betty on the European continent, saying that I would have loved to be on Bonn-airport on the occasion of his arrival but that we were still working to make the invitation for the show to come to Austria a reality. (1) In a letter to Georg von Erlach I described the situation in Vienna: "The final decision concerning the coming of *Sing Out* has not been taken.. This after-noon, the Chancellor is assembling twenty leading men of Vienna to encourage them to put the needed money on the table. He cannot or will not order them to do so but if he will put the proposal forward with enough conviction, he should break through.

Once this has happened, the Chancellor's office will authorize the Federal Council of Youth (Bundesjugendring) to express the official invitation. This then will be accompanied by a telegram of the Chancellor welcoming the coming of *Sing Out* to Austria. And when we are through all these steps we must make sure that *Sing Out* after its tour around Germany can or want still to add these performances in Austria to their programme." (2)

As it happened, the sum of 160.000 Austrian Schillings was pledged that day and the invitation with the telegram of the Chancellor left on May 11, suggesting a date in June for performances in Vienna and Salzburg.

When it was made known to Ernst Reinecke that the way was open for *Sing Out 66* to come to Vienna after their tour of Germany and on their way South to Spain, a few new obstacles appeared. When I was told by Ernst that the Austrians should pay for the transport of the cast and the stage-material from Northern Germany till Spain, I answered that this would make the visit to Vienna impossible as the budget that had been agreed to was very tight and we could not go back to the Chancellor asking for more money. Ernst Reinecke then talked to Blanton Belk and they both invited Fulvia and me to come to see *Sing Out* in Bonn and to discuss the whole issue on that occasion.

We took part in the performance in one of the private schools on an island on the Rhine and enjoyed it very much. After the show, we stepped on a boat and in the cabin downstairs we sat down with Belk and Reinecke and immediately got down to business. When Blanton realised that the Austrian visit would be off if the additional financial demands were put to the Austrian invitation committee, he immediately proposed that they should be dropped.

When we arrived with the boat in a small town on the Rhine where the group with Belk was going to spend the night, we were invited for dinner with a very distinguished group which included all those responsible for the campaign with *Sing Out* in Europe. At some point during dinner Belk addressed himself to us and said: "Don't you think that the moment has come for you to leave the old British to go their own way and come with us. *Sing Out* is even more than the step from the Oxford Group to Moral Re-Armament: it is something completely new." Fulvia and I looked at each other and were immediately in complete agreement. We were all for what *Sing Out* was doing for the young generation and were ready to support this wholeheartedly as we had done so far, but we were in complete disagreement with the philosophy that there was only one way now - *Sing Out* - and that everyone had to choose either to join or to get out. So we did not give a clear answer but said that we had to go back to Vienna for the final preparation of the visit there. This was accepted and Georg von Erlach took us by car to Koblenz in the middle of the night and we arrived exhausted next morning in the Austrian capital.

We then had another meeting with *Sing Out 66* in Augsburg and Munich ten days later. In a confidential letter to a friend the enthusiasm which I felt is obvious: "The showings in Augsburg for the U.S. infantry were a triumph and you could see how these soldiers lapped up the burning patriotism of the young Americans. We also saw Sing-Out in the Zirkus Krone and saw how many young men and women were immediately enlisted for a rehearsal next evening for a German Sing-Out." (3)

But when we met for several hours with Belk, Reinecke and others of their team the themes of discussion included not only the immediate plans of *Sing Out* in Germany, the USA and Latin America. The subject of what should be done during the summer in Europe and the US and especially the plans for Caux produced some expected and some unexpected reactions. Reinecke said that he wanted to keep all the newly won young Germans in the Ruhr and train them there. And Belk wondered whether he should take one hundred young Germans to the US to an international *Sing Out* gathering in Estes Park (USA) and then include them in a German-American *Sing Out* for Latin America.

Here some more extracts from my letter:

"When we gave some of our ideas for Caux, Blanton was very open and positive, as were the other Americans. Ernst remained silent most of the time and just gave his point that Caux was all right for the other nations but that he wanted to keep the Germans in Germany."

A few references - not very positive ones - were made about the British, the emphasis in their work and about Rajmohan Gandhi and his work in India.

After returning to Vienna, I wrote to Ruedi Hahnloser and Georg von Erlach describing to them the conclusions of our talks and suggested that we should meet immediately after the departure of *Sing Out 66* from Germany and Austria to talk over our summer-plans. At that point I saw no conflict in letting the Germans exploit the advance with their young generation in Germany to the full, having the young Americans developing further travelling casts of *Sing Out* and carrying through, at the same time an active programme in Caux for young and old not only from other parts of Europe but from the Middle East and Africa as well. (4)

The answers from the two young men were cordial but quite clear:

Hahnloser wrote: " Exactly as *Sing Out's* strength is that it is an American troop, it will be of greatest importance that a new voice of Germany will speak to the world - and this voice can only be born in Germany.

During these week the strategy of God has shown itself in such new ways that the plans which we developed in past January have to be revised.

Personally, my conviction is to give my very best these coming weeks to the development of a German *Sing Out* . I cannot commit myself to any conference in Caux at this moment." (5)

Georg von Erlach wrote about his work with new *Sing Out* groups all over Southern Germany and of the birth of a *Sing Out Deutschland*. He said that of course Caux would be needed sooner or later but that at this point he felt fully needed in Germany. (6) He adds in a second letter: "I have been invited by Blanton to accompany *Sing Out* back to America and I have accepted this invitation It seems to me enormously important that now a next and even more important breakthrough happens in America into the public life and the government." (6)

Before the arrival of *Sing Out 66* in Vienna I returned to Switzerland for a meeting with a dozen of my Swiss colleagues in Berne. Although we thought that there had been an agreement on discussing what should happen in the summer in Caux, we soon realized that Erich Peyer and Ruedi Hahnloser had come with their own agenda. I quoted Peyer in a letter to a friend in Paris as saying: " *Sing Out* is the most important thing that has happened in our work since the launching of Moral Re-Armament by Frank Buchman in 1938." For Peyer it meant that all other actions except *Sing Out* were without much significance and that certainly to have Caux without *Sing Out* would be a grave mistake.

When at the end of several hours of discussion "all the 11 men were united on the point that we should have Caux open for the whole world in the summer and that a special conference would be called for the second half of July...Erich refused to sign a telex to the British friends who had offered to come and help us." As Erich Peyer was the President of the Caux-Foundation we could not ignore this opposition. I sum up our conclusions in a letter we sent to our friend in Paris: "In these conditions we would have only forced a division if we had insisted in going ahead with the conference planned for July 15. We do need to go ahead with our revolution, which is a Christian revolution and which includes the whole world, without making compromises. And the moment will come when we shall work out a common concept together again." (7) At that time, I was still optimistic that it could and would happen.

Before leaving for Vienna again, Erich Peyer and I had lunch together in Zurich. I wrote about it to friends: "Erich expressed even more clearly what he felt. He said that he did not trust me, and that Caux had gone to my head. He said he had decided to stand up again and now wanted to take charge. He indicated that the Germans and others had clear plans for Caux and that he was completely on their side. For the future of Caux he said that he wanted to see in America how Caux could fit in with the College by creating in Caux a prep school or a high-school..." (8)

After these difficult moments with Erich Peyer and, before that, with Ernst Reinecke Fulvia and I felt very shaken. In the letter mentioned above I wrote : "If it is for Ernst - and it seems to be for Erich too - besides all ideological considerations a question of persons which hinders our common advance, and if our sheer presence at the heart of developments in Caux and in Austria makes them unpalatable to them, should we for a while seek another field of labour, let us say in Africa or Asia. Both Fulvia and I feel ready to do anything that God tells us - fighting merrily here in Europe, or move to another place which is shown us." (8)

Sing Out 66 arrived in Vienna in the morning of June 12 and left by plane for Spain and the USA on the 15th. These days were some of the most difficult I had experienced in my life so far. As we had not accepted Belk's invitation to join him unconditionally, we were considered, not so much by himself but by some of his lieutenants as belonging to the opposition-camp. Having prepared the visit together with the men in the Chancellor's office - our main contact-man was Dr. Alois Mock who later became Education Minister and was Foreign Minister of Austria till the late nineties - we were of course invited to all events and were expected to sit with the Chancellor and his wife and his cabinet-men in the front-row

at the Premiere of the show. This caused some open criticism. But what was even more difficult for us to accept was that Mrs Doë Howard, the widow of Peter Howard, who was our special guest in Vienna for the occasion, was not allowed to take part in the green-room-meeting before the show. And there were other such unpleasant moments during these days.

Fulvia suffered so much from these tensions that she had a real break-down and for a while I did not know whether she would be able to return with me to Switzerland after these days but would need some treatment on the spot. The diagnosis was "hemolytical anemia" which sounded quite ominous.

Sing Out 66 as such was a resounding public success. The Chancellor himself received the whole cast officially at the Ballhausplatz, the Chancellery, and spoke very movingly to the young Americans. During the show, when Linda Blackmore sang the ballad of Joan of Arc, he turned to Doë Howard and said to her: "Today it is three months somce my daughter died." (9) (His youngest daughter has been between life and death for several weeks before she passed on in March 1966) " And before he left us he phoned the Colonel of the Austrian Army who had brought the whole Vienna garrison to the show asking him to give an order to First Lieutenant Michael Klaus (the Chancellor's eldest son) in Salzburg to attend the performance there." (9)

Blanton Belk wrote immediately after returning to the United States thanking "for all your hospitality and care, and for the special way you looked after our guest.. (a leading American industrialist who became an important sponsor of the *Sing Outs*.) I was sorry to learn that Fulvia has not been feeling well... There was indeed a response in Austria which, if nurtured and mobilized, could dramatize a new meaning of freedom for East and West." Belk also wrote about the great response the show had had in Spain and about a long interview with the former German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer. (10)

Possibly we should have taken time, after these very intensive weeks and the tensions that had developed, to evaluate what had happened and to search for ways to avert a real split. But the next big task called, as Caux was going to open its doors in July, even if no real invitation for a conference had been agreed to.

Notes:

- (1) PSP to Blanton Belk, 29. 4. 1966.
- (2) PSP to Georg von Erlach, 2. 5. 1966.
- (3) PSP to Lawson Wood, 21. 5. 1966.
- (4) PSP to Ruedi Hahnloser and Georg von Erlach, 21. 5. 1966.
- (5) Ruedi Hahnloser to PSP, 26. 5. 1966.
- (6) Georg von Erlach to PSP, 4. 6. 1966 and 11. 6. 1966.
- (7) PSP to Jean-Jacques Odier, 5. 6. 1966.
- (8) PSP to Lawson Wood and Roly Wilson, 5. 6. 1966.
- (9) PSP to Pauli Snellman, 22. 6. 1966.
- (10) Blanton Belk to PSP, 18. 6. 1966.

