

241\_03\_038

# FORA CHANGE

VOLUME 1 - NUMBER 1

SEPTEMBER 1987



*Inside...*

WHAT KIND OF CHANGE?  
LEON SULLIVAN · POLAND  
GUATEMALA · UGANDA



## CONTENTS

Cover photo Market in Guatemala by Ellen Ostero

### 2,3 EAR TO THE GROUND

#### LEAD STORY

### 4-7 What kind of change, then?

by John Williams

#### PROFILE

### 8,9 Sullivan's Principles

by Michael Henderson

#### NEWSDESK

### 10,11 Atlanta, Nigeria, Japan, Switzerland

#### WORLD LOOK

### 12 Poland - what the Pope left behind

### 13 Guatemala - town-criers in San Pedro

by Evelyn Puig

### 13 Uganda - building again

by Ailsa Hamilton

#### REVIEW

### 14 'Real Life China' by Richard Thwaites

reviewed by Don Simpson

#### REFLECTIONS

### 14 Time and space

by John Lester

#### GUEST COLUMN

### 16 Geoffrey Lean

on the Earth's five billionth baby

Price 90p. Business office: Tirley Garth, Tarporley, Cheshire CW6 OLZ, UK (Giro No 504 1759). Annual subscriptions: British Isles £12.00; students and unwaged £9.00. All other countries: airmail £16.00. Regional offices and rates: Australia - PO Box 1078, GPO Melbourne, Vic 3001 - A\$39.00; Canada - 141 Somerset St West, Suite 302, Ottawa, Ont, K2P 2H1 - Can \$35.00; New Zealand - CPO Box 1834, Wellington - NZ\$48.00; USA - 1030 Fifteenth St NW, Suite 908, Washington DC 20005 - \$30.00.

## EAR TO THE GROUND



by Echidna

Charles Lindbergh, the first man to fly the Atlantic nonstop and alone, had an enviable system for dealing with his mail. He asked his personal friends to write their names clearly on the front of their envelopes - and sent everything else, unopened, to the library of Yale University.

One of those whose letters Lindbergh actually read was James Newton, a Florida businessman, now aged 82. The two men differed fundamentally over several issues - including Moral Re-Armament, to which Newton has devoted his life. But Lindbergh wrote to him, 'Wherever you go, you have the ability of adding to the quality of life.'

Newton's book *Uncommon Friends* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich), published this summer for the 60th anniversary of Lindbergh's epic flight, tells the story of a series of remarkable friendships. Thomas Edison, Harvey Firestone, Henry Ford and Alexis Carrel all shared Lindbergh's confidence in Newton - a distinction as unique as it appears to have been unsought.

Lindbergh flew the Atlantic in a flimsy craft which weighed less than the instrument panel of a DC10. The plane carried so much petrol up front that he could only see where he was going through a periscope - and there was no room for a radio or parachute.

When Lindbergh died in 1974, Newton helped to found a memorial fund to promote the balance between technology and the natural world - a major concern of Lindbergh's in later life. The fund finances research and presents an annual award to the environmental great and good. This year's recipient was the science fiction writer Arthur Clarke, the first person to come up with the idea of communications satellites.

Clarke's acceptance speech in Paris concentrated on arms control. 'The real problem,' he said, 'is not military hardware, but human software. A stable peace will never be possible without mutual trust.' A contention close to *For a Change's* heart.

In Geneva recently, our correspondent Andrew Stallybrass heard Beethoven's Ninth Symphony at an unusual concert - 'the orchestra and chorus, not one over 23 years old, were all Chinese. They brought the Western audience to their feet.'

Afterwards he said to himself, 'We Westerners take it rather for granted that any other people, when they reach a certain stage of cultural development, will start to play Beethoven and Mozart, to perform Shakespeare, and to read Dante and Goethe. How many greats do we

know from China? And how long till a Western orchestra makes the journey to Beijing to perform Chinese music for a Chinese audience, or a European cast takes an African play to Africa?'

Good point, but would the Chinese or Africans want that anyway? Would we be too stiff to be good?

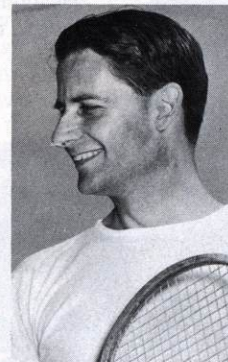
There was nothing stiff about a Camerooni author-musician-singer called Francis Bebey who performed at a less formal Geneva concert. 'He sang a fable about the creation, as told by his tribe. Their god was bored, so bored that he thought life not worth living. But he absent-mindedly scratched the back of his head, and by mistake woke up his creativity, which was sleeping there. He apologized profusely for any inconvenience caused, but creativity was in a good mood, and had an idea for how to deal with the god's boredom.'

'Creativity gave the god an African harp, and he started to make music. What he didn't realize was that each note of his music was creating something - forest and bush, villages and towns, deserts and seas. Again unbeknown to him, one note signified "good luck" and another note signified "not at all good luck" (they don't ever say "bad luck" in Bebey's part of the world). What had to happen happened, and the god hit the note for "not at all good luck" - and that mated man, and of course woman was not far behind!'

It was the kind of sportsmanship almost lost in today's competitive tennis. On Wimbledon's No 1 Court this year the score stood at two sets and five games all. Mikael Pernfors was serving at 40 - love.

Tim Mayotte hit the return to the baseline. The line judge called it out and the umpire gave Pernfors the game. But Pernfors saw the ball had been in, and called for two more service balls. The point was replayed. The crowd roared their approval, and even louder when he won the next point.

HW 'Bunny' Austin - who played in the first televised Wimbledon 50 years ago - interviewed in the BBC's *Radio Times*, recalled a similar incident. Don Budge questioned a line decision in his favour. 'His opponent



'Bunny' Austin



First issue

Einar Engebretsen

reproached him fiercely in the locker-room afterwards: "You shouldn't embarrass the linesmen!" But then of course in those days there wasn't the big cash around to win.

Superficial observers of the relations between Muslims, Jews and Christians who believe these three religions are at loggerheads would be given cause to think by *Islamic World Review*. A three-page article headed *AIDS: a moral awakening*, is largely made up of quotations from articles in the London *Times* by Sir Immanuel Jakobowitz, the Chief Rabbi of the Commonwealth, Cardinal Basil Hume of Westminster and the Archbishop of York, Dr John Hapgood. The *Review's* Editor in Chief, Dr Fathi Osman, comments, 'The AIDS epidemic is an opportunity to map out the extensive common ground shared by all believers in the One God. Muslims cannot simply stand by as passive observers of such a universal epidemic, thanking God for exempting their countries and societies from such a horrible disaster. They should represent in their attitude and behaviour the divine attribute of God: Compassion and Grace... According to the teachings of Islam, the whole of mankind is one family and the whole world is one.'

Last century's empire-builders shifted large groups of people around the world - from India, for example, to many parts of Africa and to islands like Fiji and Sri Lanka. This has left a legacy of explosive situations in dozens of countries. Jim Coulter, an Australian who fought in World War II, writes of recent events in Fiji, 'To have a government marched out of Parliament House at gun-point in the "friendly South Pacific" had an aura of the unbelievable about it.' He calls such situations 'time bombs of history'.

In the war, he went on, 'massive bombs that threatened whole city blocks remained hidden, ticking away in the wake of an air raid. They were as intricate as they were huge. Nor did they yield their secrets to some quick-fix gadget or violent assault. It needed the cool, calm courage of a team, and in the last analysis, of

one man who sensitively arrested the ticking certainty of massive destruction.'

A young Asian recently helped Coulter believe that not all of history's time bombs need explode. During a course in Australia dealing, amongst other things, with the roots of conflict in nations, he concluded that he - as one of a minority - had been wrong to have resented the race which controlled his country. And that he should apologize to the first person of that race whom he met.

Of all people, this turned out to be the Ambassador of his country to Australia, whom his host in Canberra bumped into at the local market. 'The informal meeting opened the way to a time in the Embassy where the simple apology for past feelings was proffered and accepted,' writes Coulter. If this young Asian helps deal with possible 'time-bombs' in his country, people in many similar places could feel encouraged.

MPs, judges and a police inspector were caught cheating not long ago - on fares due to British Rail, who have been losing £20 million a year in fare-dodging in the London area alone, enough to buy 21 new trains.

In Brazil, however, the boot is on the other foot: if you catch a taxi in Rio, you will find honesty written into the constitution of the taxi drivers' cooperative. If any of the 700 drivers try to take their customers 'for a ride' they are reprimanded by the cooperative and quickly brought to book, says its secretary, Américo Martorelli. And the name they call themselves? 'Taxi and Transport Workers' Cooperative with Absolute Standards Ltd'.

Egg and chips would be just right, I said as I sat down in the little café. Ten minutes later the waitress came back: 'Egg and chips is not on the menu.' 'Neither it is,' I said. 'But what's this?' 'Haddock, egg and chips.' 'I'll have that, and forget the haddock.' Twenty minutes later she said, 'Chef says no haddock, egg and chips.' 'Why not?' 'Haddock's off.' ■



by John Williams

# What kind of change, then?

Occasionally one can agree with the old saying that the more things change, the more they stay the same. Americans at the World Series, British watching the Colour being trooped, South Pacific islanders at a ceremonial feast – we feel connected to our particular past by a thousand different tribal rituals. Or at least to that part of it not carried away by a tidal wave of plastic modernity.

The flood of change sweeping over the world is permanent as well as rapid. Technological wizardry is altering the outer shape of life for most of us. But we are not satisfied – for long, anyway – by the fact that we can go anywhere on earth in 24 hours and have our tough equations solved by an obedient computer.

