

**THE MORAL RE-ARMAMENT MOVEMENT:
IS "GENERIC" THE RIGHT PRESCRIPTION FOR TODAY?**

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The relationship between belief and behavior is one which has been of interest to the social critic, the practicing Christian and to the behavioral scientist alike. Incidentally, I don't see these categories as being mutually exclusive! The Christian faith has a horizontal dimension as well as a vertical dimension. For this reason believers have often invested themselves in the lives of others and in social causes which have provided benefit to the wider community. Indeed, the Bible is clear that an action component is basic to a valid faith (Ja. 2:14-16). Often the public, including the Christian public, is unaware of the Christian roots to various social service agencies and to social movements which continue to make significant contributions. In recent years my professional interests in psychology and sociology have been particularly focused upon issues related to conflict resolution and reconciliation and to a lesser extent upon the power of the Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) Twelve Step program to combat addictions of all kinds. It has been enlightening for me to trace both areas of interest to Christian beginnings. The "family tree" from "branch" to "trunk" includes the organizations Moral Re-Armament, The Oxford Group, The First Century Christian Fellowship, and the man Frank Buchman.

Today's Moral Re-Armament movement (MRA) is an amalgam of people from almost two score different countries from different faith traditions who share a common idealism about human potential for bringing about reconciliation and harmony at all levels of human interaction. This movement has a praiseworthy history of resolving conflict and enhancing reconciliation between nations, among various ethnic and special interest

groups, and between individuals. Unlike most contemporary organizations of the emerging dispute resolution "industry", MRA does not merely emphasize a special interactive methodology, a search for common interests, and mutual respect among adversaries. The unique emphasis of MRA advocates personal change as the vehicle to bring about dispute resolution and reconciliation among antagonists. This experience of change is based upon an individual's receipt of new insights gained through seeking direction from God, and from a commitment to action based upon those insights. The change involves a worldview modification which incorporates heightened sensitivity to others and a broad appreciation for the potential contribution of religious ideals to the task of dispute resolution and reconciliation. It is a perspective of generic religious idealism.

The History of MRA

The initiator of MRA was the Rev. Frank Buchman, an American Lutheran minister who had a very non-traditional work which gained early recognition for life changing influence on the campus at Pennsylvania State University before 1920. His interests took on an international focus and by the late 1920's he had developed an innovative work at Oxford University which utilized personal contact and informal meetings. His message was distinctively Christian even though his methodology wasn't identified with the church. The media labeled the people who came to be associated with Buchman and his work, the Oxford Group. Later, with the approach of World War II in Europe, Buchman called upon the nations to reassess their basic moral and spiritual values and to

undertake a new way of relating to each other instead of depending upon the force of arms to address their differences. He renamed his movement, Moral Re-Armament.

At the conclusion of World War II he was a leading figure for the reconciliation of the former antagonists. In particular, his work at the MRA conference centre in Caux, Switzerland was instrumental in bringing France and Germany together in an alliance which ultimately served as the basis for today's European Union (formerly the European Economic Community). Buchman received recognition for his reconciliation work and was honored with citations from several different countries. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1951.

Buchman died in 1961. His activities had been characterized by his commitment to internationalism, his belief in personal responsibility and his assurance that God could and would enter into the daily experience of individuals and into the life of the nations. His work was marked by innovation and flexibility and adaptation to the social context of the times. His approach was Christian but not "churchy". He utilized one on one meetings, social gatherings called "house parties", drama, music, literature and speeches in nonreligious settings. Buchman's special ideological emphasis was on becoming "changed" from being self-centered to being God-centered, the importance of a daily listening for "guidance" from God, devotion to four moral absolutes, regular self-scrutiny, and confession and restitution for wrongs done. The four absolutes included: absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. He found that even people of no religious faith, or people of other religions could come together around these principles.

Although Buchman was at ease personally, and in working with those of different religions, it was never in doubt that he was a devout Christian. When reading Garth Lean's comprehensive biography of Buchman, **Frank Buckman: A Life**, one can come to no conclusion but that Buchman saw Jesus Christ as the ultimate answer for the questions of conflict and of reconciliation. The following quotes illustrate this.