7. Summer/Autumn 1966 - approaching the point of no return

What do-you do when you are faced with a choice you don't like? All across the world we and our friends were confronted with this question. There had been a general expectancy in MRA-teams across the world after the death of Peter Howard that a new chapter for the world-work would start. Most of us also were clear on the fact that the youth would play a central rôle in this new chapter. So the spirits were wide open when *Sing Out* erupted on the scene and the doors were wide open for *Sing Out 65* and *Sing Out 66* as invitations from all parts of the world showed.

But the majority of my colleagues across the world, while being keen and ready to use *Sing Out* to reach the younger generation, was not ready to drop everything else and to write off all that the older generation was living for and doing.

So practically everywhere three different attitudes started to emerge. Some knew immediately whether they were for or against *Sing Out* and what it stood for. That the Europeans in general were a bit more cautious than the Americans could be expected, but even in Europe the enthusiasm for what *Sing Out* had to offer was great. Then quite a few could not make up their minds. And finally there were those who sensed immediately a conflict in the air and tried to mediate between what they saw as "the two sides".

But for most of us things did not look so simple. It was only after the visit of *Sing Out 66* in Europe that the areas of disagreement or even conflict started to emerge. One of these areas concerned the question whether in the new way of doing things which those with *Sing Out* proposed, the conference- and training-centres and "MRA-Embassies" in many countries still had their rôle to play. As one of those responsible for Caux this was one of the questions I personally felt very quickly and very directly faced with. A second area of conflict was how the men and women committed to MRA, especially those of the younger generation, were going to be distributed around the world. Here, too, we Swiss found ourselves confronted with serious questions. If all the young Swiss were going to cross the Atlantic and join some of the *Sing Outs* in the United States or somewhere else, how were we going to carry on the planned activities in a place like Caux. A third issue had to do with all the musical groups and casts that were starting to emerge on all continents. Would these groups just co-exist or would they be able to cooperate with each other and with the *Sing Outs* in a common strategy to *remake the world*?

Concerning the issue of the future of the MRA-centres, the MRA legal bodies in the different countries suddenly started to play a central rôle. MRA had no legal hierarchy which controlled the world-work but was administered in every country by some form of legal body. In some countries, these bodies were foundations - like in Switzerland - in other countries associations or charities. Frank Buchman had originally hoped that such legal bodies would not be necessary but had accepted their need to receive and spend money and to administer properties. For many years, these bodies had done their work without drawing attention to themselves. In many cases, only very few people knew who was member of a council of foundation or a council of management in such an institution. Now suddenly, differing opinions were brought forward on the occasion of the meeting of these bodies. In some countries, there was a unanimity or almost unanimity on what course to pursue, in others it was not clear how the majority of the members would vote.

Our Caux Council of Foundation was faced with a particular problem. The President of the Foundation, Erich Peyer, had from the beginning on joined Blanton Belk and the Germans in giving full and unlimited support to the *Sing Outs*. He was sometimes but not always supported in the Council by Prince Richard of Hesse from Germany. But the whole rest of the Council, the Swiss, French and British, were fully committed to keep Caux open for the whole world and believed more in the traditional ways of MRA. At the Berne-meeting described in the last chapter, in order to avoid an open confrontation, no public decision had been taken concerning the Caux-summer and no invitation had been agreed to. But when the Council of Foundation met in the beginning of July it was clear that things had to be decided one way or another.

Ath the beginning of the meeting, Erich Peyer took the initiative and suggested that the Grand Hotel - one of the main buildings of the Caux-conference centre - should be put at the disposal of the newly created Mackinac College as a high-school and that Mountain House should be rented out for meetings of businessmen and others. As Erich Peyer had on several occasions opposed any plans for conferences in Caux for this year, this was read as a suggestion to close down the operation of Caux as we had known it. There were strong reactions from all sides. Gottfried Anliker, a senior Swiss businessman, said: "Mr. President, I recall my last conversation with you. I am a man who has given a million and a half francs to Caux. My firm plans to give another million in the course of the next two years. But what you said left me absolutely hopeless. I have to reconsider whether we can give money at all if that

is your view of Caux. But I think Caux is one of God's greatest weapons and we need to rediscover the great aims that will make it more effective than ever." (1)

In conversations with Roly Wilson in Tirley - the MRA-conference centre in England - shortly after this meeting and in a letter to me Erich Peyer tried to tone down his proposals. He wrote: "After the council session Ruedi (Hahnloser) and I flew to Cologne on the invitation of Ernst. In Bonn we lunched with Prince Richard. He thought I should explain in writing what were my suggestions and send these to the members of the council, as it seemed that my suggestions were rejected because people thought I wanted to shut Caux and put the school and the renting out of the buildings as an alternative to our conferences instead of as an addition, which is what really was intended. I do not know if this is right. What do-you think?" (2)

After the rather stormy meeting of the council of Foundation, one member wrote to Erich Peyer: "I have given a great deal of thought to the twin propositions you laid before the Conseil on the 4th. I wish to goodness you had consulted some of your colleagues before springing your ideas on us like that in a prepared speech. Looking back, I would say that anyone in that room, if you had taken them into your confidence, could have told you what would happen." (3) Another member wrote Fulvia and me: "Very best thanks to you both for these notable days in Lucerne. It think it was victory, absolutely, on the points at issue. Our need now is to move ahead with the utmost speed and energy on how to implement the decisions we have taken. It think we can have a memorable Caux of magnificent proportions." (4)

Looking back, I am not sure that "victory" was the right word to use for what happened on that day in Lucerne, and if this was the feeling that was reigning in our hearts, it may have helped us to get through a difficult summer but it did not help in keeping the doors open for working on a "shared vision" for the whole MRA-work world-wide. My own answer to Erich Peyer's letter described first what was happening in Caux and then tried to keep the conversation going: "You are writing that your suggestions at the last council session were misunderstood. I guess that several of the council members must have been a bit astonished that these suggestions were much more aimed at the periods when Caux is not used for the Moral Re-Armament of the world than for the periods of activity for which the center was created in the first place...I am also keen that we prepare real training sessions including most modern language courses, but I am deeply convinced that our friends - and also Swiss

industry- will give money more readily if they feel that Caux is really serving the purpose for which it was created." (5)

So the effect, rightly or wrongly, of this discussion in the Council was that there was a new determination in the Swiss in Caux and in the different cities to "pull up their socks" and to make the "20eth anniversary summer" something that all would remember. While we started our conferences in Caux, at the same time a whole series of meetings and conferences were planned for Tirley, and many delegates joined first one event in one of the centres and then came on to the other. For the first week-end in Caux many of the delegates came from the Annual Conference of the International Labour Office in Geneva, the next was attended by representatives from agriculture, from Europe and overseas. A week-end later, Doë Howard, the widow of Peter Howard, and Dame Flora McLeod of McLeod (whose grand-son had married Anne Howard) came over from England. And for September, plans were made for a "theatre festival" and for a major week-end for French industry.

Once it became clear that there were two kinds of MRA-programmes being offered, new difficulties arose when people, especially young people, were invited by "both sides" to take part in their respective programmes. We in Caux had of course hoped that young men like Ruedi Hahnloser and Georg von Erlach would take responsibility with us for what was planned for Caux and Switzerland. As it happened, in both the Hahnloser- and Mottu-families the parents remained in Switzerland and the sons and daughters went across the Atlantic or went to Germany to help prepare a German *Sing Out*. Quite a few other young Swiss faced similar decisions. Some chose to stay, others went with the *Sing Outs*.

I got into a rather unpleasant controversy when the summer plans of the son of the Austrian Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Karl Schleinzer, were being decided. The Minister himself was a close personal friend and had accepted to come to Caux to address a week-end for men from agriculture. The son was also keen to come for a prolonged period during the summer. When *Sing Out 66* was in Vienna, Ruedi Hahnloser who knew the son also, invited him to go with the young Americans back to their country. The Minister then told me that he was astonished that an invitation had been issued without consulting him. He said to me: " We don't want to influence my son, but I would be very glad if you could telephone him and clarify the situation." (6) The discussion went back and forth and Karl jun. finally decided to stay on in Europe and came to Caux for a few weeks.

I received letters both from Erich Peyer and Ruedi Hahnloser (7) in which they complained about my "intervention". Ruedi drew some conclusions from this which I found rather unfair: "I sense in you more and more an anti-american attitude. I remembered during these weeks that you said in a conversation after my return from the USA that you were against too close a relationship with America because this would affect the situation in Eastern Europe. At that time I did not realize how much this determines your thought and action." Ruedi also accused me of wanting to build up a "position of power" for myself in Europe. Although we were on the same continent - Ruedi in Germany, myself in Switzerland - there was no chance to talk over these misunderstandings face to face anymore. On the issue of Karl Schleizer jun I rather felt left alone, as even some of my British friends thought that I had missed the care and the finesse demanded in such a situation.

Such painful exchanges were not restricted to Switzerland, Austria and Germany only. In Europe, Italy, Holland and Scandinavia were a special focus of attention, in Africa, Kenya and South Africa, in Asia, India. We all, both those working with the *Sing Outs* and those pursuing more traditional MRA-lines of action, seemed to be in agreement on one basic point: that the work with the young generation was the key to the future and that musical shows were the best way to reach the youth in schools and universities. So it was natural that musical shows appeared on the scene on all continents. While at the beginning, *Sing Out 65* and *66* had encouraged new *Sing Outs* to emerge in all the cities they visited, the policy changed in the course of 1966 or 1967. The experience in the US and Germany was that local *Sing Outs* were difficult to keep under a certain control and that there was also a difficulty to preserve quality in terms of music, dancing and content. So it was decided that the songs of *Sing Out* could only be sung by groups who had an agreement with Blanton Belk and his colleagues. When Belk saw *Sing Out Australia* in India, he forbade the young Australians to use any of the songs that had come from the original *Sing Out*, which forced them to write new songs in the course of a few days. But this also strengthened the friendship between the Australians and Indians with the result that the Indians produced a first-rate musical show themselves, called *India Arise*, of which there will be more to say in the coming chapters.

For us Swiss, and for Caux, the creation of *Sing Out Deutschland* did not make things easier. Originally, hundred young Germans had been invited to join the American *Sing Outs* but that invitation was then withdrawn, and the new show was created in the Meisenhof, a place in the Ruhr that had been put at the disposal of MRA for training-purposes. At the end

of July Ernst Reinecke phoned Jens Wilhelmsen in Oslo asking whether *Sing Out Deutschland* could come to Norway - as they were not welcome in the US at that time. (8) The Norwegians said that their government was still considering an invitation to the American *Sing Out* and that therefore a visit of the Germans would not be timely. Later similar feelers were extended to Austria and Switzerland as well.

Again, of course, seen from the German point of view, things looked quite different. Hansjörg Gareis writes: "The effect of the relatively short tour of the Federal Republic (of *Sing Out 66*) was everywhere strong and contagious. Wherever the show was given, at the end young people went in droves to the information-desks to discover how they could participate. Everywhere new *Sing-Out* groups grew spontaneously. The Klöckner-industries put at our disposal a Ruhr-youth-village near Castrop-Rauxel which stood empty at the time which proved to be a good training-centre for *Sing Out Germany*."