Such pleasures are submerged by a disturbing perception: we are no longer sure we can trust anyone. Who will tell the truth? Will today's godsend prove ruinous tomorrow? Above all, is someone trying to use us for profit or political advantage?

There is a large catalogue of issues on which far too little progress is being made. Damage to the environment. Terrible conditions in depressed areas of even the best cities. The widening wealth gap, which encourages greed in the rich – and anger in the poor, boiling over at times into terrorism. Extremists in an Asian city a few weeks ago sprayed bullets around a child's party – as my wife and I, in London, were about to give a birthday party for one of our children.

Communal clashes – one result of nations being put together in what seems like a giant cake-mixer – are particularly devastating because they fill you with fear of people in the next street.

Millions have died in armed conflict since the World Wars.

*'We're flesh and blood, not bricks and mortar. We need more than another blueprint.'*

Armageddon has been held at bay, certainly – but through commonsense? Or only through fear? And if so, will the peace last?

Mr Gorbachev has attracted attention with calls for *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). But it's footling of Westerners to presume that a restructured Russia would automatically follow Western lines. 'Change the structures' is a cry heard at every level of life, but restructuring, surely, can never be enough. The body politic is no building: we're flesh and blood,

not bricks and mortar. We need more than another blueprint, when the last one didn't work too well, anyway. So can even our attitudes, motives and aims become different?

Automatically, most of us reply, 'Impossible! Human nature is human nature, after all!' But change in people may often be the only constructive option available, and one chosen more frequently than realized, sometimes with extraordinary consequences. Transformations in attitude do not in themselves create social change, but they make it a lot quicker and less painful.

Without shifts in outlook many advances we take for granted would have fallen victim to vested interests and entrenched privilege. The ending of the slave-trade and child labour, for instance. Or the radically different relationship between Germany and her former enemies after World War II, without which the European Community would not have been possible. The coming of independence with little or no bloodshed to dozens of countries. Surprising reconciliations after a number of violent conflicts, as in Zimbabwe. In each of these cases, sooner or later, either easily or at great cost, those in power agreed to certain changes – thanks partly

to a few people who stuck at the issue, rain or shine, for years. Individuals can do more than we often think.

Whether history will say today's great crusades have succeeded is a searching question. The struggle to end racism, for instance, or the ecologists' battle to stop the earth being turned into a waste-land or worse.

One great difficulty is that agitations for justice are becoming so mindlessly violent as to be counter-productive.

The doctrine that you can

only do things if you have power looks seductively easy – but has one fatal disadvantage. The powerless feel their only option is to seize power themselves. Too often, they are as corruptible as those they replace.

Marx's view of history, based on Hegel's idea of 'thesis, antithesis, synthesis', takes capitalist excesses as the thesis and the class struggle as the antithesis. And synthesis? It has not, after all, proved historically inevitable. The word implies going beyond struggles of class and race until people of opposite views come together, work through their differences and agree about what has to be done. Which is not exactly the warp and woof of our everyday news, from any source.

There are many signs in both Communist and non-Communist worlds of a vacuum waiting to be filled. The question is whether in the East and even in the West it will be filled with adequate ideas. But nature abhors a vacuum, and we can at least try. Which increases the potential of this moment. When

*continued...*

**H**ow can you expect to rebuild Europe if you reject the German people?

The question touched Irène Laure like an electric shock. She had led a medical team in the Resistance in Marseilles during World War II; she had watched her children suffer from severe malnutrition because of the war; as a committed socialist and member of the French Chamber of Deputies she had devoted herself to binding up the wounds of war both in the French legislature and in her own party.

She went to a conference in Switzerland in 1947. She was appalled to find Germans present, and when a German spoke from the public platform she left the meeting hall. It was then that Frank Buchman, the American who started Moral Re-Armament, asked the question that changed the course of her life.

Closeted in her room, unable to sleep or eat, she struggled with her anger. Then she asked to speak to the assembly.

'I have so hated Germany that I wanted to see her erased from the map of Europe. But I have seen here that my hatred is wrong. I wish to ask the forgiveness of all Germans present.'

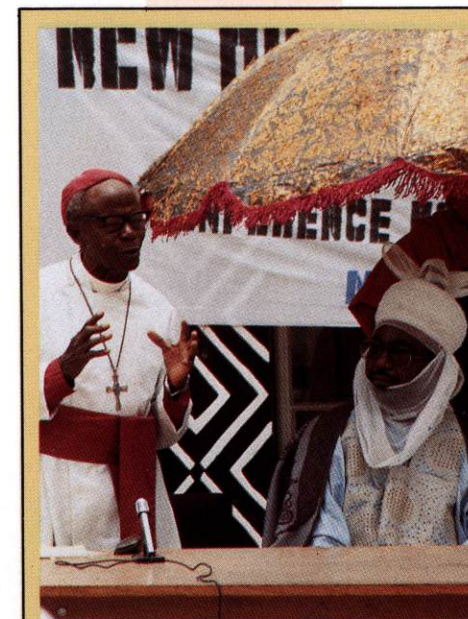
In 1949 Mme Laure spent 11 weeks criss-crossing Germany. She spoke publicly some 200 times. To the women of Berlin, scavenging for a living in the rubble of their destroyed city, she vowed, 'I will give the rest of my life so that what you are going through will never again be possible

in the world.' Both Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of Germany and French Prime Minister Robert Schuman acknowledged her part, along with others inspired by Moral Re-Armament, in creating new friendship between France and Germany.

The experience brought Irène Laure to a Christian faith linked to a radical passion to create a better world. She expanded her concern to areas of conflict on all continents. In Tunisia in 1953, she and her husband acted as reconcilers between French and Tunisians by describing their own experience of finding freedom from hatred, and calling for an end to prejudice and mistrust. Soon after, Schuman wrote to Frank Buchman, 'All the difficulties are not yet resolved, but you have been able to create a favorable atmosphere.'

Irène Laure died in July at the age of 88. In its obituary, *The Times* of London described her as a 'resistance heroine and healer of wounds'. Looking back on her life, some years earlier, she said, 'It took a miracle to uproot the hatred in my heart. I barely believed in God, but he performed this miracle. I became free to struggle for the whole world, with a deep desire to heal the past. After I asked the Germans' forgiveness for having wished their country's complete destruction, I was finally able to work effectively for world peace.'

Margaret Smith



S I Kale, former Bishop of Lagos, (standing) and the Emir of Kano share a platform not long after serious Muslim-Christian riots.

were amazed to find Federal army leaders helping them get back to their homes, and assisting rehabilitation. General Gowon became a hero. A remarkable reconciliation took place. Today Ibos are back in the North freely carrying on their businesses.

Serious Muslim-Christian riots have taken place recently in Northern Nigeria. Twenty-five people have been killed, 500 arrested, many houses burnt down and 70 Christian churches destroyed. General Gowon's own home in the Plateau State in Northern Nigeria was burnt down and his local church damaged. When an international conference for MRA was planned to start in Kano in April, some doubted whether it could go ahead. But such events sometimes focus a different approach, and the conference was opened by the Emir of Kano, a leading Muslim, flanked by two Christian bishops. General Gowon sent a message to the conference saying, 'You are holding it at just the right time.'

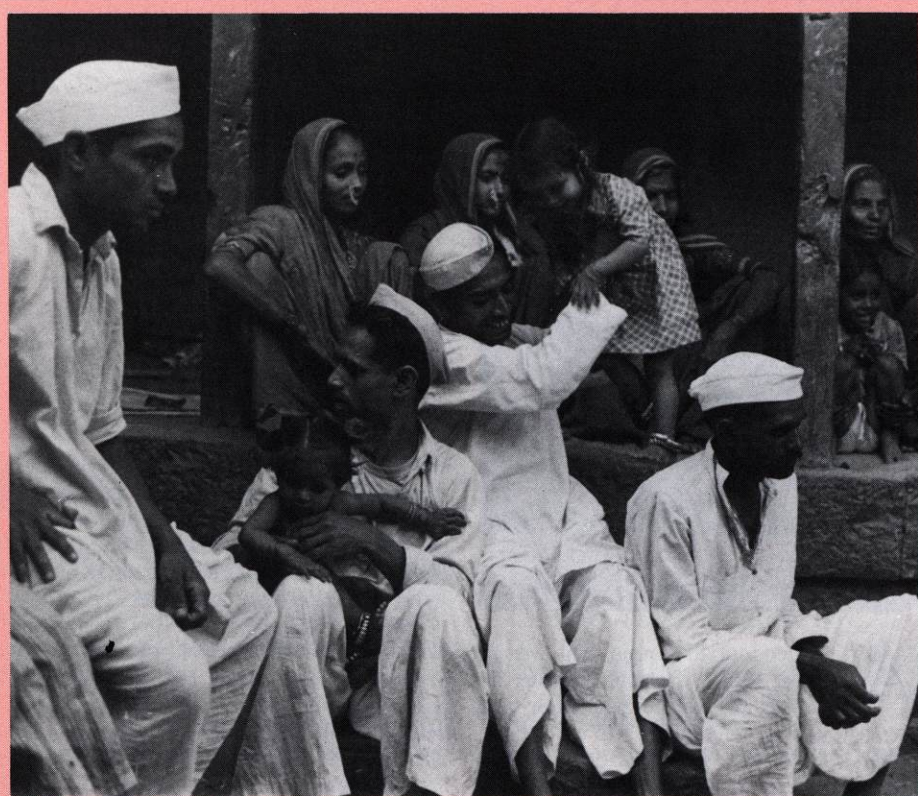


Irène Laure



D Channer





15 million people live in drought-prone villages in Maharashtra, India.