1. "Buchman was...soaked in the Bible and made certain that it formed the basics of the training given in Oxford".²
2. "Our aim is never to mediate, but to change lives and unite them by making them life-changers--to build a united Christian front".³
3. "We are in a global effort to win the world to our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. There is your ideology. It is the whole message of the gospel of Jesus Christ. That message in its entirety is the only hope".⁴

Buchman believed that the MRA movement could accommodate those with differing degrees of spiritual insight. He said "[let MRA] ...be a lake where the elephant can swim and the lamb can wade".⁵ He saw opportunities for the broadest cooperation for what he understood to be God's objectives. "MRA is the good road of an ideology inspired by God upon which all can unite...Catholic, Jew, Protestant, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Confucianist--all find they can change, where needed, and travel along this good road together".⁶

Muslim scholar Charis Waddy has noted that although Buchman articulated a message that was uncompromisingly Christian, he shared his vision with sensitivity to the social context and to the circumstances of the person he spoke with. "He did not face them with a dogma but with an experience. His work cannot be understood without addressing the controversial paradox: men and

women of other traditions of faith felt drawn to work with him--perhaps because he was all out in his belief and practice of his own faith, not in spite of such commitment". 7

Frank Buchman had a clear sense that he was following God's explicit directions through a vital daily encounter in which he was prepared, pencil and paper in hand, to record what he was to do. But he was not just an independent thinker or mystic who was doing his own thing. He checked his insights against principles of the Bible, and the judgments of others he knew to be seeking God's leading. Theologian Klaus Bockmuehl, a more contemporary figure than Buchman, agreed with Buchman's ideas about God's active role in communicating direction to humanity. In the last book he wrote before his death in 1987, Bockmuel quoted Buchman approvingly, "Divine guidance must become the normal experience...Definite, accurate, adequate information can come from the mind of God to the minds of men. This is normal prayer". 8

In *Listening to the God Who Speaks*, Bockmuehl reviews both the Old Testament and the New Testament as well as the early church fathers to make a theological case for the principle which was so important to Buchman.

Several prominent evangelicals of the early 20th century had significant influence on Buchman and his particular points of emphasis. The evangelist F.B. Meyer was the one who convinced him of the special importance of daily guidance. Professors Henry Wright and Henry Drummond suggested the importance of giving oneself completely to God for service, and that the changed life was normative after a genuine encounter with God. Evangelist Dwight L. Moody made quite an impression on Buchman concerning the priority of evangelism. And finally, the stimulation for Buchman's emphasis on the four

absolutes came from the writings of Robert Speer which were based upon the Sermon on the Mount.⁹

Outcomes of MRA's Work

The work of Buchman's group, the term organization is probably a misnomer since a lack of formal structure has always been characteristic of MRA/the Oxford Group, has gone in diverse directions and with great effect. Tim Stafford quotes psychiatrist and prominent author Scott Peck as saying that the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) was the greatest event of the twentieth century.¹⁰ George Vaillant, also a psychiatrist, and a leading researcher on adult development has identified AA as providing the single most effective treatment available for alcoholism.¹¹ Christian author Keith Miller said, "My experience in Twelve Step groups has convinced me that God has provided a way of spiritual healing and growth that may well be the most important spiritual model of any age for contemporary Christians".¹² The program receiving these plaudits is the direct outgrowth of the Oxford Group in the United States.

In 1935 two people, Dr. Bob and Bill W. faced their addiction together.¹³ In the intervening 60 years AA has grown to two million people who meet together in many countries around the world. The twelve step program of AA has been found effective with all sorts of addictive problems in addition to alcoholism. Groups meet in many different settings including prisons, hospitals and churches. It is possible to go into most cities in North America and to locate AA meetings any day or night of the week. Bill W. wrote that "The early AA got its ideas of self-examination, acknowledgment of character defects, restitution for harm done and working with others straight from the Oxford Groups".¹³

The AA movement broke away from the Oxford Group several years after its founding. The reason for this split seems to relate to the broader religious agenda of the Oxford Group, Many within AA saw the other group as being too religious, while they had a narrower interest in dealing with their alcohol problem. While the twelve steps of AA are nonspecifically religious, an examination of the steps will clearly show their Christian moorings and the influence of the Oxford Group.