Already in August 1966 there was a full programme available with contributions which the young people themselves had written and produced. For the students of highschool-age who had taken leave from their schools at short notice some teachers made themselves available who went on tour with the group and carried through a regular highschool-programme on the road." (9)

In the second half of August, Fulvia and I realized that it was not easy to live for such an extended period with considerable tension. Lawson Wood had written us at the beginning of that month: "God's peace is not the absence of turmoil and storm, but the way in which He enables us to move through both with hearts at ease and at peace. I find He keeps me perfectly in the midst of the strife and stresses I so much fear in prospect." (10) We both wholeheartedly believed this - in theory - but the application was not so easy. And when Fulvia was invited to Scotland to spend some time with her friends there, crisis struck. In the plane between Tirley and Scotland she collapsed and was taken by ambulance to the Glasgow Central Hospital. She was very fortunate in having as the doctor who received her the blood-specialist of the hospital. On August 20, when she was already a bit better, she wrote me: "This morning the "doctor's team" (6 people) arrived at my bed and my doctor said that I had less than 50% of the needed red blood cells. So they want to find out where this comes from...I am very grateful for the care here by the National Health Service, where I do not have to pay anything... Paul (11) is also in touch what gives me a great sense of security. " (12) The doctors found it difficult to establish a clear diagnosis of what was wrong with her. After a

certain time, the so-called "hemolytic anemia" just disappeared and never appeared again. My own diagnosis was clear. The strains and stresses of these months had just been too much and Fulvia's organism had reacted to it in this special way. It was clear to me that we both would need an even deeper touch with Christ to face some of the issues that inevitably would come our way during the remaining months of the year.

The fact that the emphasis of the work on one and on the other side had clearly been established did not mean that there were no more contacts and conversations between individuals in both camps. Prince Richard of Hesse accepted an invitation to Tirley. According to Roly Wilson "he responded very much to the idea of a positive programme for Caux to be enunciated at the next Foundation meeting." He added: "How far we travelled, I do not know, but certainly we enjoyed his visit and greatly appreciated all he gave." (13)

On their way to the United States the family Reinecke stopped off for a couple of days in Britain, and Ernst was invited to come up to Tirley and address the conference there. Roly Wilson saw in the talks during this visit a good step forward in our inter-European dialogue. He wrote to me: "The hours that Ernst had here were of value...He gave me a full and comprehensive picture of all that they are doing in Germany and their plans for the school on the road for 80 boys and girls. He also told me that Michel (14) had been eager for *Sing Out Deutschland* to come to France but that he, Ernst, had thought it might be better to have an American *Sing Out* come, in view of the need to reconstruct the relationships between France and America."

Wilson then speaks about Reinecke's talk in Tirley: "Then we mustered every last soul and gave him a full and good audience for his talk. He had prepared it carefully and what he said was potent and effective. He quite movingly told of the first Germans coming to Caux and the miracles that happened within Germany and between Germany and other nations, and of the part played by Frank (Buchman) and Peter (Howard) and others. Then he gave a vigorous and forceful account of the present campaign. More than once he spoke of the crucial need to move hand in glove with America."

Wilson then adds his own assessment of Reinecke's work in Germany: "It is clear to me that his tide is running, and running fast, and God may give us the inspired way to step in with them in Germany, once any door is opened. It is an incomplete programme, but a dynamic one. And there is the extraordinary inability to be interested in anyone else or anything else." (15)

For the week-end of August 27 and 28, we had invited the whole invitation committee from the Swiss parliament, the Supreme Court and Cantonal governments to come to Caux to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the conference centre. 700 people took part in the event. Again, as at various other such major meetings before, what was given from the platform and from the stage of the Caux-theatre was one thing, what happened behind the scenes another. But it was a clear demonstration that there were men and women in Swiss public life as well as many ordinary Swiss of all generations who were determined to make the ideas of Caux a reality in our country. At that week-end, a sizable sum of money to pay the bills of Caux was either given or pledged.

Erich Peyer who spoke on Sunday morning had many private talks with all our Swiss and foreign friends who were in Caux at that time. Sadly, we had to reach the conclusion that the main purpose of his visit to Caux was on one hand to secure further visits for the *Sing Outs*, for instance to Italy, and that much emphasis was put on the different quality of what America and Germany and the *Sing Outs* were producing in contrast to what the "Swiss-British-alliance" was standing for.

I wrote to friends after that week-end: "My own conviction is still to avoid any open clash or controversy and to try to keep my colleagues also from doing so. Some are quite incensed about the P's behaviour but indignation and clash will not help in any way at this point." (16)

One issue that was put forward by Dr. Siegfried Ernst from Germany (whose six children were all part of *Sing Out Deutschland*) was whether the young Germans could come for one of the week-ends to Caux. Two of the September-week-ends were seriously considered and Dr. Ernst said that he would return to Germany the next day to suggest such a visit to Reinecke and the others. I promised then to carry things forward on the Swiss side if there was a serious possibility of *Sing Out Deutschland* accepting an invitation to come.

Was this a real opportunity which we did miss? *Sing Out Deutschland* did finally come to Switzerland but more or less through the back-door, in the beginning of 1967. Would it have made a difference if the young Germans had been received openly and generously in Caux during that autumn? Some of the Germans, amongst them Dr. Ernst himself, expressed this thought in hindsight fifty years later when we reviewed together some of this rather sad chapter of history.

In September, we had another meeting of the Council of Foundation. No decisions were taken, but many of the members had a chance to present their concept for the future of Caux. There were no acrimonious discussions but the positions were quite unmovable on both sides of the table.

In the middle of everything we were doing here in Europe, news reached us from India that demonstrated to us that we were part of a world-wide struggle between good and evil after all, even if this struggle took some more dramatic forms in other continents than ours. Two of the girls of the cast of the Indian travelling force had been kidnapped by the Madras police at the request of their parents. Rajmohan Gandhi who was in charge of MRA in India decided to fight this issue out openly in the courts. He got the full support of his grand-father, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, known as Rajaji, who as first Governor General of independent India was one of the most respected men in India. Rajaji said in his public statement: "This is the most important case in the history of free India. Large numbers of the older people are now dependent on the government. They dare not oppose a protest. Even the big businesses and institutions are in the same position. If the young people are also going to be silenced, there is no chance of a free India. The young adults of today have the right to sacrifice to give their best to their country. Parents have no right to oppose or prevent this."

(17)

The case took a dramatic turn when one of the girls was able to smuggle a letter out of her home where she was held prisoner. Thanks to a strong press and judiciary which had both kept their independence from government the case was finally won and the girls liberated. (18) A by-product of this struggle was that the show *India Arise* got considerable national publicity and was seen by many of the leaders of the country.

The MRA-friends from all parts of Switzerland meeting in Berne adopted unanimously a resolution which was sent to Rajmohan Gandhi and to the President and the Prime Minister of India as well. They also sent a sum of 6000 SFrs to support the whole campaign. (19)

The autumn and the beginning of the winter brought much of the same, both in terms of activities and in terms of discussions on various levels and in various groups about the direction and the future of our work.

There was a chance of a true meeting of minds and hearts on the occasion of the opening of the *Arts Centre* in London on November 26. A major representation from America was there as well as some of the senior Germans. Blanton Belk presented a beautiful tapestry

which was hung up in the foyer of the theatre. But I find neither in my diary-notes nor in letters any evidence that I was involved in any significant talks about "the split" and the increasing acceptance a parting of the ways in our world-work had become inevitable.

In Switzerland, meanwhile, we could not reach agreement on a general invitation of *Sing Out Deutschland* to different Swiss cities and to Caux. Part of the hesitation came from the fact that German friends and friends of these friends visited various cities themselves to encourage local groups to invite the German show to their city. This was done without consultation which caused sadness in some, indignation in others. My father and Dorli Hahnloser were deeply involved as Ruedi Hahnloser was clearly a spearhead of this move and did it quite consciously without asking the opinion of his mother and of the man who had accompanied him with advice and friendship ever since the death of his own father in 1950. He then simply announced to us the series of performances that had been fixed for January 1967 in St. Gallen, Zürich and Schaffhausen. (20) There was also a rather unpleasant phone-conversation between Ruedi and me. At the end of it, I was not proud of myself because I had let myself be drawn into a hot dispute. Thirty years later, when I apologized to Ruedi for the words I had used, he laughed and said that he had enjoyed shocking us on that occasion.

During the same month, the Dutch *Sing Out* which had always tried to be a bit between all camps decided to come to Caux for the winter-conference. In Britain a new show *It's our country*, Jack started a series of showings in Oxford and other cities. *India Arise* was considering accepting invitations to come to Europe. At the winter-conference itself a very good group of university-students met. They included some excellent men from the Heidelberg University invited by the student-chaplain, Dr. Klaus Bockmühl. Quite a few other Germans also participated in the conference, amongst them Prince Richard of Hesse who as a personal friend of the senior full-time Germans who all were involved with *Sing Out* and at the same time a warm friend of Caux, felt terribly torn.

At this end of the year 1966 I still refused to speak about "the split" and kept as much contact with friends in Germany and America as I could, but true communication between those committed to one course or the other started to be very thin.

Notes:

- (1) Ken Belden to Blanton Belk, 9. 7. 1966.
- (2) Erich Peyer to PSP, 14. 7. 1966.
- (3) John Caulfeild to Erich Peyer, 23. 7. 1966.
- (4) Ken Belden to PSP, 5. 7. 1966.
- (5) PSP to Erich Peyer,
- (6) PSP to Lawson Wood and Roly Wilson, 18. 7. 1966.
- (7) Erich Peyer to PSP, 4. 8. 1966, and Ruedi Hahnloser to PSP, 5. 8. 1966.
- (8) Bill Jaeger to Roly Wilson, 28. 7. 1966.
- (9) Hansjörg Gareis, *Das Beste kommt noch - Erinnerungen aus vier Jahrzehnten* (Herausgegeben von Hansjörg Gareis, Schorndorf 1994) pp. 437 - 440.
- (10) Lawson Wood to PSP, 4. 8. 1966.
- (11) FSP to PSP, 20. 8. 1966.
- (12) Dr. Paul Campbell, who had been personal physician of Frank Buchman.
- (13) Roly Wilson to PSP, 6. 8. 1966.
- (14) Michel Sentis, one of those responsible for the MRA-programme in France.
- (15) Roly Wilson to PSP, 18. 8. 1966
- (16) PSP to Lawson Wood and Roly Wilson, 29. 8. 1966.
- (17) Roly Wilson to various European friends, 28. 9. 1966; statement of C. Ragagopalachari in *Indian Express*, 3. 10. 1966.
- (18) R. D. Mathur to various European friends, 4. 10. 1966.
- (19) PSP to Lawson Wood, 22. 10 1966.
- (20) Ruedi Hahnloser to PSP, 9. 12. 1966.