D Channer

Twelve years ago the village of Ralegaon Shindi, in the heart of Maharashtra, India, was dying of thirst. Even its most affluent inhabitants could barely keep their heads above subsistence level. Villagers were talking of migrating to Pune and Bombay – where thousands of other refugees from drought sleep on the pavements every night.

Today the village is thriving – in spite of the worst drought in rural India for 40 years. Everyone has enough to eat, there are surpluses to sell and the community is growing fodder for the starving cattle of neighbouring villages. Farmers flock to Ralegaon Shindi from far and wide to find out what has happened.

The villagers are eager to show off the evidence of their recovery – new wells, pumps, a windmill, thousands of trees, bio-gas plants, flourishing crops, communal latrines, schools and a branch of the State Bank. The wells store the precious rain which used to run away in seasonal rivers and streams. The bio-gas plants convert animal and crop wastes into methane gas for cooking and organic fertilizer for the fields. The methane means that the villagers no longer burn so much valuable wood and manure under their cooking pots; while the organic fertilizer, together with the trees, helps the soil to retain its moisture.

## Crime ceased

But there is more to Ralegaon Shindi's resurrection than appropriate technology. The village's environmental and economic turnaround springs from a spiritual and moral rebirth in its inhabitants.

In 1975 a young veteran of the Indo-Pakistan war returned to the village convinced that God had spared his life ten years earlier so that he could serve his community. He adopted rigorous Gandhian disciplines of celibacy and self-denial and now lives in the village temple,

eating with the schoolchildren. He is known universally as 'Anna' ('Brother') Hazare.

His first target was to bring the demoralized community back to its religious roots. Bootlegging and money-lending were Ralegaon Shindi's only thriving professions at the time, with frequent drunken disputes and crimes. Hazare staged a seven-day religious recitation marathon in the temple and persuaded the villagers to take a pledge. 40 illegal distilleries (for a population of 2,000) closed down. 'Addiction was the cause of our troubles,' Hazare explains.

As a result the villagers began to work together to solve their environmental problems, bringing their disputes to the temple to be solved. As a result crime has ceased. They gave their labour free to build the village schools and to house nine landless Harijan families – the former 'untouchables' of the Hindu caste system. Another group of Harijans were so in debt that they could not afford to cultivate their land. The community planted the fields, gave the Harijans the proceeds to pay off their debts, and then returned the land to them for their use.

Hazare, who has recently been decorated by his government, sees Ralegaon Shindi as a model. Previous attempts at rural reconstruction, he says, have failed because of 'the apathy and carelessness of the villagers plus the lack of interest of local social workers and leaders'. Ralegaon Shindi, comments the regional Marathi press, 'has the exact cure for this disease – and also for drought'. Some 80 villages in the region are following its example. In a world which loses an area the size of Uruguay to the deserts every year, Ralegaon Shindi has an important story to tell. ■

Mary Lean

continued...

philosophies are recognized as broken-down, they can be traded in for something better. If we can find the right kind of change our future need not be full of shock.

The London *Independent* commented after the Pope's recent Polish visit, 'In John Paul II's vision and perhaps in reality, something deeper and more ancient than *glasnost* is overtaking Communism on the inside.'

## Fundamental law

In his book *The Night of the New Moon*, Laurens van der Post tells of his horrific wartime experiences in a Japanese prison camp in Java, from which he concluded that 'the only hope for the future lay in an all-embracing attitude of forgiveness of the peoples who had been our enemies. Forgiveness, my prison experience had taught me, was not mere religious sentimentality; it was as fundamental a law of the human spirit as the law of gravity. If one broke the law of gravity one broke one's neck; if one broke this law of forgiveness one inflicted a mortal wound on one's spirit and became once again a member of the chain-gang of mere cause and effect from which life has laboured so long and painfully to escape.'

To forgive anyone, particularly after a life-and-death struggle, takes a difficult decision. But as van der Post points out, it is followed by the recognition that people can 'no longer change the pattern of life for the better by changing their frontiers, their systems and their laws of compulsion, of judgement and justice, but only by changing themselves.'

Janet Greenhut, an American Jewish woman, recently found herself sitting in a discussion group next to a couple from Germany. 'I had not realized I still had prejudice towards Germans,' she said later. 'But in an instant I felt deep prejudice and hate towards all Germans; and then in the next instant I felt it all melt away. In my heart something really miraculous happened. I expressed forgiveness to them, to all Germans and to the Nazis. And I knew I was forgiven by God.'

They spent that evening together and became firm friends. 'The way you learn isn't through intellect, but through your soul,' Janet added. 'I know that in that one minute of forgiveness, I learned much more than I could by reading hundreds of books on the subject.'

To accept fundamental change in oneself, to say, 'Yes, I was wrong there,' sounds almost too simple. But at least it has the virtue of being democratic: no one can force anyone to accept that they are wrong. Simple or not, though, it may be the hardest thing to do, even in moments of severe crisis.

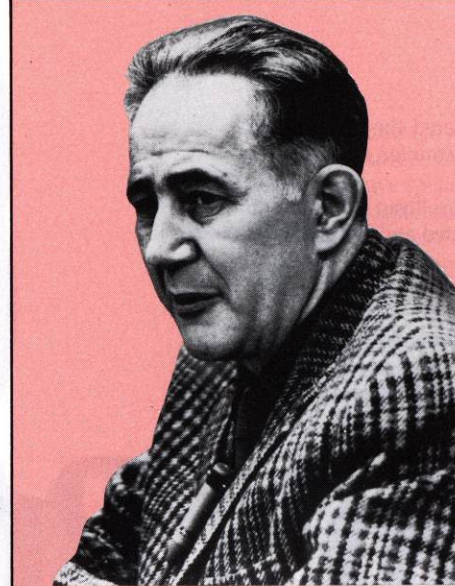
Daily from all continents comes shattering news of the AIDS epidemic. In America some two million are already infected. How many families around the world will be visited by death in a horrible form? The social effects could be as massive as those of World War I or Vietnam. In my own country Australia recently the compere of a national TV programme on AIDS with the stark statement: 'If you have had sex with anyone except a regular partner in the last ten years, you too could be infected.' A chilling thought for a generation which has been told so vociferously that throwing over old rules and taboos will result only in liberation and progress.

The pressures of Western life, the lack of knowing who we are and why, provoke an almost irresistible desire to escape. So sermons on drugs, promiscuity or smoking have little effect. 'In any one day,' exploded one commentator on the AIDS debate, 'it is possible to see 1,250 items calculated to arouse one's sexual enthusiasms.' To deal with this 'constant battle against unfair force', he wrote, someone 'will have to inspire an entirely new attitude in the community'. When I was 18, a visitor noticed that I looked miserable and took it upon himself to give me some advice. Not to get out on the town, or any such nostrum, but something quite different. How well, he asked, would the way I lived measure up to what I knew it should be? It took me a moment to recover my breath, during which time he added that the truth about myself would come clear if I would listen in my heart to what God wanted to say to me.

## Hidden pressures

Next morning I grudgingly thought about what this man had said, and quite suddenly I recognized pressures in my life I had never understood before: fears, ambitions, desires, lies and pretence, and why they took over from any better judgement I might have thought I had. The experience went beyond an analysis of behaviour. Up till then I'd drifted along apathetically with little interest in anyone or anything. But over the next weeks and months I began, to my surprise, to feel keenly concerned about what was happening in the world.

I would have resisted anything introspective, but this experience focussed the facts of my life, and was very down to earth. I was a determined non-churchgoer at the time, and was only just beginning to believe God might exist. If I had any picture of him it was the common stereotype of a meddlesome old tyrant whose morality would always be dull and constricting. The view which then began to form on my inner screen was exactly the opposite – of someone in whose presence it was enjoyable, satisfying and



Milovan Djilas

AP

Milovan Djilas, for a short time Vice-President of Yugoslavia, may go down in history as a prophetic voice from within the Communist world. One of Tito's close allies in the wartime partisan battles, he was imprisoned by the Royalist regime and rose to be one of the Party's most perceptive theoreticians. But truth was more important to him than position. He was deeply concerned about what happened to idealistic Communists when they gained power, and was ready to attack the 'intrigues, mutual scheming and trap-laying, pursuit of posts, careerism, favoritism, the advancement of one's own followers, relatives, "old fighters" – all under the mask of high morality and ideology'.

Such sentiments were not exactly welcomed by his colleagues. He soon lost his positions, and after publication of his formative books, *The New Class* and *Conversations with Stalin*, spent nine years inside Communist prisons, including 20 months in solitary confinement. His books are still not published in Yugoslavia, even though it is relatively so liberal, and he may

stimulating to be. The religious phrases, the teachings of Christ that had passed miles away from me at school, began to take on vivid meaning and become more precious to me than anything else.

Fortunately, everyone has to come to his own conclusions about God. (Which is also democratic.) Having started sceptical, I have been fascinated time after time to see people somehow find a spirit which enables them to talk across the road-blocks between them. To find an extraordinary synthesis, in fact, which makes concerted planning possible. It's not who is right but what is right, said someone who had experienced this process. The phrase has echoed productively through many negotiations in industry and international affairs.

Extraordinary, too, is the resulting chain-reaction of changes in people across all the natural barriers of race, class or distance. In the Forties, to give one example, an uneducated gardener told a senior Egyptian official how God seemed to have shown him how to avert a riot. He had come to believe God could guide people when his Swiss employer started to treat all his

seem to have lost his influence. But basic questions like this have a habit of staying around. Khrushchev's famous denunciation of Stalin seems to have helped demolish any pretence within Russia that the Revolution created infallible people.

Djilas talked for some hours with one of our correspondents, who commented that his sense of humour was 'as contagious as smallpox'. Some quotes from the interview: 'My dispute with the Party arose from my realization that ideas by themselves do not make men either sublime or worthless – it is the means they employ that make them one or the other... Ideology in the Soviet Union is both dead and alive. Dead at the level of faith, alive as an indispensable rationale of policy. I think international Communism exists only as a policy of Soviet expansionism...'