The Twelve Steps Of Alcoholics Anonymous

1. We admitted we were powerless over alcohol--that our lives had become unmanageable.
2. Came to believe that a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to sanity.
3. Make a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of God as we understood Him.
4. Make a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves.
5. Admitted to God, to ourselves, and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs.
6. Were entirely ready to have God remove all these defects of character.
7. Humbly asked Him to remove our shortcomings.
8. Made a list of all persons we had harmed, and became willing to make amends to them all.
9. Made direct amends to such people wherever possible, except when to do so would injure them or others.

10. Continued to take personal inventory and when we were wrong promptly admitted it.
11. Sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious contact with God as we understood Him, praying only for knowledge of His will for us and the power to carry that out.
12. Having had a spiritual awakening as the result of these steps, we tried to carry this message to alcoholics, and to practice these principles in all our affairs. 14

A good example of MRA's work for conflict resolution and reconciliation is illustrated in their role in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1980. After 14 years of guerrilla warfare by black nationalist groups over 20,000 people had died. The country's economy was in ruins because of outside economic sanctions which were imposed upon the white-controlled government and the heavy expenditures which were necessary to oppose the nationalist groups. Everyone saw that the situation had become desperate. In early 1980 a peace plan had been agreed to, but a crisis point had been reached as national elections were held. If Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) or Joshua Nkomo leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) were to take power it was common knowledge that a white military officer was prepared to instigate a coup to topple the newly elected government. Ian Smith, former prime minister and now a member of the ruling council that had replaced the office of prime minister continued to represent the white establishment that had retained control of the government.

On the weekend following voting but before the results were announced on the following Tuesday, a group of MRA workers met to consider the situation.

A black member of the group reported that he believed God had planted the idea in his mind that Mugabe and Smith should meet to try and avert what could be the beginning of new wide-spread violence. Despite the unlikelyhood of this scenario, this man approached Alec Smith, the son of the politician, who was a member of MRA, he also pursued personal contacts he had with people who were close to Mugabe. Despite the dangers involved the meeting was arranged, and this man and Ian Smith went to meet Mugabe. The meeting occurred amidst 50 armed and hostile guards, and as Smith approached:

Lets get rid of him now, shouted a brash young guerrilla, raising his rifle. A senior commander of the ZANU forces turned, and with the butt of his own weapon, sent the young man sprawling.

Inside the house, Mugabe invited Smith to sit next to him on a couch, and for the next several hours, the two men talked about the future of the nation.

Both had been tipped off regarding the expected outcome of the election, so they entered the meeting aware that in less than 24 hours Mugabe would be announced the winner. In the meeting, Mugabe indicated that, as a civilian leader, he would approach things differently than he had as leader of a liberation army; he outlined policies he intended to pursue. He stressed his eagerness to retain the confidence of whites and inquired from Smith what measures would be necessary to do so. Mugabe also put an offer on the table; Smith would be welcome to nominate two white ministers to serve in Mugabe's cabinet. 15

When the election results were announced on Tuesday, March 4, 1980 Smith responded in an unexpectedly positive manner and encouraged whites to stay

and work with the new government. That same evening Mugabe made what has come to be known as his reconciliation speech asking for the allegiance of all citizens and assuring whites that there would be no recriminations against them. The anticipated coup never materialized, apparently averted by the actions of Smith and Mugabe.

MRA was active in southern Africa from as far back as 1928. The strategy which was pursued to work for positive change in Rhodesia involved four elements. These included: pursuit of personal friendships with key figures, a methodology which involved sharing of personal failings and confessing of wrong attitudes, bringing in resource people from other countries, and using the media and public meetings to attempt to exert moral influence on the larger society. Kraybill indicates that numerous liberation front leaders had learned about MRA in the 1950's and had a very positive attitude toward the group because MRA had already challenged individual whites to change their racist attitudes. Specifically, while a student Mugabe had seen MRA films, he told an MRA worker in 1976 that he had great respect for MRA's focus upon mending one's own ways first as the beginning for healing relationships. But, he noted while this philosophy would work in families and in social relationships generally, he didn't think it could work in the current political climate. ¹⁶

There is an excellent summary of the general approach of MRA within the description of the MRA role in Rhodesia in the recently published book **Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft.**