8. 1967 - the time of confrontation

A first serious confrontation occurred already soon after the New Year of 1967. As recorded in earlier chapters, there had been many attempts to get support for a general invitation for *Sing Out Deutschland* to come to Switzerland and Caux. When this support was not forthcoming, the decision was taken by those responsible for the German group to go at least to all the cities where some friends had expressed an invitation to come. The performances in St. Gallen and Schaffhausen were quite successful, but now came the real test: how would the public of Zurich respond and what would the press say.

In the beginning of 1967 I started to make daily diary-notes on what was happening around me and what I was thinking. These notes of course reflect what I thought at that moment - and not how I look at things thirty years later. So I have to let them speak for themselves. The first entry describes how my parents, Fulvia and I travelled together by car from Caux to Zurich to attend the opening performance of *SOD* in the big hall of the Kongresshaus. And here are the diary-notes on that occasion:

"SOD in the Grosse Kongressaal. 3/4 full. Many known faces, but also many young people, amongst them a whole row which has come to protest. And from beginning on the whistling-concert starts after practically every song... The content of SOD is rather monotonous, especially when one does not get the words. The whole is centred on Germany. How should a Swiss respond to songs like 'Don't look back!' or 'Michel, throw away your *Zipfelmütze*.' (1) Fortunately, neither Caux nor Moral Re-Armament get mentioned. Those who seem pleased or even enthusiastic are some of the older people who are taken along by the spirit of the youth." (2)

In the same diary-notes I quote from a MRA-team-letter from Bonn of January 7:

"Hundreds of millions of young people of the whole world are looking for a new aim. Peter Howard had foreseen this development and this dynamic. He put the challenge to the youth in the democratic countries to live the values of freedom in a more modern and convincing way than any generation of a totalitarian state ever has demonstrated its ideas. As it happens often to prophets, so it happened to Peter Howard: in his own country and in Europe he was not listened to. The American youth was first to take up the challenge. Through it, *Sing Out* has become the voice of the modern youth."

After the visit of *Sing Out Deutschland* in Switzerland Ernst Reinecke, wrote to Philippe Mottu who had gone to St. Gall to see the show:

"You cannot imagine how much the cordial reception in your country has meant to us all...

The plans for Caux have interested me very much. You know how for years now it was very much on my heart that Caux should be a true revolutionary centre. In all honesty I have to tell you that I cannot imagine how with a bitter anti-american attitude in the heart of Caux you can give to the youth a 'training for leadership of the world for tomorrow'. That is true for all the other programmes of Caux.

In all friendship, understand it right: If you think that the way of "Sing-Out" is not the way to give Moral Re-Armament to the people of the world, I respect it. If you believe, through conferences, round table talks and through using a "place of encounter" you will change the world and will get our continent to do a decisive step forward, then you have to do it. I personally am convinced and experience it constantly: the way of demonstration is what the world today needs and understands. I also believe that we in Europa are moving into a zone of deadly danger if we let ourselves be separated from America. Nobody saw this clearer than Frank Buchman and Peter Howard and nobody can convince me that this is not true." (3)

Reinecke and his German colleagues had hoped that after the performances in St.Gall and Zurich other invitations would follow, especially one to Lucerne. But no further invitations were forthcoming and the attempt to create new *Sing Outs* in Zurich and other places with the hope of finally starting off a *Sing Out Switzerland* did not get off the ground.

The next possible confrontation we envisaged was in our Caux Council of Foundation. I wrote in my diary on January 27: "Erich and the Prince (Prince Richard of Hesse) are in the same way prisoners of our Council of Foundation as we are bound to them. The Council is today the only institution in which both sides are still working together. We would lose a lot if we forced Erich P. and the Prince to retire. The meetings would possibly be easier but our main chance to preserve Caux as a place of meeting and changing not only for the world but for our own work, would be lost once for all." (4)

One difficult point on the agenda for the session of the Council planned for February 6 was how to answer a letter that had been addressed to the Council by the President of the

Mackinac College asking whether we could accommodate from 1968 on 100 to 200 junior students of the College for nine months of every year. The request of course raised all kinds of legal, financial and practical questions. The proposal of the "committee of training", a sub-committee of the Council, was not to turn down the request outright but to point out the various problems that would need to be answered. (5)

When the Council met in Caux, Prince Richard, Dorli Hahnloser and Ken Belden asked to be excused. The proposal to ask Philippe Mottu to re-join the Council - he had been absent from it for several years - was opposed by Erich Peyer but Mottu was elected with a unanimous vote minus one. The letter to Mackinac College was discussed and its tone and content approved by all. On the plans for the coming of *India Arise*, on the proposed Easter Conference in Caux and on the advance-plans for the summer there was full agreement, and everybody was grateful that unnecessary confrontation was avoided. (6)

Erich Peyer finally refused to sign the letter to the Mackinac College but asked my father and John Caulfeild to sign it, and so it was sent off. (7)

After this not too pleasant interlude we were happy to fly to London for the Premiere of Peter Howard's last play *Happy Deathday*. During the same weeks the final preparations for the European visit of the Indian musical *India Arise* occupied much of our time and energy. Both the British friends and in a more modest way the Swiss had to find in a relatively short time considerable sums for all the different projects. And even the small sums contributed by the Swiss were questioned by the President of our Foundation.

When the plans for *India Arise* were discussed earlier, the idea of trying to penetrate with this show coming from a Third World country also some of the East European countries was approved by all. In Vienna, both Chancellor Klaus and the Socialist leader, Dr. Kreisky expressed interest but no actual invitation was forthcoming. As the Cultural Attaché of the Czech Embassy in Vienna had suggested on the occasion of the showings of Peter Howard's *Mr Brown comes down the hill* in the Austrian capital that the play should be shown also in Prague - and as it had not been possible to pursue the suggestion at that time - I travelled alone to Prague to offer some showings of *India Arise* to the official government theatre agency *Pragoconcert*. The men and women I met never said either yes or no. For these officials - it was still cold war atmosphere at its worst - our proposal seemed a bit suspect. (8)

The cast of *India Arise* with Rajmohan Gandhi arrived in the beginning of March having had on their way through in Rome a magnificent reception by Pope Paul VI. After a

first performance on March 8 the play was shown in Lucerne, Sarnen, Porrentruy, Berne and Geneva. and Rajmohan and the cast were received by many representatives of the federal and cantonal governments. While the cast toured Switzerland, the news came through that Svetlana Stalin, the daughter of the Russian dictator, had left the Soviet Union and had reached Switzerland via India and Italy. (9)

The Easter-Conference in Caux which the young Indians help to animate, offered us all a chance to analyze where we stood, individually and as a national and world force. Here some diary-notes about these discussions:

"We need open doors but also open hearts, without any trace of self-righteousness. May there are also some things which happened in the past years that we need to put right. The split in Europe started between Germany and Switzerland and specifically between ernst Reinecke and myself. So we are carrying a great deal of responsibility...

Roly Wilson and Dorli Hahnloser asked us also where we stood on the questions of leadership in Moral Re-Armament. After some hesitation Peter Howard decided to accept for himself the expression 'in charge of Moral Re-Armament of the world'. Very soon after that many more 'in charge of...,' started to appear. Fulvia and I were also close to being drawn by Blanton Belk into this kind of temptation... We did not see then how dangerous and introduction of such a hierarchy could be for our work also for the 'leader' himself to whom no help could be given anymore if he went off the straight path... Already a few days after these things have been discussed more or less openly, we can see the difference. The women have often felt excluded, also some of the younger people. If we succeeded in starting to do things together, especially, the bigger things, tremendous creative energies could be set free." (10)

The next meeting of the Council of the Caux-Foundation took place in Lucerne on April 14:

"The Foundation meeting eysterday in Lucerne was most interesting. Prince richard was there, and I had not seen him so relaxed for a long., long time. He had been in aMerica for three weeks and had bseen *Sing Out B* performed for the heas of Teader's Digest in New York. He had received Professor Erhard at the Petersbergstrasse (11) the day before. He is planning to be at the second opening of *Happy Deathday* in Lodon on April 27. He did not say much at the Council meeting itself, but the few of his contributions were quite valuable.

All the points on the agenda went through quite smoothly..." (12)

Possibly the most painful experiences of these months were the moments when we were meeting with friends of long-standing and were not speaking the same language anymore. This was particularly painful when I got together with Ruedi and Georg Hahnloser who came from the same city and with whom my father and I had a close friendship for many years.

A diary-note of April 1967 speaks about such a meeting:

"I invite myself to see Ruedi, and he cannot help but receive me. He is friendly, Georg also. First we speak about the situation in Switzerland - the communal elections in Zurich, the political in-fighting in television and the school-system, etc. Then we move on to the subject of the visit of *Sing Out Deutschland* in Switzerland. Georg then asks the question: "What happens with the young people after they have seen *India Arise*? Their only concern seems to be what happens with the 16 to 25 years' old. I ask Ruedi what we should do in Europe. He answers that we should tackle the high-schools and the universities and start publish a German magazine like *Pace* (13). All other questions or issues seem to be of no interest for him. When asked how things are going with their plans for a *Sing Out Switzerland* Georg and Ruedi give straight answers: *Sing Out Zurich* has died a natural death; *Sing Out Schaffhausen* are some very young people; *Sing Out St. Gallen* is quite active. But not much new material has been created.

In any case the channel for friendly contact and for mutual encouragement to live the life is open. But there seems to be no passion for changing lives. On this point unfortunately there seems to be no doubt." (14)

Little did I know at that time that there would be no direct contact with the Hahnloser-brothers for almost thirty years. The same was true for the four children of Philippe and Hélène Mottu who had returned from the United States more or less disillusioned. In any case they did not want to have any touch with us.

From the spring 1967 on the "two sides" developed their strategy practically on their own as there were not many opportunities anymore to have real meetings of heart and mind. In Caux we were busy with the Whitsun- and summer conferences of that year. During the same time, *Sing Out Deutschland* was in Brasil and went from there to a world-meeting of the *Sing Outs* in Fort Slocum, on the East Coast of the US.

But there is one more clash of opinions during the meeting of the Council of Foundation in the middle of July. The President of the Council and Prince Richard of Hesse

come forward with the double-proposal. There should be a German-Swiss meeting in Bonn to sort out our differences. The reason why it should be in Bonn is that Ernst Reinecke had decided not to come to Caux anymore. So it was up to the Swiss to do the first step. The second proposal was that *Sing Out Deutschland* should be invited to Caux immediately after the end of the Fort Slocum gathering.

The discussion is not conclusive. Most of the members of the Council feel that a purely Swiss-German meet would hardly bring the desired results and that any attempt to bring the two sides together would need to be done on a much broader basis. Gottfried Anliker, the business-man from Lucerne, underlines the conviction that unity on the aims in the world needs to precede any invitation of plays or shows to any country. Prince Richard is disappointed but Philippe Mottu is charged to write a conciliatory letter to Ernst Reinecke and the young people of Caux send a fare-well message to the young Germans who are on their way to the United States. (15)

We only realised later that at Fort Slocum some important decisions were taken that would affect the lives of many of our friends. Some of our American and German colleagues who had no particular calling for the youth were encouraged to leave full-time MRA-work and to find jobs wherever they could find them. It was also decided that neither *Sing Out Switzerland* nor the Austrian *Sing Outs* had enough life in them and that all should be concentrated on the American and German casts and their moves into different countries and continents. Rumours reached us that plans were being made for a *Sing Out cast* of 180 to land in Oslo and then to visit seven or eight European countries.