'We Marxist-Socialists underestimated religion. We did not realize that the human being always will be in some way religious, religious in the sense that man must have some dream about the future, about human destiny as well as a meaning for life... I am not a religious man, but religion helped develop the ideas of human rights and universal thought – for all to have the same human rights, being equal before God... Freedom and human rights are unique ideas worth fighting for. Although they are not precise, they are the best ones for man and our time.' ■

employees differently. Years later, the official tried the idea at a moment of international crisis, and was able to resolve a situation which the pundits were predicting would lead to war.

Such stories – and there are dozens – convince me that change in people is the missing essential. In one sense this case cannot be proved, because it deals with intangibles: it can only be tried. There is no technique, even in this technological age: for each individual there is a unique step which only he or she can know about or take.

With real transformations in attitudes, aims and relationships, we can confidently plan to deal with the deadlock between East and West, the chasm between North and South, the deadly threat to the environment. Without this element we cannot realistically expect much at all. ■



By Michael Henderson

**P**recious nickel in hand, the ten-year-old entered the drugstore in Charleston, West Virginia. He went up to the counter, sat on a stool and ordered a hamburger.

This innocent request was to launch Leon Sullivan on a crusade for racial justice which today, 55 years later, is unabated and has made his name familiar to the world.

A large white man, with his neck red and his eyes burning, said to him, 'Black boy, stand on your feet. You can't sit down here.'

It was Sullivan's first encounter with bigotry and discrimination. 'I decided I would stand on my feet against this kind of thing as long as I lived,' he writes in his autobiography *Build, Brother, Build*. 'I have kept my word.'

## Sullivan's Principles

Prominent in the non-violent battle for the economic and social emancipation of his people in the United States, Sullivan has now established a wider reputation through his attempts to win similar freedoms for black South Africans. While dismissed by a South African Cabinet Minister as suffering from 'a persecution complex for which nothing can be done', he is assailed by some anti-apartheid activists for not being radical enough. Congressman William H Gray sees the Philadelphia Baptist minister as 'a giant of a man', and many black clergy who are interested in how faith applies to public life regard him as their patriarch.

Any attempt to understand Sullivan's controversial approach to public issues must encompass the dehumanizing effects of slavery, the achievements of the civil rights movement, his own emotional response to human need and above all his sense of calling as a Christian minister. 'I do what I do,' he told me, 'as an outreach of my ministry.' Questions to him are likely to draw a Biblical quote. He believes that God 'who never draws a blueprint' will direct him in ways that are outside his control.

In a society that seems at times to have lost its capacity for righteous indignation, that is prepared to live with moral compromise, Sullivan's unequivocal passion and his care for the individual as well as for his people are discomfiting. You may disagree with his remedy. It is hard to fault his compassion. A younger man asked him recently, 'How is it you make every person feel so important?' He replied, 'Why, everyone is important.'

### Poverty

Sullivan was born in Charleston on October 16, 1922, and the biggest influence in the early years was his grandmother. 'When she said "yes" she meant "yes" and when she said "no" she meant "no" and she enforced her decrees upon me with a three-inch-wide pancake turner.' From her he learned the importance of sound families, the need for moral directions in life and a belief that the worst poverty is that of the spirit. It was 'Mama' who introduced him to God.

Spurred by the hamburger experience, the young Sullivan decided to go into every drugstore, restaurant and movie house in town to ask for service. Often he went in without a cent, always hoping that 'something would break somewhere'. He entered one segregated diner and proceeded to recite: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal...' The customers were stunned. The owner said, 'Son, you can come in here and sit down and eat any time you want to. Anybody who can remember stuff like that deserves to be treated right.' It was Sullivan's first real victory.

Later he obtained an athletics scholarship to West Virginia State College. He went to visit his beloved grandmother who was dying of consumption. Somehow, in her dreary room, he was aware for the first time of the misery of poverty. In the faint light of an oil lamp she looked up at him and said, 'Leonie, help your people. And don't let this kind of thing happen to anyone else.'

The following Sunday in church he remembered her words and knew that he had to become a minister 'to work for God, to help people who are poor'.

While continuing at college, playing basketball and football, he was ordained and given his first church appointments. When he graduated in

1943 he obtained a scholarship to Union Theological Seminary in New York, and was offered a job by Adam Clayton Powell Jr, whom he describes as 'the greatest teacher of politics that the black people have ever produced'. Arriving in New York, 6'5" tall with a large straw hat on his head and carrying a bag tied with rope, he was, he says, like 'a hick come to town'.

In Harlem he was introduced to the National March on Washington Movement, forerunner of the freedom march of 1963. At 21 he was elected its President, working with civil rights pioneers like A Phillip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. The threat to march helped end discrimination in government ordnance plants, and triggered the formation of Human Relations Commissions across the country.

### Job opportunities

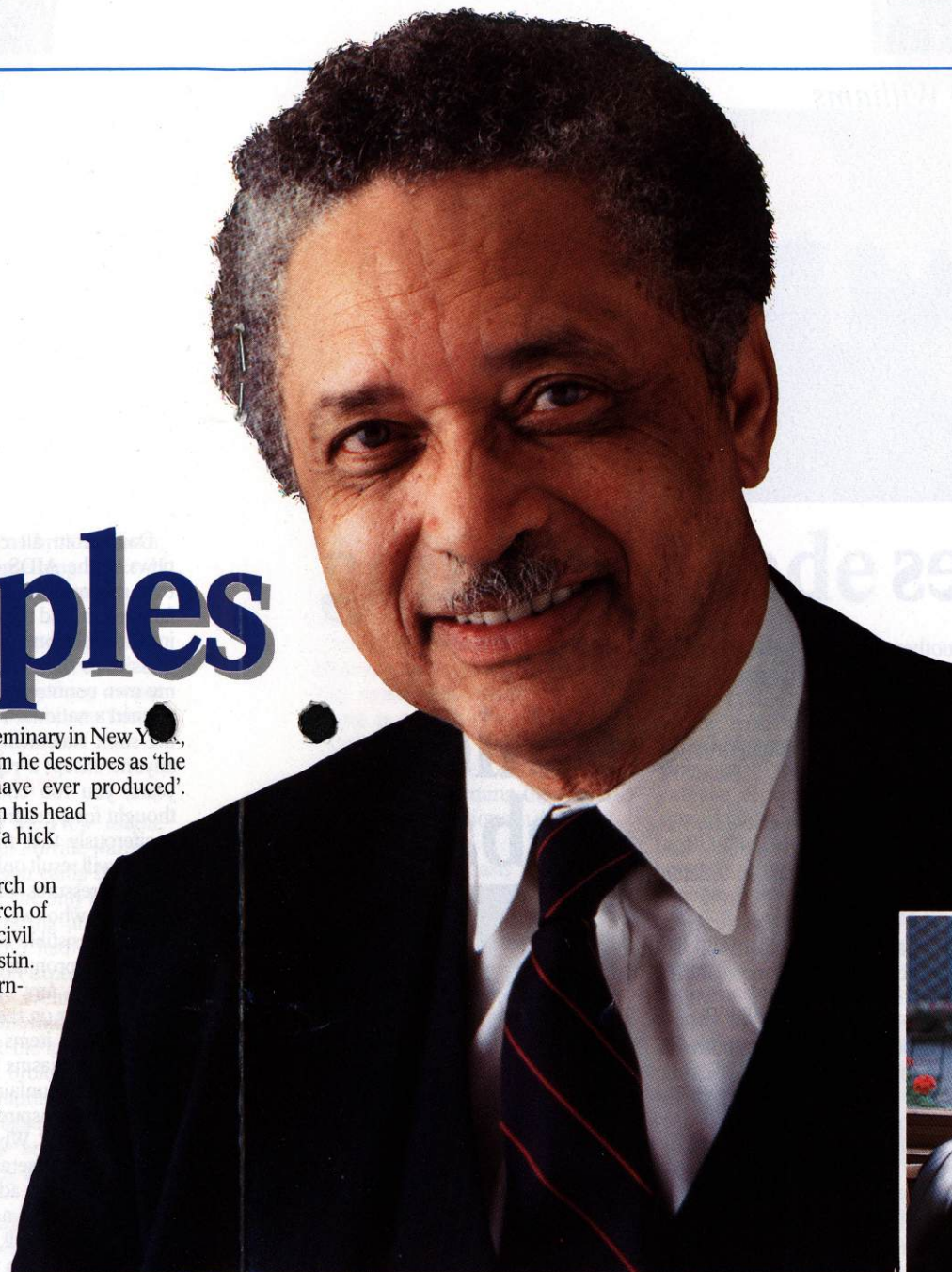
It was then that 'the greatest thing of all happened to me', as he puts it. He met his wife-to-be, Grace, on a blind date. They were later to have three children, Howard, Julie and Hope, and Grace was to graduate from college and become active in the community of Philadelphia where they now live. Asked recently if he wasn't rather a 'loner', Sullivan responded, 'I have a wife. She's my cabinet. I don't need any more.' They were married in 1945.

At this time, too, Sullivan became aware that he was beginning to be affected by the adulation of crowds. 'I needed to leave New York, the mass meetings, the glare and glow and excitement. I needed to find myself. I had to rediscover God.' He moved to a church in New Jersey and then, after five years, to Philadelphia.

Sullivan describes the Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia, as 'the foundation of all my community endeavour'. He began with young people. 'I found that boys who got into trouble were usually idle.' He got them playing games and opened a youth employment office in the church basement. But thousands went unplaced because blacks were not hired.