'In order to build a new society, you must have people who are willing to begin with themselves,' was the way Alec Smith summarized a key MRA assumption. Henry Macnicol, described

by some as the central strategist of MRA activities in Rhodesia, believes 'you can change the system all you like but unless you change the hearts of men, you're changing nothing'. Yet another MRA worker put it this way: 'If you change the attitude of one person, he begins to change society if he's a prominent person'. Thus MRA hoped to support social change, but sought to do so by way of individual change...Their task was to enable individuals to listen to God. This would lead to a change of heart and to clarity about the 'right' thing to do. And if leaders would get themselves oriented in the right direction, society must follow. 17

Describing MRA Today

Because MRA is a loose network of people from around the world who cooperate together without an overall formal organizational structure, it is not possible to describe this group with precision. There is an international Coordinating Committee of six members, and individual countries have people who serve as coordinator/leader. There are also boards of governors who have responsibility for financial matters. Annual meetings are held in each of the various countries, and an annual international consultation during which a small number of people meet to assess current priorities and to plan future directions. The annual summer meetings at Caux, Switzerland draw hundreds of participants from all over the world. These meetings are organized around specific themes and attract many from outside MRA circles. This experience often provides the first real exposure to MRA principles. MRA operates in a collegial fashion in more than 30 countries, with about 300 full time workers.

Even the definition of full time worker is difficult since there are those who regularly invest large parts of their lives with MRA, but who receive salaries for other work. Although the living costs of the workers (usually married couples with families) may be met in slightly different ways in different countries, basically they operate on the same principles as do faith missionaries. Their homes and cars typically are owned by MRA and are utilized in support of this work. Expenses for food and operating costs of the homes are also provided, as is health care. MRA does not provide a formal retirement program for former workers. In North America contributions are made into Social Security to provide a minimal income upon retirement.

The countries with the largest contingents of full time workers include: Great Britain, the United States, Australia and Switzerland. Conference centres are operated in Switzerland, India, England, Australia, Brazil, and Zimbabwe. Within North America, there are full time workers located in Boston (Cambridge), New York City, Washington, D.C., Richmond, Virginia; Minneapolis/St. Paul, and Portland. Within Canada, there are full time workers located in Quebec City, Ottawa, and Vancouver (Richmond).

The current activities of MRA are wide-ranging and include: promoting democratic values in Russia and in the emerging republics of the former Soviet Union, enhancing the development of indigenous people in North America and Australia, the promotion of spiritual and moral values through books, films and conferences, working for racial reconciliation in large cities, projects to enhance reconciliation in Cambodia and South Africa, development of a centre in New York City to provide for informal contacts between representatives of the various countries of the United Nations, and the development of two bodies which hold

annual international consultations to address issues relating to trade and to economic justice and to address reform in the media which might enhance rather than demean mass culture.

Most of the workers are middle aged and of middle class background. Perhaps as many as one third are British, including a significant number who have moved to North America and who now serve in the U.S. or in Canada.

There is no formal recruitment or training program for potential workers. Many who serve, particularly among the British, have deep family ties with MRA. Some are second generation workers and some have siblings who are also MRA workers. People learn their roles in a kind of apprenticeship with experienced workers. Sometimes individuals become full time workers at retirement from other work after long time part time involvement.

The common recruitment and training experience of many journeyman workers was built around traveling stage productions. The productions were original creations of MRA writers. They were attempts to convey both the problems of contemporary life and the possibilities of addressing these through the principles of MRA. These were often structured as musicals and were traveling shows which visited many different countries over the course of a number of months. Young people with a few mature couples as trainers and chaperones had an opportunity to share their beliefs with others and to learn the discipline of frequent travel, performance and group living in a cross-cultural setting. This emphasis was particularly strong in the 1960's and the 1970's.

Assessing MRA

I first became aware of MRA several years ago when I attended an international conference dealing with conflict resolution. I was attracted to the MRA session because of its announced emphasis on a spiritual dimension to conflict resolution and reconciliation. The presentation described the importance of religion in a very general or generic fashion. Feeling that the short session had not allowed a full exposition of their ideas, I followed up the session with a breakfast meeting with one of the presenters. I learned that he was a Christian and that the organization had strong Christian roots. When I later learned about Garth Lean's biography of Frank Buchman, I read the book with pleasure and surprise to learn of the genuinely significant accomplishments of Buchman and his associates. This article is based upon research which has involved an extensive review of MRA literature and over 50 interviews with MRA workers. These workers represented 14 different countries. The meetings were held in Canada, the United States, England, Northern Ireland and Switzerland. I was able to visit the conference centres in England and in Switzerland and to interview all six members of the International Coordinating Committee, and the leadership from several different countries.