One fruit of the Caux-summer is a very powerful musical show called *Il est permis de se pencher au dehors* which is called in English *Anything to Declare*. The first performances of this new show are given in the Swiss Jura-region which is going through a violent political struggle, demanding autonomy from the Canton of Berne with extremists even calling for independence or wanting to join France. The show is received well by all parties and goes on from there to Lorraine and London.

In my correspondence of the time after Caux I find the last exchange of letters with Fromund Helmes (with whom I would have the next personal exchange only thirty years later). I had just spent a few days in Germany and visited also my parents-in-law, Baron and Baroness Wilhelm von Hahn, in Bonn. On that occasion I had left a note for Fromund in the MRA-House at the Petersbergstrasse. He referred to that note in his letter which he found

waiting for him after his return from America. He refers to the fact that Christoph Köhler (one of his colleagues) had left for Denmark with eighty of the young Germans. He writes: "The weeks in Fort Slocum have advanced many in their personal decisions and their relationship to God..I hope that we can see each other at some point.." (16) I felt that there was a genuine desire in Fromund to give to all the people he met the best and the deepest of his life and I expressed in my answer to his letter the desire that we would meet soon. But it did not happen and the longer we had no direct contact, the more difficult it got to be in natural touch with each other.

There was one more session of the Conseil de Fondation at the beginning of October. The meeting included reports both on the activities in Caux and on the Fort Slocum-conference and the visit of *Sing Out Deutschland* in Denmark. Fortunately, on the financial side, there are good news to report. More than 300 000 Swiss francs more were given this year than last year during the same period. Finally, it was decided that the revised statutes which had been a subject of discussion for some time and which had been approved by the Minister of Interior in Berne would be put into operation immediately and that elections for the posts of President, Vice-President, Secretary and five members of the Finance Committee would be held during the next session of the Council during the first days of January 1968.

What went on before, beside and after the meeting was in a way more important than the meeting itself. Erich P. described the plans for one *Sing Out* to move to Latin America, while another one would come to Europe. He said that the German *Sing Out* had lost two thirds of its members and was being augmented by five Italians, five Swiss and some others. He said that they all felt that Germany was in great need and that they wanted to hit now the big university cities again. (17)

As the year 1967 drew to a close, for somebody looking at MRA world-wide from outside, the impression must have been that it was a period where many flowers were blooming but where nothing irreparable had yet happened. But for us who had a more realistic look how it looked inside our force and inside our countries, the split now was a reality. On both sides there were still people who wanted to mediate or who wanted to avoid any confrontation. But neither the hawks nor the doves in either camp seemed to know how things should go on.

Notes:

- (1) Michel is the name of a typical ordinary German. He usually wears a white cap - a Zipfelmütze - which symbolises in a way his cautionary approach to life. So the song says that Michel should throw away his Zipfelmütze.
- (2) Diary-notes, Zurich, January 12, 1967.
- (3) letter of Ernst Reinecke to Philippe Mottu, Bonn, January 27, 1967.
- (4) Diary-notes, Zurich, January 29, 1967.
- (5) PSP to R. Wilson and A. L. Wood, 14. January 1967
- (6) Diary-notes, Caux, February 6, 1967.
- (7) Erich Peyer to Th. Sp., 7. 2. 1967.
- (8) Diary-notes of March 5 and 6, 1967.
- (9) Diary-notes, March 14 to 22, 1967.
- (10) Diary-notes, March 22 to April 5.
- (11) Petersbergstrasse, the MRA-house in Bonn.
- (12) PSP to R. Wilson and A. L. Wood, 15. 4. 1967.
- (13) The magazine *Pace* was created at the same time as the *Sing Outs* were launched. It was a large magazine like *Life* and tried to reflect - and answer - the questions of the young generation of the United States.
- (14) diary-notes of April 13 to 19, 1967.
- (15) diary-notes July 13 to 20, 1967.
- (16) Fromund Helmes to PSP, 15. September 1967.
- (17) PSP to A. L. Wood and R. Wilson, 4. 10. 1967.

9: The year 1968 - deciding to go separate ways

The new year started with a New Year's conference in Caux which was very much centred on the student-generation from a great mixture of countries. The biggest groups were from Morocco (some straight from their own country, others from Paris), Jordan (university of Heidelberg), Singapore (Oxford), Vietnam (Lausanne and Paris) and Syria. We met with the students every day at 17 hours and were amazed that practically all of them believed in the necessity of using violence to achieve their aims. Little did we know what the students all over the Western world would initiate in this year, 1968, that would become a turning-point in the post-war history.

The other feature of this New Year's conference was the participation of thirty Germans who according to my diary "represented all tendencies from 'anti-Bonn' to 'pro-Bonn'." (meaning pro or contra *Sing-Out*). One of them was Dr. Klaus Bockmühl, the Protestant Student Chaplain of Heidelberg University, who had brought many student-delegations to Caux and was trying hard to answer the wave of Marxism sweeping through the student-population of the university. (1)

At the end of the conference, there was also a meeting of the Council of our Foundation at which Henrik Schaefer was elected as the new President with Daniel Mottu as Vice-President and Konrad von Orelli as Secretary. There is no reflection of this meeting either in letters or in my diary-notes.

But besides the events in Caux, what was most on my mind and what is reflected in many letters and diary-notes, was Germany. Amongst the senior Germans involved in MRA at that time a group had been formed of men and women who felt that in a Germany that was going through a critical political and spiritual phase, *Sing Out* could not be the only content of their endeavours. One of the more outspoken in this group was a lawyer from Stuttgart, Dr. Friedrich Haver. I received in these days a copy of a letter he had written to Ernst Reinecke in Bonn about the creation of a new high-school on the Michelsberg, in Southern Germany, mainly for the young people of *Sing-Out*. He wrote: "The creation of the new educational centre in which the school education is carried through on the basis of the thinking of Moral Re-Armament, is an outstanding thought which could not have been realised without the sacrificial work which you and the whole force in Bonn have put in...All the more I am

preoccupied by the fact that Sing-Out should, according to your ideas, be the only content of the German Moral Re-Armament work. As much as I see the value of Sing-Out, I feel nevertheless that the moment has come to keep Sing-Out to the place it deserves: to train the growing young generation in a new thinking, to reinforce their conviction in discussions with people of other opinions and to train a new leadership. But the main attention of the German MRA work needs now to be directed to the grown-ups who after all will be carrying the whole responsibility for the next twenty to thirty years. The exclusive concern with Sing-Out in our MRA work would only lead to a disastrous reduction of the spiritual basis of our work."

(2) Reading this letter thirty years later, one can understand that both the content and the style, while logical and understandable, did not exactly encourage a true dialogue, and so the reaction to the letter and to the thinking in it, was negative.

But from the diary-notes during these January-days of 1968 one can read between the lines that Fulvia's and my mind (and heart) must have already been on its way to India where we went with a larger European delegation for the opening of *Asia Plateau*, the newly-built conference- and training-centre in Panchgani. After the opening itself which was attended by 4000 people and a remarkable one-week-conference Fulvia and I were asked to accompany Madame Irène Laure (3) around India and Pakistan. At the end of this extended journey I flew to Asmara and Addis Abeba to join our colleagues for a few days on my way home. I returned to Switzerland only in the middle of April.

In a way, I was happy to be away from the small and larger confrontations with which we were inevitably confronted when in Europe. But in the correspondence of these three months one can see that it still was not possible to keep out of things completely.

Henrik Schaefer wrote about a visit of Blanton and Betty Belk to St. Moritz, in the Eastern part of Switzerland. Henrik was invited for a performance which Belk had arranged but declined for health-reasons to attend. (4) Dorli Hahnloser attended as well as some of the German friends like Friedrich Schock and Sieger Ernst but the visit led not to any further meetings or initiatives. In his letter Schaefer also describes the powerful impact the new musical show *Anything to declare* in which young Europeans of 15 countries took part had meanwhile on the public of the Swiss capital, Berne.

Another exchange of letters at the beginning of the year ~~was~~ with the Catholic Father Engelbert Heller from Germany who had been one of my closest friends ever since we first met in 1949. He had been offered the post of principal of the high-school on the Michelsberg

which was to help the participants of the *Sing Out* programme to prepare themselves for university. The Bishop of Essen in whose diocese Father Engelbert was working, expressed support for the project of this school but refused to free him for this task. In his letter, Father Engelbert raises the whole question of the relationship between Caux and *Sing Out*. He wrote: "With the expansion of our work we have to multiply not only our centres, but allow a differentiation of our possibilities. I consider the work being done at the conference centre of Caux, the cultural centre of London and the youth work of *Sing Out* as a necessary variety and cannot see why these different activities could not marvellously complete each other. All these reflections have always found a good response with my friends in Bonn...I would only take on the leadership of the Michelsberg if we could all agree on this question." (5)

As Engelbert Heller's letter reached me on the day before my departure to India, I could not answer him fully, but offered a meeting at the end of February or beginning of March after my return to Europe. (6) Unfortunately, the damages on his liver which Father Heller acquired during his time as prisoner-of-war in the Soviet Union, forced him to undergo a severe treatment and so our meeting had to be postponed.

In the middle of March, Henrik Schaefer wrote about another round of confrontations with some of our German friends. My father was indirectly involved as he found himself in Berlin on an invitation - not connected to MRA - by a group of professors and theologians to give a series of lectures in East Berlin. He used the opportunity to see some of his German friends, amongst them Heinz Krieg, an art-teacher in a high-school in Berlin who for many years had been one of the pillars of the MRA-work in his city. He and some of his friends had not been much involved with the *Sing Outs* and felt that the time had come to organise an MRA-conference in Berlin. They had invited some friends from Switzerland and Britain to participate in this event.

My father wrote to me after his return to Zurich: " (In Berlin) I spent two evenings with the R.'s (7) and the Kriegs. They are preparing a meeting at the end of the month. Gottfried Anliker (8) and Bill Jaeger have promised to come. Bonn has forbidden them to use the name of MRA. After the first enthusiasm for *Sing Out*, the bridges have been burnt. Two days before, the Havers had received a phone-call.. defending them from coming to Ulm (to a performance of *Sing Out Deutschland*) as they were fighting against what the young people had given their lives to. The reception of the three men from Caux on the Michelsberg was ice-cold. Haver tried to make the bridge. How glad I am that you are in India with Rajmohan

(Gandhi). The example of India is a great promise. This is what I have tried to tell our two Berliners." (9) The men in Bonn put Anliker under strong pressure to decline the invitation - which he finally did, but for health reasons. I think we all had the feeling that the time for a public alternative in Germany was not ripe, and that in any case it should not come from outside. (10)

We realised, hearing from various sources that to develop the right plan for the showings of *Sing Out Deutschland* had not been easy. One target had been, at some point, to reach the German universities who like universities world-wide, were going through much turmoil. But when the young Germans started to perform their show in Hamburg at the university, a row broke out and the performance had to be interrupted. After that, showings at universities were avoided.