In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that segregation was illegal. Northern blacks boycotted five and ten cent stores in support of southern blacks. One evening Grace asked why they should help people eat at a lunch counter in Georgia when their own people couldn't get work in Philadelphia. Out of this question grew the Selective Patronage movement, a boycott of stores which did not employ blacks. 400 black preachers rallied their congregations to the cause. They turned the city's hiring practices round in four years - without a penny spent on litigation, a public meeting held or a poster carried. He calls it 'a demonstration of the church in action'.

As job opportunities opened up it became clear that training, too, was needed. 'Liberation without preparation,' he believes, 'is frustration.' So, with the purchase of an old jailhouse for one dollar a year for 99 years, the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) were launched. Since then OIC has spread to 140 communities. It has trained more than half a million school-leavers and drop-outs in job skills. At home OIC may have reached its peak but overseas it is expanding, especially in sub-Saharan Africa where training institutions have been established in a dozen countries. His current



says, contributed to a revolution in industrial race relations for black workers in South Africa. Over the past eight years companies pledged to their adoption have spent around \$230m on black education, housing, legal aid and other social causes. 'The principles have lost their author but not their usefulness,' writes the London *Economist*. South Africa, for Sullivan, is one concern among many and may now, he says, move off the front burner.

### Smokescreen

Sullivan can look back on a life of achievement, with honorary doctorates from Princeton, Yale and a dozen other universities, with board memberships and many awards. He runs one of the biggest churches in America, with 6,000 members, and started the largest self-help organization in the country. He knows practically every Senator and Congressman personally.

But he gets the greatest satisfaction from having provided thousands with training and jobs through OIC and from black Americans' new pride, won through the civil rights movement. He points, for example, to black mayors in Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and other cities. When he came to General Motors, he says, you could count on one hand the blacks in supervisory and administrative jobs. Now there are thousands, with 11 plant managers black and one a Vice-President. What bothers him now are the masses who still need jobs and training.

It may be, as American syndicated columnist William Raspberry suggests, that peer pressure made Sullivan change his stance on South Africa. It is more likely that he was too optimistic that what had worked in the United States would work in South Africa and that he had talked himself into a deadline from which he could not honorably extricate himself. He believes that the prospects for a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems are better



enthusiasm is for his new International Foundation for Education and Self-help, which is working on the creation of model farms and literacy programmes in the developing world.

In 1971 Sullivan joined the Board of General Motors. That year he supported the first shareholder resolution calling for the company to withdraw from South Africa. For the next four years he campaigned unsuccessfully for that withdrawal. Then in 1975, after seeing South Africa at first hand and at the urging of South African labour leaders, he began to draw up a code of conduct for US businesses operating there. The Sullivan Principles were issued in 1977 and called for desegregation in the workplace, the improvement of training and promotion prospects for blacks, and the upgrading of health, housing and education facilities. The Arthur D Little Company was hired to monitor observance of the principles.

As Sullivan left South Africa in 1980, security officials held him in a small room, forced him to undress, searched him, ransacked his luggage. It reminded him, he says, of that early drugstore experience. It was as if he were being stripped of his social rank and returned to the slums. It hardened his resolve.

He made a strenuous but relatively unsuccessful bid to enlist non-American companies behind the Sullivan Principles. He strengthened the principles in 1984, and again in 1986 to the extent of even encouraging civil disobedience. Dissatisfied with their effect, he announced in May 1985 that if in two years statutory apartheid survived and there was no clear commitment to equal votes he would call on US firms to leave and for a US embargo. In May he carried out his ultimatum - a decision reached with 'much anguish', according to the US Ambassador to South Africa, Edward Perkins.

Sullivan does not regret having introduced the principles, which he has seen as a means of enlivening the social conscience of industry. They have, he

helped by a sharp break now than by a long-drawn-out campaign where more and more blacks in their frustration turn to violence.

He knows that some use South Africa's problems as a smokescreen or a political leg-up in their own countries. But, as a black cradled in the civil rights movement, he is even more aware of the arguments advanced by whites, in and out of South Africa, to slow down or blunt the challenge of freedom. He has heard them all before.

As a preacher he is constantly searching for the guidance of God. If there is any way he can still be used in South Africa he stands ready. He calls apartheid the greatest moral issue in the world, but he is also conscious that each country has apartheid of its own to confront. 'You can't deal with apartheid in South Africa,' he says, 'and not deal with the problems in the United States.'

To those who disagree with his stance, he says, 'I am not in a popularity contest.' He is not beholden to anyone. 'I tread the winepress alone.' And though criticisms, particularly from his own people, can get him down, 'the Lord picks me up'. He does not suggest that his is the only approach and rejoices when others take other initiatives. But he will not be swayed. ■



edited by Paul Williams



## Why Atlanta thrives

From Auburn Street – where Martin Luther King Jr was laid to rest next door to his Ebenezer Baptist Church – the multistorey spires of downtown Atlanta gleam on the skyline a mile away like a shining 21st century citadel of economic success. New investments worth \$34 billion in the last five years have created 400,000 new jobs, more employment growth than in the entire European Community.

Andrew Young, Mayor of Atlanta and former US Ambassador to the UN, was a close associate of King and was at his side moments after he was gunned down. So while Young likes to 'kind of brag a little' about Atlanta's achievements, he understands the struggle that went into them.

Above all, he says, this city 'may be the only place in the world where we honestly had a prayerful revolution.'

Mayor Young was speaking to 250 people at the opening banquet of a Moral Re-Armament confer-

ence held in Atlanta in June to examine the type of moral foundations needed 'to bring the world safely into the 21st century'. He recounted how King and those in the civil rights movement almost always began their actions with prayer. Likewise, when solutions came, confrontations 'ended with a prayer of reconciliation' with those same people and businesses who had tried to keep blacks out.

'There was a common religious heritage,' says Young, 'and Atlanta is thriving today essentially because the leadership dared to take on those changes out of a sense of a moral commitment.'

### Export

Indian journalist Rajmohan Gandhi – grandson of the Mahatma, from whom Martin Luther King drew his philosophy of non-violence – responded to Young's remarks by urging Atlanta 'to export its stirring story to the four corners of the world'. At a time when 'members of the human race are doing terrible things to one

another, what God has used you all to achieve encourages us all'. Mayor Young replied, 'I know what has happened here can be exported because we imported so much from Mr Gandhi's grandfather.'

Gandhi is well aware of what that 'prayerful revolution' has involved. He was last in Atlanta almost 30 years ago, during the height of the civil rights struggle. He was there as part of an interracial cast of the musical *The Crowning Experience*, which portrayed the story of Mary McLeod Bethune who, born of slave parents, rose from picking cotton to become adviser to two American presidents.

The black-owned *Atlanta Daily World*, just prior to the recent conference, carried an account of that 1958 visit: 'In the tense aftermath of Little Rock, some 11,000 attended the two performances in the civic auditorium, one of the few places open to black and white. Sixty plain clothes policemen, mingled with the crowd, prepared for an explosion. The Jewish owner of the Tower Theatre approached the Moral Re-Armament cast and offered them his theatre, without any colour bar, for as long as they could fill it. The play ran for four months without incident.'

Judge Jack Etheridge, Assistant Dean of the Emory University Law School where the recent conference took place, remembers *The Crowning Experience*. 'It was at a time when we were going through some of the worst moments with respect to integration,' he said at the opening reception while introducing Mayor Young. 'It is not too much to say that it was pivotal.'

Andrew Young, Mayor of Atlanta, with Indian journalist Rajmohan Gandhi

## Shifting the ethics debate



James Laney, President of Emory University

'Whatever happened to ethics?' asked the cover headline of *Time* magazine in its edition just prior to the conference in Atlanta. Assailed by a rash of scandals which have besmirched the careers of a presidential candidate, TV evangelists and Wall Street financiers as well as more than a hundred White House staff, plus others involved in the Iran-Contra hearings, many Americans are asking the same question. 'America, which took such back-thumping pride in its spiritual renewal, finds itself wallowing in a moral morass,' wrote the *Time* essayist. 'Ethics... is now at the center of a new national debate. Put bluntly, has the mindless materialism of the Eighties left in its wake a values vacuum?'

### Campaign

The President of Emory University, theologian James Laney, was interviewed by *Time* in

their feature. Welcoming conference delegates from 28 countries to Emory's Law School, Laney commented how delighted he was that 'a group of your moral influence and commitment not only exists but would choose Emory as a place of meeting.' An essential part of Emory's commitment to education, said Laney, was 'reclaiming the moral and ethical dimensions in the heart of professional life'.

The same emphasis motivated the initiators of the conference, which had the theme of 'Building for the Future'. One of the Atlanta hosts, international sportsman Conrad Hunte, in a keynote address called for a 'national campaign that will shift the terms of the ethics debate from the negative focus of collapsing moral values to the positive focus of large aims and a heightened purpose in life in which absolute moral standards are both necessary and exciting.'

New York stockbroker Sally Eames made it practical. Linking relations of insider trading with increasing materialism, she said, 'I have personally discovered how strong the grip of materialism and self-centredness is.'

'We cannot pretend to be shocked by these scandals until we have made a commitment to being part of the cure,' she continued. 'The cure is more than discussing what is wrong with the system. To me it means broadening my responsibility to one greater than earning a living and caring for the family. It means being available to the needs of other people and being willing to choose a path of greater resistance.'

## Trade peace

The 13 May issue of *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (*Japan Economic Journal*) reported on a unique 'round table' conference held in Japan the previous weekend, between business leaders from Europe, America and Japan.

The *Journal*, having noted that real information is produced from 'networks of people' who understand each other, concluded, 'A new and valuable network of people has just been created in Japan, at a time when she tends to be a target of pressure from the rest of the world.'