In the last several years I have determined that most evangelicals have little or no knowledge of MRA and its history.¹⁸ This is a shame because there is much to be learned. The typical middle aged or older North American Christian would have been more likely than younger people to have heard of MRA. But likely the association they make would be to identify MRA as some kind of vaguely religious "dogooder" organization. Something which adds to this confusion is the fact that the American MRA group went through a period in the 1960's when one of their innovative programs, "Up With People", which placed an emphasis on patriotism and traditional values, actually abandoned the

original commitment of MRA. The majority of the workers decided to pursue this new direction. Because they had control of the MRA name and properties those who retained the original vision were suddenly left without support and resources to continue. Ultimately, a reformulated group was able to reclaim the name and return to the ideals of MRA.

One very clear difference between MRA today and the MRA of Frank Buchman, and the years immediately following his death, is the move from being a Christian organization which will cooperate with other religions for certain common objectives, to becoming an organization which has taken on a multi-faith identity. This multi-faith element, along with several other longer term characteristics of MRA, has given rise to several tensions within the organization.

These tensions are in some cases inter-related, and each has serious implications for the future of MRA.

1. MRA is lacking in organizational structure. Even in the heyday of MRA when Buchman was in firm control, this lack of structure caused problems on occasion. Currently, many MRA workers feel that they could be more productive and could experience a better quality of life:

- a. if there were provisions for feedback about their work, including a rigorous assessment of their methods;
- b. if there were rationalized and systematic training opportunities, both at outset of their work and on a continuing basis; and
- c. if there would be greater assistance with the development of objectives and in the coordination of activities with other workers.

2. It seems that the number of MRA workers and the financial resources to support the work may not be sufficient in the future. This problem is illustrated in

the age make up of current workers coupled with the observation that there are relatively few young people entering service. The difficult economic circumstances which characterize most of the world economies and the need to maintain existing properties and to provide for operating expenses of MRA workers will be a significant challenge.

3. Some identify what they perceive as a declining impact of MRA. Even though MRA has become involved in many interesting and challenging projects, when attempts are made to assess the success of the organization, the really significant accomplishments all seem to be in the past. This gives rise to concerns about the viability and special role MRA should fulfil.

4. Because MRA has been a Christian movement, and because the vast majority of current MRA workers are still Christian, the newer multi-faith identity causes some difficulty. Some people feel that there are diverse routes to God and "the truth" while the majority struggle with how to interpret the historic Christian understanding of the unique role of Jesus as the sole mediator between God and mankind. The range of solutions offered to address the tension range from: a universalist or pluralist position which would argue that there are varied valid pathways to God; to an inclusivist one which is open to the view that God will find a means to give people access to fellowship with Him and to salvation if they meet certain conditions outside the historic Christian understanding of salvation; to the view that maintains the historic Christian position but which sees the role of MRA as being generic and setting the stage for potential Christian experience at best, but at the very least one which works for the betterment of humanity. An example of this latter position that some might be able to use as a model would be the valuable role of AA. Although AA began from an explicitly evangelical perspective, it has evolved into a generic social or quasi-religious movement which in fact sometimes leads to a genuine

life changing encounter with God and even more frequently provides significant healing and new life for individuals and for their families. Regardless of which of these solutions is selected to address the tension that exists, one element that people hold in common is a strong belief in God's sovereignty and in His essential fairness in dealing with people appropriately.

The people who are involved in MRA are deeply committed to it. Why else would one attempt to live on a "faith basis" and attempt to live out their beliefs so explicitly. The people are bright, sensitive to the needs of others, with a strong sense of global concern who show little evidence of ethnocentrism. They have excellent contacts with key figures within government, education, business, and religious institutions in their own countries and more widely. They possess a mindset that is very heavily focused upon the experiential. Few have any sort of theological training and many are relatively naive about theological issues. Even when MRA was committed to Christianity, and was having a major impact as a vehicle for Christian conversion it was criticized for its failure to address issues of doctrine.

What Can Be Learned From MRA?

1. It is possible to make a significant impact on the culture even when lacking in formal recognition, status and resources.
2. It is possible to work for common goals that flow from our Christian mandate with those from other religious traditions.
3. God is still at work in powerful ways in the lives of people who are genuinely seeking to be used of God.