During the same period we kept in close touch with Klaus Bockmühl and followed his battles at the university of Heidelberg. He had received an ultimatum from the marxist group of students whose leader said to him: "We are not so much concerned with you as a person but with the ideas you represent and the position of the student-chaplain which we want to win." (11) As Bockmühl had been appointed by the bishop and not by the students, it was the latter who finally released him, at his own request, from his job. (12) He stayed on in Heidelberg till the end of March.

In the middle of March, Henrik Schaefer discovered that one or two of his senior Swiss friends had behind his back tried to launch an invitation for *Up with People*, as the musical show growing out of the *Sing Outs*, was now called, to come to Berne and Lucerne. It took many talks to sort things out, and it was not astonishing that some of those who were not so close to our work could not see the difference between one musical show and another. Others were a bit fed up with all the tensions that these different initiatives produced. (13)

While we from Switzerland had not felt it right to support the Berlin-conference, Jens Wilhelmsen from Norway and a group of miners from the Ruhr felt it right to support the Berlin friends. Jens Wilhelmsen wrote after his return:

"One of the students (in Berlin) told me that if Berlin had been lying in the ruhr, he thought they would have been able to topple the present order. On this background the belrin conference was significant, first of all the presence of Hartung, Eggemann, Theolcka and some of their mining colleagues form the Ruhr. There were also students from unviersities in sTuttgart, Bonn, Hamburg and Berlin. The leaders of Sing-Out from Stuttgart and Hamburg

were there, Roland Seyfarth from Gernsbach, von Buch from Essen, Mr and Mrs Hofmann from Mannheim and quite a good group from Berlin...

None of our German full-time force came to the weekend, although they were cordially invited several times. I am afraid they are cutting themselves off from something which is not directed against them and which can become a very significant new development in the country." (14)

During these months we had several communications with the men in Bonn. Ernst Reinecke wrote us to say that what the Berlin-men were doing could "do harm to our work world-wide". (15) With Fromund Helmes we discussed the question whether the church-organisation *Brot für die Welt* (bread for the world) could offer support for the work of the new conference centre in India in Panchgani. (16)

As we approached Whitsun, the confrontation seemed to reach its height, not only around Caux but in other parts of the world as well. My diary-notes of these weeks reflect how things looked from "our side":

"Whitsun means *30 years of Moral Re-Armament*. It would also have been the 90th birthday of Frank Buchman. For many of us it is the beginning of a summer which in many ways promises to be a "hot" one. The developments in France offer a worthy backdrop. The demand for change, even an irresistible pressure for change, does not come from the impoverished East but from the heart of the rich West. De Gaulle's life or death gamble is a first-class drama.

In this situation we try to mobilise the strongest possible proclamation of Moral Re-Armament. It is the united presentation of the experience of God's intervention in the lives of individuals and nations. Rajmohan Gandhi, R. D. Mathur (India), Conrad Hunte (Barbados), Irene Laure (just returned from India), two leading men from Ethiopia, Philip Vundla (South Africa) and many more. The Swiss and German television is present. On Whitsun-Monday special correspondents of *Die Welt* and of *Novosti* arrive.... " (17)

In the same diary-notes I refer to a meeting at Heathrow air-port in London where Lawson Wood and Michael Barrett met with four American colleagues representing *Up with People* who were on their way to a world-meet of *Up With People* in Italy. The Americans expressed their disagreement with two things. One was a possible address of Roly Wilson to the Whitsun-conference in Caux. The second demand concerned Anne Wolrige-Gordon's biography of her father which was to be published under the title *Peter Howard - Life and*

Letters. As the whole *Sing-Out* movement was based on some of Howard's ideas and statements, the men responsible for it were afraid that the book would only give a one-sided view of Peter Howard's life. But the central issue of the discussion concerned the rôle of Frank Buchman. The American friends present said that a major publication in the United States wanted to publish an attack on him. Buchman seemed to them as having become a handicap for their work and so they seemed ready to make a clean break with MRA's history and past. (18)

One particular issue that was discussed only privately at that point concerned the accusation that Buchman was a homosexual. Whether this issue was brought into the discussion from outside sources or whether it was considered to be a damocles sword threatening the whole work, is up to this day not clear to me. I was not involved directly in any of these discussions but this issue had of course a deep emotional impact on us all. I may have taken a relatively easy way out: For me the question was not whether Buchman had homosexual tendencies but whether he gave in to them, with other words, whether he was a fraud or not. And on this point, I had no doubt that he had lived what he talked about. I had seen myself so many fruits of the Spirit growing out of Buchman's work and life, that to discard him at that moment would have been for me a sin against truth.

In the weeks that followed we also heard that Blanton Belk had decided to call himself *International Director of the Up With People Movement* and that he was planning to assemble all his friends and allies in an *Up with People World Festival* in Genova during the summer.

While none of us Swiss were directly involved with the Heathrow-meeting, I got personally more and more letters concerning the developing situation in Germany. Some of the group of Germans who had turned against the leadership in Bonn and the exclusive concentration on *Sing Out Deutschland* was in danger of using the same methods to fight the men in Bonn which they had experienced themselves. So we tried to keep in touch with all those who had not broken with us and to include as many as possible in the plans for the 30th anniversary conference in Caux. Fortunately, the students and some of the couples from the Ruhr were open for this approach and were ready to play their full part.

During the summer, a kind of difficult but nevertheless possible coexistence between the two ways was being maintained. I wrote in my diary on July 12:

"There will be two special planes starting from Norway this summer, one going to Genova, the other to Caux. From Eritrea a group of young people goes to Genova, others

come for the courses in Caux, probably both financed from the same source! We shall see which way will bring forth better fruit. For those living in these divided countries, especially in Norway, life is not easy. It will be a daily cross to bear. But something new and deeper may grow out of it all." (19)

The high-point of the Caux-summer was the visit of Jean Rey, the President of the Commission of the European Economic Community, at the beginning of September which drew to Mountain House an important group of political and economic leaders for Europe.

For the rest of the year, the uneasy co-existence situation continued. As in other historical cases where in a spiritual movement two camps are in creation, the information of what "the others" are doing is most important during the initial phase. Later, the facts are more or less clear and the element of surprise disappears. And each "camp" has enough to do with its own activities.

This is obviously what happened in the autumn of 1968. There were four young Germans from *Sing Out Hamburg* that stopped off in Caux on their way home from the Genova Festival and passed on the news of what had happened there. Via Norway we received the confirmation that the incorporation of *Up With People* had happened in the United States and that the new organisation was not linked directly to the history of Frank Buchman and Moral Re-Armament anymore.

At the beginning of October a new letter reached me from Father Engelbert Heller, this time from Montreal. Heller had just spent a week in Mackinac and referred to talks he had had with my father in Caux some years before. "Exactly this we need for Europe now!" Heller still hopes to get the permission of his bishop to become the head of the Michelsberg College. He also hopes that we shall meet up but again the occasion is somehow missed to have a real exchange of minds and hearts. (20)

But our main attention was now directed on the work at hand. The group of young Europeans and their cast of *Anything to declare* moved into France and concentrated on the industrial centres in which during the year 1968 there had been much unrest. They were invited for a run at the Westminster Theatre in London at the beginning of 1969.

My own notes show visits to Austria and Yugoslavia and later to Scandinavia with stop-overs in Germany and France on the way. Practically everywhere due to the split there were tensions and divisions but there was also real spiritual growth and a clear determination to concentrate on the task at hand. In November two major meetings took place in Germany,

the first on Schloss Kronberg, at the invitation of Prince Richard of Hesse, the second in the training-centre on the Michelsberg. In both cases, the central issue brought forward by some of the senior men was how the international cooperation of the German MRA could be strengthened again. My reaction to all these meetings does not seem to have been wholly positive. I wrote to Klaus Bockmühl:

"In the last weeks there seems to blow a fresh wind amongst our friends in Germany. I hope this is not just a question of organisation and fraternisation. The meeting of November 20 in Kronberg, the week-end on the Michelsberg and the proposed meeting in the home of Janders (in Heidelberg) seem to suffer from the same weakness. Man and nation seem still to be in the centre rather than God's plan for the world and the suffering humanity which desperately needs an answer. Tell me, if I see these things wrongly, but seen from afar, this kind of meetings seems to produce very little real new life and new people." (21)

Two German members on the board of the German MRA association, Roland Seyfarth and Eckart Thümmeler, took an active part in these meetings. Seyfarth was in a particularly difficult situation. His daughter was working for one year with the *Pace-Magazine* in the US, his son had been part of *Sing Out Deutschland* and his sister was the secretary of the MRA-office in Bonn. Yet, he tried to look forward to a new working with all the friends in all camps. All our contacts with the German friends during these last months of 1968 led not to any firm conclusions but to an agreement to meet again in Caux over the New Year. (22)

Notes:

- (1) diary-notes December 1967/January 1968;
- (2) PSP to A. L. Wood, January 13, 1968.
- (3) Madame Irène Laure, a leading Socialist from France, had since the late forties played a central rôle in the work of MRA world-wide.
- (4) Henrik Schaefer to PSP, February 1, 1968.
- (5) Engelbert Heller to PSP, 12. 1. 1968.
- (6) PSP to Engelbert Heller, 16. 1. 1968
- (7) R's, colleague and friend of Heinz Krieg, and his wife.
- (8) Gottfried Anliker, industrialist from Lucerne and member of the Caux-Foundation.
- (9) Theophil Spoerri to PSP, March 12, 1968.
- (10) Henrik Schaefer to PSP, March 15, 1968.
- (11) Klaus Bockmühl to several friends, 24. 1. 1968.
- (12) Klaus Bockmühl to PSP, 12. 2, 1968.
- (13) Henrik Schaefer to PSP, March 15 and 21, 1968.
- (14) Jens Wilhelmsen to Bill Jaeger and Lawson Wood, 2. 4. 1968.
- (15) Ernst Reinecke to PSP, 21. 5. 1968.
- (16) PSP to Fromund Helmes, 12. 6. 1968 and the reply from Helmes to PSP on June 25.
- (17) diary-notes Whitsun 1968.
- (18) PSP to R. Wilson and A. L. Wood, May 24, 1968.
- (19) Diary-notes, Caux, July 12, 1968.
- (20) Engelbert Heller to PSP, 8. 10. 1968 and reply on 31. 10 1968.
- (21) PSP to Klaus Bockmühl, 27. 11. 1968.
- (22) PSP to A. L. Wood and R. Wilson, November 25, 1968.