The visiting group was headed by Frederik Philips (former President of Philips Electrical Industries) and Olivier Giscard d'Estaing, Vice-President of the European Institute of Business Administration at Fontainebleau.

## Filling the barrel

A recent Nigerian conference took a form strikingly different from the usual sedentary occasions held within four walls. This 'rolling conference' spanned four different venues hundreds of miles apart. It opened in the dusty heat of Kano, in the north of the country, and concluded a thousand miles away amid the steamy palm plantations of the south.

Spearheading the conference as it moved from site to site in three cars and a 25-seater bus were 23 students and young graduates from five Nigerian colleges. Their intention was to reach thousands of their countrymen and women with their conviction that a new

They had jointly convened an initial round table conference on world trade conflicts the previous year. This took place during the annual industrial sessions at Caux, Switzerland.

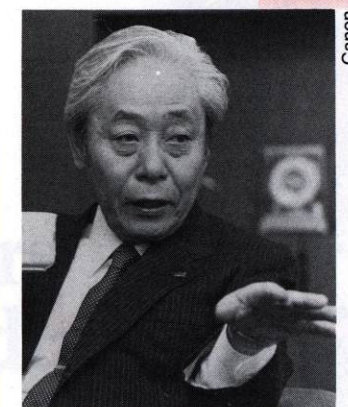
The May visit to Japan by the 10-strong Euro-American delegation helps to prepare the ground for the next round table session at the end of August, again in Caux. While in Japan, the Western industrialists held discussions with Mr Makoto Kuroda, Vice Minister of International Trade and Industry, as well as with the managements of top Japanese companies including Canon, Matsushita Electrics, Nissan and Toshiba.

Summing up the spirit of the visit, Olivier Giscard d'Estaing told his Japanese hosts: 'We believe in miracles. Japan has already performed two: that of her post-war reconstruction and that of her breakthrough to the position of second-biggest economy in the world. Together now we have to perform a third one – that of partnership in the solution of existing tensions.'

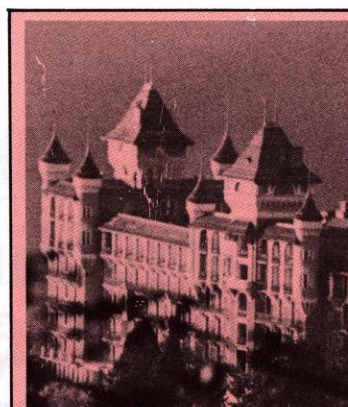
Africa can be created despite the frustrations of economic depression and rampant corruption. To reinforce this conviction they took with them the play *The Next Phase* which, with humour and lightness, deals with corruption and division in national life.

During the 'rolling conference', which took place at the end of April and the beginning of May, the play was staged at each of the four venues – Kano, Jos, Nsukka University and Awo-Omma in Imo State.

Packed audiences responded enthusiastically to the play and to what individual cast members said afterwards about family recon-



Ryuzaburo Kaku, President of Canon, who took part in the round table



D Channer

## Med meet

This summer's conferences at the MRA centre in Caux, Switzerland, opened in July with a dialogue on the Mediterranean. Ten parliamentarians from the Council of Europe and the European Parliament in Strasbourg and representatives from the Lebanon, Turkey and Cyprus took part in the discussions, which were initiated by Giovanni Bersani, an Italian MEP. Three countries sent official observers.

The group studied the existing structural, economic, political and social links between the European Community and the Mediterranean countries, and talked of the need not just for closer formal ties, but for healing in areas of conflict. One Cypriot commented, 'Over these 24 hours, I've found new hope for the future of my country.'

ciliations and their decisions to be honest. For instance they heard a history lecturer tell how he had refused to take advantage of his bank's mistake in crediting him with a sum of money, even when the amount would have enabled him to get his car back on the road.

The relevance of these issues was summed up by one speaker when he said, 'The economic restructuring programme of the government without moral restructuring would be like trying to fill with water a barrel that had holes in the bottom.'





## POLAND

## What the Pope left behind

by our special correspondent



Pope John Paul II in Gdansk on his recent visit

Poland has only known 20 years' independence in two centuries. Every generation has had to fight for justice and its spiritual identity.

The visits of the Pope in 1979, 1983 and 1987 must be seen in the context of this unfinished struggle.

A Warsaw engineer comparing the first two visits said, 'The 1979 visit showed the people their numerical strength and inspired the creation of Solidarity. The second visit in 1983 lifted people's spirits after Solidarity was banned and martial law imposed.'

The third, in June of this year, surprised the pundits. Far from soft-pedaling human rights—as commentators in the West had predicted—the Pope's message was uncompromising. 'Remember man's right to freedom of worship, the right to associate and freely express views,' he told General Jaruzelski. 'Remember man's dignity.'

1988 will be the millennium of the coming of Christianity to Russia. Some observers expected the Pope to temper his words so as to open the way for an invitation. This apprehension was present in Poland, when I went there in May, as well as in the West. Poles expressed fears about

the Government's role. Was it moving from confrontation with the Church to an attempt to corrupt it? Certainly Jaruzelski was hoping for some kind of endorsement of his policies of 'normalization'.

*'Far from soft-pedaling human rights, the Pope's message was uncompromising.'*

As it was, the Pope expressed the feelings of his countrymen in a way that nobody else could. Five years after the banning of Solidarity there was despondency; no light at the end of a tunnel of economic collapse and political oppression. Coming into this atmosphere, the Pope lost no time in putting down markers.

On the first day of his visit he asserted that only by putting man's needs and rights first could economic progress be assured. On the second day he told newly ordained priests to model themselves on Jerzy Popieluszko, the pro-Solidarity priest murdered by secret policemen in 1984. A few days later in Gdansk, the birthplace

of Solidarity, with its towering crosses commemorating workers shot in 1970, he spoke of solidarity: 'This word was uttered here in a new way and in a new context. And the world cannot forget it.'

Leading Solidarity activists described the Pope's visit as an inspiration in their struggle. 'That is clearly no exaggeration,' wrote *Hannoversche Allgemeine*. 'The opposition in Poland has grown stronger and more imaginative. The regime will need to adjust to the change.'

Poland represents a paradox. In this ostensibly Marxist society there are more student priests than in the rest of Europe put together. More than 1,000 churches have been built in the last four years.

This is one reason why the Vatican sees for Poland a strategic role in its plans for a united and rechristianized Europe.

Speaking in front of the imposing People's Palace of Culture—Stalin's gift to Poland—the Pope remembered the Churches and peoples of Lithuania, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Kiev; of Great Russia and of the Slavs. 'In everything the Pope says and does he is thinking of the Soviet Union,' an intellectual in Krakow told me. Undoubtedly, he wants to go there. But he will not compromise himself to make it possible.

John Paul II has lived under Nazis and Communists. He is realistic about oppression but maintains it can only be overcome by justice and love. The significance of Jerzy Popieluszko to him—or of Maximilian Kolbe, the victim of Auschwitz, whose example he commended to novices on a previous visit—is in a realm beyond politics. Both preached love and forgiveness. For both, the commitment to truth outstripped the fear of persecution. As one Pole in exile told me, 'Poland's experience shows that moral change often comes through suffering.'

The Pope believes that spiritual force is greater than material power. Certainly, the millions who crowd to see him whenever he visits Poland indicate that it is more appealing. The attraction is to something far removed from dialectical discussion or party polemic: to something which satisfies the quest for meaning and purpose and for living as God wants in perfect freedom. In the Soviet Union too this quest exists. The *Moscow Literary Gazette* said recently, 'It has become a habit to live a double life, to say one thing and to think another. We have got out of the habit of speaking the truth, the full truth. Half-truth is the worst kind of lie... Conscience has begun to disappear in us.' Ironically, in his concern for personal rebirth and for human dignity the Pope may be offering the Soviet Union what it seeks—a way of making an egalitarian society work. ■

FOR A CHANGE

## GUATEMALA

## Town-criers in San Pedro

by Evelyn Puig

Take a journey to the west or north-west of Guatemala City where the land rises and the nights become cooler. As you pass through Guatemala's abundant forests, you notice the trees that have been felled on each side of the road—to prevent ambushes, evidence of the warfare in recent years.

Since January 1986, following the democratic election of President Vinicio Cerezo's government, relative peace has been established, although an estimated 3,000 guerrillas have not surrendered and engage in occasional skirmishes with the army. In some places the so-called 'armed civic patrols' can be seen, a reminder that violence is still a threat.

Here, in the villages which nestle between the lakes and mountains, live most of Guatemala's Indians, who make up 60 per cent of the population. In their colourful hand-woven and embroidered costumes they represent a culture with different values to the Hispanics who have dominated the country since the 16th century. The relationship between these two cultures, embittered by centuries of exploitation, is the vital issue now facing this war-torn country.

Gaspar Gonzales is an Indian, head of the National Council of Mayan Development which aims to unite the 23 different Indian tribes on a cultural level. He lost his brother in the war between the guerrillas and militia. In those days villages would be occupied by first one group then another, demanding food and allegiance, and taking reprisals against those who had been forced to assist 'the enemy'. Now an Indian 'Widows Cooperative' exists to help the families that remain.

## Reluctant politician

Gonzales believes that the Indians have much to give to the world through their culture, and is writing a book about the history and traditions of his people. He himself has tried the path of violent change but no longer believes that this is the answer. Now, together with Ana Maria Xuyá Cuxil, he has been participating at a conference for Moral Re-Armament in Panajachel on the themes of 'forgiveness' and 'bringing people together'. Miss Xuyá lost her mother and her only brother in the earthquake of 1976 which destroyed whole towns and villages. She and her four sisters survived, crawling out from the pile of rubble that had been their home. Now 25 years old and a schoolteacher, she has become Guatemala's first Indian woman Member of Parliament.