10. 1969/71 - the cost and consequences of splitting up

At the beginning of 1969 two events radically changed our situation in the Caux-Foundation. First, we received a letter from Erich Peyer who had been for many years the President of the Foundation. He wrote that regretfully he was resigning from the Council of the Foundation. He gave as reason: "The Council of Foundation has in its majority gone away in recent years so far from the spirit and the attitude which we when the Foundation was created considered as a necessary condition for remaking the world according to Moral Re-Armament, that I cannot continue to carry the responsibility for the work of the Foundation anymore. " (1)

Then, on February 11, the news reached us that Prince Richard had finally succumbed to his cancer of the liver. He had been visited by several friends during the last weeks in hospital, amongst them by Henrik Schaefer and Lawson Wood.

I wrote in my diary:

"With the passing of Prince Richard we are reaching in many ways the end of a chapter. The Prince tried all during these last years to preserve a continuity between the work of Frank Buchman and the most modern expressions of it like *Sing Out*. How many meetings did he who did not like meetings, have to sit through! During his last visit to Caux he said two things which I never forgot. At a breakfast he apologized for the visit of *Sing Out Deutschland* to Zurich. He said that he had tried to stop this move but that it had already been announced publicly. One felt that these developments had possibly cost him many years of his life. The other point which the Prince made that time was to say that more and more Germans, especially those who had had touch with Frank Buchman and his team, would come back to Caux. 'One after the other will come.' " (2)

I also wrote that with the passing of Prince Richard and the resignation of Erich Peyer our council was for the first time without any representative of the *Sing Out* philosophy and without any Germans.

Quite a few of us made our way through icy roads to Kronberg, near Frankfurt, for the funeral of Prince Richard. On the way there and on our way back, we took the opportunity to visit again different German friends, amongst them Roland Seyfarth who, together with Eckart Thümmeler and Sydney Cook, were now the only "non Sing Out" members of the board of the German MRA-association.

Seyfarth told us about the last attempt to get "both sides" together, described already in the last chapter, which had been on November 1, 1968 on the Michelsberg. Prince Richard had still participated in the talk. At the end he was asked to speak and he ended with the sentence: "I want you to continue with energy to pursue the way shown by Moral Re-Armament." During that same session in the beginning of November, different businessmen from all over Germany met with Prince Richard without the fulltimers being present. Afterwards the fulltimers were informed, and they agreed in principle to have more cooperation with France, Caux etc. (3)

The spring of 1969 was a stormy one in more ways than one. In France a general strike had led to a breakdown of negotiations between government, management and unions. In Britain a similar confrontation was threatening. In Germany, the election of Dr. Heinemann as Federal President left some open and bitter wounds in the body politics.

Not knowing what the plans of the Americans and *Up with People* were and being swamped with all kinds of rumours, we felt besieged. There were some crisis-regions where the "two sides" were still confronting each other, in Norway, in the Horn of Africa, in South Africa. A first big international conference was being prepared in Asmara with the support of the Governor General - and Emperor Haile Selassie - and some of our friends had already gone there to prepare the event.

There were also some confusing signs in the air. One of our senior British colleagues, Roger Hicks, found himself in the rôle of mediator and travelled backwards forwards between Caux on one side, and Blanton Belk (at that moment in Brussels) and Erich Peyer on the other. He was also invited to have talks in Germany with the different groups.

A letter came into our hands which Garrett Stearley had addressed to a Canadian friend, Grace Young. In it Stearley speaks about the "extraordinary refusal of some of our MRA colleagues abroad to go forward and develop the fresh and relevant ways to reach modern man. It is a sad betrayal of Frank's ever-revolutionary spirit. His concepts and strategy were continually fresh and new. He was constantly exploring relevant means to arrest and shift the world around him, and constantly surprising those who worked with him." He said that what we were doing in Europe was "primarily pot-stirring with loyal friends and colleagues" and that it was a "way of operating ..from a world gone by and unrelated to the real issues of today." (4)

At the same time the news reached us that in newspaper articles some of those responsible in *Up with People* had started to dissociate themselves publicly from Moral Re-Armament and Frank Buchman, that Mackinac College was on the point of closing down and that quite a few of the middle-age American full-timers had been asked to leave MRA full-time work and find jobs. (5)

Again I was glad to be out of Europe for a while and to see during the Asmara-conference some very fresh new thinking coming out of Africa. We became conscious of three major issues in Ethiopia that would determine the future of that country: the question of the relationship between Eritrea - then a province of Ethiopia - and the central government in Addis Abeba; the revolutionary stirrings in the university youth; and the question who would follow the old Emperor as ruler of the country. All three issues were approached, directly and indirectly, in one way or another, during these days.

The Caux-summer started early that year - like the year before - with a Whitsun-conference, followed by a series of training-courses and a conference aimed at a dialogue between workers and students.

At the end of July, during a few days in the mountains, I tried to assess where we stood on the question of our purposes and our relationship to our former colleagues. Being close to Germany both geographically and emotionally, we realised that things were coming to a head in our work in this country. A tour of German cities by an *Up with People* cast had been everything but a success and had left the Bonn-friends with very real debts. A visit to Essen had had to be shortened and the planned performances in Berlin were called off all together. This plus a growing challenge of the so-called "Stuttgart group" which not only included business-men like Schwarzkopf, Momm and Walther Berning but also the Member of the Bundestag Peter Petersen, the lawyer Friedrich Haver and the pastor Martin Eckart Fuchs, forced the Bonn leadership to take some drastic decisions. We heard that there was a plan to sell the house in Bonn at the Petersbergstrasse and the training-centre on the Michelsberg and to encourage many of the full-timers to leave their work and to try to find jobs.

As many of the Germans concerned turned up in Caux, we were of course directly or indirectly involved whether we wanted it or not. We also felt saddened that so much of what had been built up by the commitment and sacrifice of so many around the world was threatened and could feel with those who suddenly found themselves cut off from what they had given their lives for.

These events had also the effect of bringing a lot of old and new friends to Caux. The houses were full practically from the first day of the conferences of the summer 1969 to the last. And the outreach of the conferences into the different continents grew accordingly.

At the beginning of October things came to a head in the German MRA-association. One person who felt things particularly deeply was Sydney Cook who had worked in Germany for many years after the War and whose brother-in-law, Fromund Helmes, was one of the responsible men of the German MRA-association. Sydney, Roland Seyfarth and Eckart Thümmeler, the three minority-members on the association, opposed the sale of the MRA-house at the Petersbergstrasse and some of the other basic decisions which the majority had proposed. Opposition to the sale came also from some of us Swiss as the contribution of Switzerland for the buying of the Petersbergstrasse-house had been considerable. But on the October-meeting the sale was nevertheless decided. (6)

Meanwhile, the miners of the Ruhr with Hubert Eggemann who found the discussions with the "hawks" in Southern Germany rather tiresome, continued with performances of the Ruhr-cast of Peter Howard's "The Ladder". They as some others in other part of the country felt that the conflict in Germany was not basically a legal one or one of control of properties and money but a question of how best to change the thinking and living of their country, and that the play "The Ladder" expressed clearly what the people in the Ruhr and Bonn needed to hear at this particular moment.

During the autumn-months of 1969 the cast of *Anything to Declare* prepared itself for its move to Asia and Australia. Some of us continued to build up our contacts in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Fulvia worked on the German translation of Anne Wolrige-Gordon's *Peter Howard - Life and Letters* (in German, the title was: *Peter Howard - Aufbruch zum modernen Menschen*) and we were looking for the right publisher either in Germany or Switzerland.

The friends on both sides of the South Tyrol conflict whom some of us in MRA had been in touch with for several years announced to us that an agreement - *the paccetto* - had finally been reached. At a moment when many European countries were going through serious political and economic turmoil, the news of a positive settlement of this ethnic conflict made front-page news. (7) Our British friends were meeting in Northern Ireland with people from both sides and hoped that the *South Tyrol Miracle* would affect the attitude of all participants at the talks.

In the middle of December I visited Erich Peyer in Zurich. He had now withdrawn from all the positions of responsibility and was obviously asking himself what to do with the next years of his life. The meeting with him was not easy even if we avoided thorny subjects like Caux and UWP but at least a human bridge was re-established with the hope that at the right moment the healing process could go further.

The end of the year and the New Year's conference opened up some old and new doors. We received an amazing number of Christmas-cards or New Year's messages from friends in the countries with which we had lost contact, especially from the US and from Japan. It showed that there was a desire in many to renew contact and to see how inspite of the split human relations could be restored.

The other new development was communicated to us by Roland Seyfarth in Caux. He told us about a very constructive conversation with Fromund Helmes who for the first time spoke about the possibility that he and his colleagues could be ready to relinquish the name Moral Re-Armament to those who wanted to continue with this work in Germany. Concerning this proposal I wrote to British friends: "How real this readiness is, we do not know, but we all felt that if there was any possibility of reaching a friendly agreement on the question of the name it was worth while waiting before creating a new organisation under a different name. This was both the Germans' and our conclusion on the matter . Of course some of the Germans are keen on getting soon some form of organisation with the right of tax deductibility as no greater action inside Germany nor any big support for actions outside (for instance development aid money for India) can be planned without a legal body." (8)

While on a journey to Ethiopia and India I received a series of letters and documents which threw some new light on some of the major aspects of the "split" we in Switzerland had not been so directly involved in, especially on the relationship between the British, the American and Canadian friends. The Canadian Paul Campbell, who had been the personal physician of Frank Buchman and who was living in London, had kept in close touch with friends in his own country. As in Scandinavia, South Africa or Germany, the division went straight through families and the whole group of people who had originally been committed to MRA. And in all countries the split brought with it thorny decisions concerning the control over properties and the legal MRA-body.

In several countries, there were visits of pro-UWP-senior Americans who reiterated in front of bigger groups what had been said at the London airport-meeting in 1968 about Frank

Buchman and his alleged weaknesses. By necessity, lawyers had to be consulted. One issue was whether one could just let the sale of MRA-properties go by as several of them had been acquired thanks to the sacrificial giving of many people all around the world. One of the lawyers advised: "Consolidate the core of the work with great care. Look into all your constitutions with care and see it does not happen again." The idea of a "conference of carefully convened people behind closed doors to inform everybody concerned" was also mooted. (9)

In her book *Never to lose my vision* Clara Jaeger described what then gave the final impulse to call such a meeting in the summer of 1970:

"Caux continued to provide a uniting focus for MRA worldwide. Each summer delegates came from all corners of the globe and from every kind of background, just as they had done for over 20 years. In 1970 people were there from 23 countries, about 700 in all. It was during this summer, in mid-August, that the *New York Times* published a long article announcing that Moral Re-Armament was sharply curtailing its US operations, and selling its valuable US offices and training centres, many of which had been donated to Buchman for his work by their owners in the forties and fifties. The article gave a brief history of Buchman's life and work, and indicated that MRA continued unabated in Europe and other parts of the world, but that in the USA it was seen as a religious movement, affiliation with which was a handicap to *Up 'With People*, hence the dissociation. The article said MRA had 'seen its day', and quoted several well-known and often repudiated criticisms.