Despite the fact that Indians make up the majority of the population, they only have nine of the 100 seats in parliament. Miss Xuyá did not want to enter politics. Politicians here run



Ana Maria Xuyá Cuxil, Guatemalan MP

many risks. 'I was afraid,' she says, 'but I felt that it was God's will.'

Faith is important to her as to many in this staunchly Catholic country. 'When a person of leadership or of public responsibility does not have God in his life, he loses direction and is lost,' she says. For Miss Xuyá, her life's 'direction' is bound up with her people, for whom she has profound love and conviction. She is an able and passionate spokesperson, expressing the Indians' desire to build a united Guatemala with equal opportunities for all. The fighting may have stopped, 'but,' she says, 'you can also kill people by excluding them from society, refusing them the rights from which others benefit.'

Don Feliciano Poc, a sculptor and poet, is also the only mayor in the country elected on a socialist ticket. He took a big group from the conference in Panajachel on an official visit to his township. For an hour the group crossed Lake Atitlán with volcanoes rising from the mist all around. Town-criers had gone throughout San Pedro announcing the visit and so 1,000 villagers lined the streets to hear their mayor speak, sitting on the stone steps that serve as benches, in traditional Indian regalia. Addressing them in their own language (Tzutuhil) he told them about the conference he had attended which was so different from other conferences. He was followed by people of different nations speaking or being translated into Spanish. Although many would not have understood the words, the feelings behind were apparent.

Such encounters highlight the need for translators. And yet something more than linguists is needed. In Guatemala City the heavy iron gates that protect some of the houses bear witness to the divisions that exist. Somehow it is translators of the heart, people who can translate from one way of life to another, who are really needed here. ■

## UGANDA

## Building Again

by Ailsa Hamilton

There was a country in Africa where the sun shone, the rivers flowed and the green plants flourished; where a civilization had slowly grown from the days of the Queen of Sheba, absorbing different tribes and religions, and retaining its character through the colonial era and beyond; whose university was a light and whose doctors, scientists and teachers were among the best trained on the continent. This country was Uganda, 'the pearl of Africa'.

Today the sun still shines, the rivers still flow, and the green plants are being cultivated once more after two decades of home-grown violence had brought agriculture, as well as industry, to a virtual standstill. The present government fought its way to power, as had previous regimes. Its intention was to establish peace and liberty among a battered people. For the ordinary person, some of the load has been lifted: the army is no longer licensed to rob, loot and shoot civilians; goods are returning to the market stalls and shop shelves; electricity often works, letters get through and there are telephones in place.

It is too soon to know whether the government's goals of no corruption, no revenge and a united country will be reached. The pressures created by history and contemporary realities seem almost unmanageable. It takes time for tribes which have fought each other to learn to trust, for civil servants who have functioned under despots to regain their confidence, for mothers who have lost husband and home to rebuild their families, for children who have known only brutality to learn the ground-rules of humane living, for an inflation-ridden economy to settle into sanity. Difficult decisions, financial and political, have been taken. Some Ugandans



Agriculture is reviving in Uganda

are determined that the present government shall succeed, some are equally determined that it shall not. The outside world is similarly split.

The truth is that a civilization has been shattered, and is in need of rebuilding. This goes

continued...



by Don Simpson

UGANDA

continued...

beyond the realms of politics and power. No leader, however enlightened, will be able to create a stable structure until new foundations have been laid. On two recent visits, I continually heard the phrase 'moral rehabilitation'. Some Ugandans went so far as to say that it was the prime need, even before material and social rehabilitation. Ugandans in all spheres are setting this process in motion.

There are myriad organizations housing, feeding and relocating the thousands of orphans, rescuing the teenage mothers, training youngsters in money-making skills. Schools, colleges and university are being manned by selfless educators who ignore disheartening conditions. Parents in the town donate money and time to rebuild schools in the devastated rural areas. Hospitals heal disease and wounds, and tend AIDS sufferers, gathering supplies from home and abroad. Churches and mosques steadily maintain worship, and their congregations undertake intercommunal social work.

The faith and courage of individual Ugandans puts more fortunate people to the blush. A great-grandfather, with 40 of his family around him, described how after a siege of his small house all four generations had fled to the bush. Then he added, 'But God has held us - isn't it wonderful?' A woman forced to watch her husband bleed to death told me that she had refused to identify the murderer: 'It would only have made another widow and more orphans.' A secretary decided not to marry but to bring up her five nieces and nephews, orphaned when three sisters were killed. She houses them and two other orphans in her single quarters in town, and to provide for them has added poultry-keeping and charcoal-selling to her full-time job.

Self-supporting

A young couple, recently married but with no jobs, decided neither to take bribes nor steal. They prayed, asking for direction. She took up crochet again, having never sold anything; customers appeared. She has trained others to be self-supporting in the same way. Both husband and wife are now in jobs, they have a nine-month-old daughter, live in a garage and hope for more spacious days. They are planning to set up a training centre to teach self-supporting skills and honesty.

A final-year student decided to forgive the relative who had killed her father, and gave herself courage for the conversation by rectifying a bitter relationship with an ex-boyfriend and returning the belongings which she had kept as revenge.

A student leader from Amin country said to a group of fellow students, 'We from West Nile have been hated by every other tribe, and we have hated every other group. I want to apologize on behalf of my people. I want to give my peace of mind to people, so we can live together.' He and his friends from different regions of Uganda plan to apply this approach in rehabilitation work in their own areas.

No corruption, no revenge, a united country - such individual and collective courage is needed to make the vision a reality. ■

# Guidebook for China-watchers

Real life China  
by Richard Thwaites  
(Collins, Australia)

Thanks to TV, trade and tourism, everyone is now a 'China watcher'. But in order to understand a country so vast and so different we need a reliable guide and interpreter.

China, with the longest continuous history of any nation on earth, will one way or another play a major role in the future of us all. So we watch a little anxiously as this giant, with its 1,000 million sons and daughters, controlled by a massive centralized bureaucracy, signals a change of direction.

*Real Life China* is the product of five years' hard investigative journalism, involving extensive travel, often in difficult circumstances. When Richard Thwaites arrived in Beijing in 1978 as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's correspondent, a new chapter was opening in China's history. The Gang of Four and their friends had been toppled. Colleges were reopening after a ten-year gap. But the economy was stagnant and 20 million youth were still in the countryside.

Brainstorm

Thwaites describes the new leader Deng Xiaoping's first steps from dogmatism to pragmatism as he decentralized decision-making, promoted a mixed economy and disbanded communes - encouraging collectives and private enterprise. Deng was the first to challenge Mao's authority; he admitted there had been 'mistakes' and 'wrong attitudes'. He urged the Party to lead the people in a continuous search for new truth, 'to build socialism with Chinese characteristics'.

Deng has since faced growing opposition. It is estimated that Deng, now 83, will have to hold on another five years to see his policies established.

Thwaites also reviews Mao's Cultural Revolution, a brainstorm which disastrously put the clock back in education and the economy. He describes the events of the 'Beijing Spring'; recalls the near-extinction of Buddhist culture in Tibet and some recent relaxations; assesses the growing significance of the 70 million people of China's racial minorities; and discusses the Party's religious policies which firmly contain the influence of any rival faith, Taoist, Muslim, Buddhist or Christian.

Thwaites describes the realities of daily life for millions of Chinese: the limited social and medical services; the heartbreak caused by the 'one-



S Sprague/Panos Pictures

child family' policy with its massive abortion rate and the rising tide of corruption.

There are certain clear merits to *Real Life China*. Thwaites and his wife speak Chinese. They understand some of the subtleties of Chinese thought and language. And in a society where it is difficult for foreigners to meet residents, they get close enough to people to discover how they feel. Thwaites shows a sensitive respect and affection for the people he is reporting. And there is a welcome absence of cynicism.

Mutual understanding between East and West may seem a romantic daydream. But it is increasingly a precondition for human survival. The West, if it is to move closer to the Chinese people and their cousins, may have to 'correct' some of its own 'mistakes' - the century-long opium trade, the military intervention in the Tai Ping rising, and the priority the West gave to commercial advantage. Western countries all but forced China to adopt a concept which was not only foreign, but which reflected their own failure to practise what they preached. We have some way to go, and this book will help us do so. ■

edited by John Lester and Ailsa Hamilton

# Time and Space

Etched on my memory is a meal I had in the home of a villager in India. As I sat cross-legged on the floor, a hen flew down from the rafters, landed on my plate and scattered the contents everywhere.

That family was always generous. If ever I passed by, they asked me to come in. If ever I came in, they offered me a meal. If I couldn't stay, they offered me vegetables to take home.

They possessed something more valuable than all the durables that most of us depend on. That something is time.

Last summer I visited an abbey in Switzerland. It was peopled by monks who had committed themselves to serve God in silence. I was given the chance to attend one of their services - the only time in the day when they broke silence. They came in dressed in their white robes, sat there and waited. The abbot finally gave them the cue to start with a tiny tap on his chair. In our society, dwelling in noise, no one would have noticed it. In that atmosphere it was as decisive as a pistol shot and they all burst into song together.

There is a link between time and silence, between silence and listening, between listening and the spirit.

We live in an age when many of us have more than we have ever had before; which knows more than has ever been known before. We can get more done. We cope with far greater pressures. And so prosperity, knowledge and busy-ness mark our material progress.

Amazing things are accomplished through ambition and effort and the careful rationing of time so that every second is used productively.

But the spiritual dimension is best discerned in silence, through listening, when time is forgotten or suspended. There is a natural tension between the material and the spiritual. In our search for the material we have grown in prosperity at the expense of our moral and spiritual development. We have squeezed the spirit out.

Many now see the need for moral renaissance, but few can see how such a change could come about. Certainly it will not be through judgement in which we blame others; nor through acquiescence, in which we condone evil. But it could

happen through something happening to us and in us.

The key may lie in our learning to love silence and to spend time quietly seeking for the new life and new commitment and new thoughts which God himself can give to us if we give him the space.

In Britain, where this magazine is being edited, many, in the Sixties and Seventies, made sex their God. Now, in the Eighties, many are chasing money and making 'careerism' their God. Yet the heritage of most of us here is Christian and from Jesus we learn to seek first the Kingdom of God.

What will our choice be? For life is full of choices which determine how we and our societies develop. The profounder ones can only be processed if we dare to give ourselves time to reflect.

Constant activity allows us to lead and forces God to follow.

Silence allows God to lead and us to follow.

A world devoid of activity would see little material progress. But a world devoid of silence sees little of the miraculous.

Henry Drummond once said that just as the eye is the organ of physical sight so obedience is the organ of spiritual sight.

Silence, and through it listening, is the gateway to obedience.

This forgotten spiritual dimension is part of the inheritance of us all, whatever our background and experience. It is an adventure to explore it. ■

John Lester

Photo: P. Sisam



## This Month... Geoffrey Lean

Sometime this summer, somewhere in the world, a most unusual baby was born – the five billionth soul alive on Earth.

I may get to know that baby rather well. That is if it happens to be my daughter Eorann.

Eorann arrived right in the middle of solemn celebrations held in London to mark the birth of the 'five billionth baby'. But, naturally, nobody knows precisely when – or where – that epoch-making child was born.

It is, of course, most likely that he or she arrived, like nine out of every ten babies born today, in the Third World. If so, the five billionth baby faces very different prospects from my daughter – though they are bound, inextricably, in the same general fate.

If it was born in Sierra Leone or Afghanistan, for example, it would be 20 times more likely than a British child to die in its first year of life. In any one of 50 other countries it would have less than a tenth of the chance of living to celebrate its first birthday next summer.

In most of those countries the baby could not expect to live far beyond my age, 40. During its first five years it is likely to suffer from malnutrition, with possibly permanent effects on its mental and physical development.

He or she would have only a 50 per cent chance of finishing primary school; less than a 25 per cent chance of even starting secondary school if a boy, less than a ten per cent chance if a girl; and would almost certainly grow up without access to safe drinking water or any form of sanitation.

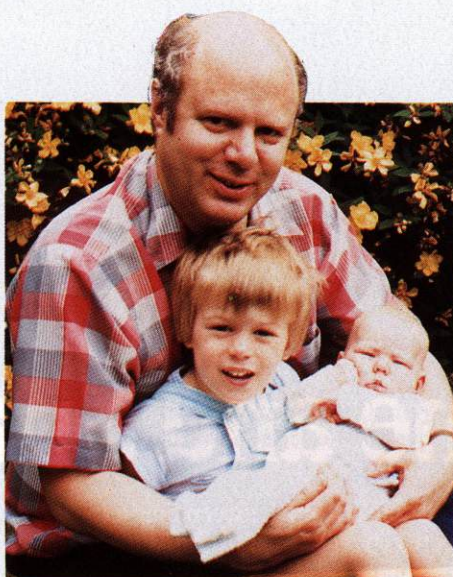
And yet both Eorann and her Third World brother or sister will inherit the same Earth from their parents. It will be radically different from the one we have known.

### Web of life

For a start it will be much more populous. The first 'billion baby' did not arrive until the beginning of the last century. Since then the pace has gathered; the world's population reached two billion in the early 1920s, three billion about 1958, four billion by 1975.

By the time Eorann is 12 there will be another billion baby; by the time she is 24 another. If she waits as long as her parents, her first child could even be the eight billionth baby, born in the early 2020s.

The pace of the increase will itself put enormous pressure upon the world; but the strains will be much the greatest in the countries least able to bear them. For 95 per cent of the growth will be in Third World countries, and the fastest increase of all in the poorest of them.



O Williams

*'The fight against poverty demands a new economic ethic, the economics of unselfishness.'*

These countries are already unable to meet the needs of their peoples. They face a future in which these needs will double, along with population, every 25 years.

If policies do not change by the time Eorann enters her teens, one third of the world's productive land will have been turned to dust, through overuse. A million species will have been destroyed forever, tearing great holes in the world's web of life. By the time she is my age almost all of the world's tropical rainforests – the world's most exuberant celebration of life, and vital regulators of the climate – will have disappeared.

Meanwhile, scientists now agree, great but incalculable changes in climate will be taking place – causing rising sea-levels and shifts in rainfall and agricultural patterns around the world. They will be the result of increased fossil fuel use and the release of gases from everyday products like aerosol sprays and fast food cartons.

Eorann and the other children born this year will inherit an even more unstable world than the one we know. There will be unprecedented pressure from the growing mass of the poor and hopeless. And the natural systems which sustain human society will be severely eroded.

The one hope is that, before Eorann is much older, the world will at last have decided to attack

the root cause of these crises – poverty. For the dire poverty of more than half of humanity, in a world where there is enough for everyone's need, is not merely an historic evil as foul as the slave trade; it is also the driving force behind these escalating threats to the future.

It is poverty that fuels population growth; poor people choose to have many children because they need them. It is poverty that forces people to overcultivate marginal lands and to destroy the forests, when good land is denied them elsewhere.

The fight against poverty demands a new economic ethic, the economics of unselfishness. It has become an unfashionable concept. Over the past decade or so, the economics of selfishness, dressed up in fancy names, has increasingly taken hold. Its tenet – that one's duty is to look after oneself in the hope that the benefits will 'trickle-down' to the poor – salves consciences but little else. The trickle-down – if it happens at all – will not, and cannot, come fast enough.

On the other hand, there is good evidence from around the world that economic miracles take place when the needs of the poor are given priority. There are brief glimpses of overwhelming public support for economic unselfishness – as in the worldwide response to the African famine two years ago – in spite of a depressing relapse into voting with the pocket book.

And yet, as the great Christian economist Barbara Ward would remind us, 'In this age of ultimate scientific discovery the facts and our morals have come together to tell us how to live.' Eorann's future, and that of all the world's children, depends on whether we listen. ■

*Geoffrey Lean is the Environment Correspondent of the 'Observer', London. He is seen above with Owen, 4, and Eorann.*

## Next Month...

**Lead story:** as the Brundtland Commission reports to the UN, *For A Change* looks at the link between the state of the Earth and the welfare of its inhabitants. Will the world learn to work together in time?

**Profile:** Arnold Smith, former Secretary General of the Commonwealth

**Guest Column:** Hector Wynter, Jamaican diplomat, politician and journalist





# kampen for åndelig og moralsk opprustning

10. september 1987

Kjære leser.

Til en forandring kommer vi denne gang på engelsk. Med en unnskyldning til dem av våre lesere som ikke mestrer språket.

"For a Change" er et nytt internasjonalt magasin som utgis av Moralsk Opprustning i London. På tross av språkbarrieren og det faktum at bladet er skrevet spesielt for den engelsktalende verden, synes vi at våre lesere bør få del i nyheten. Bladet sendes i stedet for juli/august-nummeret av "Ny Verden".

"For a Change" kommer en gang i måneden som erstatning for det tidligere "New World News". Fortsatt bringes nyheter om MRAs arbeid rundt om i verden (sidene 5, 6, 10, 11 og 13). Men samtids-analyse, dagsaktuelle portretter og billedstoff får større plass.

Det vedlagte eksemplar inneholder også en abonnements-blankett. Åpnings-tilbudet (25% rabatt) er på kr. 130,- for ett år. Selv om "For a Change" konkurrerer med vårt norske "Ny Verden", anbefaler vi våre lesere å prøve det. Innbetaling kan skje gjennom MRA-kontoret i Oslo:

Postboks 3018 Elisenberg,  
0207 Oslo 2.

Postgiro 20 91 395, Bankgiro 6030-05-08831 (Merket "For a Change"),

eller direkte til London-adressen for "For a Change".

Neste nummer av "Ny Verden" kommer i oktober.

Vennlig hilsen

Redaksjonen



## ADDRESSES AND RATES

Complete your address, tear off and send with payment to: FOR A CHANGE  
at the appropriate address below:

COUNTRY	ADDRESS	FULL RATE	OFFER RATE
U.S.A.	1030 FIFTEENTH STREET NW, SUITE 908, WASHINGTON DC 20005	\$30-00	\$22-50
CANADA	141 SOMERSET STREET WEST, SUITE 302, OTTAWA, ONT. K2P 2H1	Can \$35-00	Can \$26-25
AUSTRALIA	P.O. BOX 1078J, GPO MELBOURNE, VIC. 3001	A \$39-00	A \$29-25
NEW ZEALAND	C.P.O. BOX 1834, WELLINGTON	NZ \$48-00	NZ \$36-00
U.K.	TIRLEY GARTH, TARPORLEY, CHESHIRE CW6 0LZ	£12-00	£9-00
All other countries	TIRLEY GARTH, TARPORLEY, CHESHIRE CW6 0LZ, UK (Giro No. 504 1759)	£16-00	£12-00

- ▶ I ENCLOSE PAYMENT OF ..... (payable to 'FOR A CHANGE')  
FOR ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION
- ▶ FOR PAYMENT BY GIRO SEE ABOVE

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ POST/ZIP CODE \_\_\_\_\_

COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

# FOR A CHANGE

*Special  
Introductory  
Offer...*

...FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS

# SAVE 25%

ON THE ANNUAL  
SUBSCRIPTION

(See opposite for addresses and rates.)