At Caux a small group met privately to see what response could be made. A statement was drawn up, showing how MRA was indeed still effectively at work, and signed by the executive secretaries of 18 MRA legal bodies in countries around the world.

The plan was to hand-deliver the statement to the paper in New York, for publication as soon as possible. Three men were to take it: Mitchell Bingham, son of an American senator, and one of the many Americans who wanted to support and maintain MRA as it was originally conceived; Dr Paul Campbell, a Canadian who had been Frank Buchman's physician for many years and who had known the Americans in charge of *Up With People*; and Bill. The three flew off to New York immediately.

The New York Times never published the statement, and when approached a second time by the three men, they said it was no longer news. This was a disappointment, but there was another way forward.

Bill, Campbell and Bingham decided to look up as many old friends as they could and seek chances to talk together face to face- something which had not been done in any meaningful way over the previous months and years.

When people heard they were around, many invitations began to come in. In the next three years there were hundreds of such meetings. Bill Campbell and Bingham and a number of others were able to spend time with the local MRA groups and individual supporters in different parts of the North American continent, many of whom did n't know what the acrimony was all about." (10)

Coming back to the summer of 1970, the meeting in Caux of representatives of MRA-bodies from around the world in the second half of August of 1970, was also for some of us who had a part in organising it, a very special occasion. It was impressive to see men and women who were either office-bearers or board-members of MRA-organisations in Australia, Kenya, South Africa, India, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland, UK, Cyprus, France and representatives of an additional number of nations, assembled in Mountain House. The actual practical result - a statement which was to be published in the *New York Times* but actually never appeared in print - was in a way a by-product. Although it was a private meeting, for all present it represented the start of a new chapter for the world-work. With it went the recognition that the split had been to a large degree made possible by our own failure to recognize in time where things had gone wrong in ourselves and in our work. (11)

In the course of the autumn, some more conversations between our senior German friends took place with the aim to get ready to re-launch MRA in Germany as soon as there would be any concrete sign that the men in Bonn would concede the name *Moralische Aufrüstung* to the new body. Dr. Friedrich Haver met with another senior lawyer, Dr. Rudolf Echterhölter, in Bonn. The latter had been one of the first Germans in Caux after the war and had occupied a senior position at the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe. Dr. Haver at that moment had still the hope that some of the money of the sale of the Bonn-house would also be turned over to the new body. Others had lesser hopes on this subject. (12)

Another important door was opened in official Germany thanks to the re-dedication to MRA of one of Frank Buchman's good friends of the thirties, Adolf Scheu from Wuppertal. After meeting the Oxford Group, Scheu had built up a powerful group in Leipzig which was arrested en bloc by the Gestapo in 1941. Scheu had to move to Wuppertal, from which he started to organize the first delegations to Caux in 1947. But there had been a clash of wills

with Buchman and his friends and Scheu had left Caux in a huff. It was his second wife - the first who had borne him nine children had died - who discovered that the issue of Caux and MRA was still pursuing her husband in his dreams. She told him that she wanted to see what Caux was all about. Within twenty-four hours in Caux, Scheu re-dedicated his life to God and to the work he had left in the post-war years. He had meanwhile become a Member of the Bundestag for the Social-Democratic Party and a respected figure in German political life. As a first step he invited Rajmohan Gandhi and his friend Niketu Iralu to come to Bonn and Wuppertal and to meet with his close friend, the Federal President, Dr. Gustav Heinemann. This is the report I sent to Sydney Cook and other friends after the visit in Bonn:

"President Heinemann received Rajmohan, Niketu, Scheu and myself for one and a half hours. The President could not have been more open and eager to get all our news. He listened carefully to all that Rajmohan and Niketu had to say about Panchgani, Assam and Meghalaya. The decisive moment came when Scheu, as was arranged beforehand, asked Rajmohan what effect the whole lowering of standards in Europe, and especially the pornography in publications and films, had on Asia and other parts of the Third World. Scheu had told us when we had guidance preparing the interview that Heinemann had been the main proponent, as Minister of Justice, of the whole permissive legislation, but that he was now afraid that the whole thing had gone too far. Just a few days before our visit to Bonn, the Bundesrat, the Upper House of the German Parliament, had defeated by one vote the latest proposals of the present Minister of Justice. These would have meant a total abolition of film-censorship and of any legal obstacles to the import of pornographic articles." (13)

The same letter contained also some more sombre news. The MRA-work as it was directed from Bonn had collapsed. The only two persons left to deal with the liquidation of the office were Ernst Reinecke who was planning to join his brother in his building-business in Cologne and Rosemarie Heckmann who was still looking for a job (and who became later a very respected journalist). Two of the former MRA-full-timers had joined the firm of Friedrich Schock in Schorndorf. All had found jobs and had received, from the sale of the Bonn-house contribution towards their old-age pension.

In December 1970, there was a first major gathering of MRA-friends in Mannheim. 150 people took part, amongst them 20 Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, Dutch, British and Swiss. Amongst the Germans there were some who had known Frank Buchman before the

war, a group of young people from Wiesbaden, miners from the Ruhr and friends from Hamburg, Hannover, Bonn, Stuttgart, Munich and Berlin. (14)

Also in December we received the news from Father Engelbert Heller that Fromund and Ursula Helmes had narrowly escaped death in a terrible car-crash near Stuttgart. In my reply I told Father Heller that the German version of Anne Wolrige-Gordon's book *Peter Howard - Life and Letters* (in German: *Aufbruch zum modernen Menschen*) had been published and that the 500 copies had already been sold.

To launch the book in German-speaking Europe we accompanied Anne Wolrige-Gordon on a tour through Germany, Austria and Switzerland in February 1971 during which she was also received by President Heinemann in Bonn and Helmut Kohl, then Minister President of Rheinland-Pfalz in Mainz. (15)

At long last, on April 2, 1971 the *Frank Buchman Gesellschaft für Moralische Aufrüstung* (Frank Buchman Society for Moral Re-Armament)) was founded with seat in Koblenz and was recognized as of public utility by the financial authorities on July 9, 1971. Finally, in a letter dated December 12, 1971, the old German MRA Association offered in a letter not to put any hindrance in the work of the new body if the three minority-members Sydney Cook, Roland Seyfarth and Eckart Thümmeler would resign from the board of the association. In a letter dated May 10, 1972, the board of the old association confirmed the agreement.

There were similar agreements made in other parts of the world, especially in North America. Everywhere there was given a new chance for a new growth and expansion of the MRA-work world-wide. But wounds remained, and a lot of substance was lost. How some of it was recovered, how new bridges were built and how new visions were developed will have to be written down in another paper, some years from now.

Notes:

- (1) Erich Peyer to Henrik Schaefer, President of the Caux-Foundation, 25. 1. 1969.
- (2) Diary-notes of 12. 2. 1969.
- (3) Confidential report on the situation in Germany, February 1969.
- (4) Garrett Stearley to Grace Young, Tucson, February 12, 1969.
- (5) diary-notes, Asmara, April 23, 1969.
- (6) diary-notes October 1969; letter of PSP to A. L. Wood and R. Wilson, October 2, 1969.
- (7) PSP to A. L. Wood and R. Wilson, December 2, 1967; A. L. Wood to PSP, December 3, 1969 (article in *The Times*, December 1, 1969)
- (8) PSP to A. L. Wood and R. Wilson, January 8, 1970.
- (9) Confidential document of February 19, 1970.
- (10) *Never to lose my Vision - the Story of Bill Jaeger by Clara Jaeger* (Grosvenor Books, London 1995), pp. 140/1.
- (11) The tape of the conversations of the August 1970 meeting is in the Caux-archives.
- (12) PSP to R. Wilson and A. L. Wood, 24. 9. 1970.
- (13) PSP to S. Cook, A. L. Wood and R. Wilson, 4. 11. 1970.
- (14) PSP to the Swiss and German members of the cast of *Anything to Declare* in India.
- (15) Report of the audience with President Heinemann on 26. 2. 1971, in the Caux-archives.

11. Some unfinished business and some unanswered questions

The main reason for writing this personal account of the years 1964 to 1971 was a personal one. As many of the main actors of the story are still living, these pages are not for publication and will only be shown to a small group of friends. But when one has lived through a traumatic chapter in one's life, one feels the desire to sort out the rights and the wrongs and to clear up whatever can still be cleared up. That has meant already some simple apologies for hurts caused, willingly or unwillingly. But it can also mean to try to discover what had been the motivation of those on "the other side".

Another reason for working on this paper was that I realized during these past years how much hurt the "split" had caused in many peoples' lives, material hurt and spiritual hurt. So if there is any way to deal with these hurts, I would like to have a part in this process. This can also mean that some friends who have brought great sacrifices and are now on the side-lines or are in retirement-age, will get still some recognition for what they have invested of their lives.

Besides the personal aspect of this story, there is also a historical dimension. As the events described are recent, one cannot expect from anybody a purely objective view. And some of the important documents are clearly only available to one side or the other. But I have been inspired by the work of the Braunschweig history-book institute in Germany which organised meetings of historians looking at relatively recent events from both sides of a conflict. So German and French historians agreed on the presentation of the history of the First and Second World War and have even produced common history-books. I am not a professional historian but I could imagine that my account of the events could lead to some discussions with friends in Germany and even the United States where a common history of these painful years could be written. This may only be of interest of a few but in may be important for those who will feel responsible for the next chapters of the history of MRA, as the honest assessment of the history of the Catholic Church encouraged by the present Pope will help the future leaders of the Church to look back and to look forward.

As is recorded in this account, some of the bridge-building with friends of the "other side" has started already some time ago. For me, the deep conversations with Fromund Helmes were a real turning-point also in recognizing where seemingly small incidents had grave consequences. Unfortunately, before we could go further in our conversations, Fromund died of a heart-attack. In some ways, the conversation continued with Hansjörg Gareis, even if

he was not so directly involved in some of the decisions described above. But his views, expressed in his memoirs and in personal conversations again helped to see how things had looked from the German angle.

Some bridge-building was done during the "fifty years Caux summer" in the year 1996. Philippe Mottu was asked to give the key-note speech at the opening of the summer, and all his children and grand-children were present. It was for them the first time since the sixties that they had been in Caux. An invitation-letter for the Caux-summer went to a long list of friends, especially in America and Canada to express appreciation for all that these friends had invested of their lives in the early years of Caux and to invite them to celebrate with us. A good group of these friends accepted the invitation and took an active part in the conference.

When Erich and Emmy Peyer, who with the Mottus and the Hahnlosers had been at the start of the whole Caux-adventure, moved to Lausanne, close to Caux, the contact with them deepened and when Erich, after Emmy's passing came to Caux himself for a real visit, the circle seemed to close - as Dr. Sieger Ernst jun who brought him remarked to us. With Ruedi Hahnloser a more direct contact was also established already while his mother was still living and was accompanied by him on her last visit to Caux.

There is still some unfinished business and there are still unanswered questions. And there will always be. But each one can try to contribute something to make free some of the forces that are still blocked because of this still largely undigested chapter of our corporate history.