4. Some are called to works of pre-evangelism and to providing for human needs without being directly involved in bringing people into the Christian faith.
5. People can accomplish significant work for God even when there are organizational difficulties and personality clashes among fellow-workers.
6. Belief in the sovereignty of God provides an optimism and freedom for initiative that is personally and organizationally renewing.
7. Failure to develop an agreed doctrinal position within an organization which seeks to follow the leading of God to change individuals and the larger society may lead to a loss of original mission, internal conflict and an uncertain future.

Most of us have to be concerned about being cost effective in our everyday professional and personal lives. In most cases when needing to have prescriptions filled at the pharmacy I am alert to the possibility of utilizing a generic medication. But sometimes generic prescriptions won't do the job. In the last couple of years I have found it necessary to take a costly anti-cholesterol medication. My first prescription had some undesirable side-effects, and since my condition requires what the brand name product is able to accomplish without the side effects, the generic option is no option for me. Whether MRA as a generic approach is the right one for today is an open question.²¹

Endnotes

1. Roger Fisher and William Ury, **Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In** (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1983). This book is one of the earliest and most straight forward to advocate the importance of seeking common interests while avoiding the problem of locking yourself into a particular position. The book has become a veritable bible for the practitioners of alternative dispute resolution, and is the model for many more current books.
2. Garth Lean, **Frank Buchman: A Life** (London, U.K.: Collins, 1988), p. 157. This excellent biography is published by Helmers and Howard of Colorado Springs, CO in North America under the title, **On the Tail of a Comet: The Life of Frank Buchman**.
3. Lean, p. 213.
4. Lean, p. 336.
5. Lean, p. 475.
6. Lean, p. 388.
7. This quote from Chris Waddy appears in R.C. Mowat, **Modern Prophetic Voices: From Kierkegaard to Buchman**(Oxford, U.K.: New Cherwell Press, 1994), p. 27.
8. Klaus Bockmuehl, **listening to the God Who Speaks**(Colorado Springs, CO: Helmers and Howard, 1990), p.8.
9. A writer who has thoroughly investigated the link between the Oxford Group/MRA and Alcoholics Anonymous , Dick B. (following the AA practice of remaining anonymous) has included an excellent chapter on Buchman's evangelical roots in his **The Oxford Group and Alcoholic's Anonymous** (Seattle, WA:Glen Abbey Books, 1992), chapter 2, pp. 17-53.
10. Tim Stafford, "The Hidden Gospel of the 12 Steps", **Christianity Today**, vol.35 no.8, July 22, 1991, pp. 14-18. This piece is the best concise analysis of the relationship between evangelical Christianity and AA.
11. George Vaillant, **The Natural History of Alcoholism**(Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983) pp. 194, 196, 315.

12. J. Keith Miller, **A Hunger for Healing: The Twelve Steps as a Classic Model for Christian Spiritual Growth**(San Francisco, CA: Harper, 1991), p. xii.

13. Dick B., p. 95.

14. The 12 steps are reproduced here just as they are presented in AA materials and in Christian books which have utilized the 12 steps to deliver a far more explicitly Christian message. Examples include: Robert Hemfelt and Richard Fowler, **Serenity: A Companion for Twelve Step Recovery**(Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1990) and Calvin Chambers, **Two Tracks--One Goal**(Langley, BC: Credo, 1992),

15. Ron Kraybill, "Transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: The Role of Religious Actors" in Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson (Eds.), **Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft**(New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), p. 224.

16. Kraybill in Johnston and Sampson.

17. Kraybill in Johnston and Sampson.

18. Prominent evangelical historian Mark Knoll makes no mention of MRA in *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*(Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992), and the treatment of Buchman and MRA in the **Dictionary of Christianity in America**(Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 1990), pp. 199, 772 show little awareness of the scope of Buchman's work. The coverage is much better in David Bebbington's **Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's**(Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1989, pp. 235-241).

19. A good contemporary description and analysis of the positions of Pluralism, Inclusivism and Exclusivism is presented in Ronald Nash, **Is Jesus the Only Savior?**(Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994).

20. Some writers have been appreciative of AA as a social movement in the self-help tradition which is significant beyond the issue of alcoholism. Kim Bloomfield, "Beyond Sobriety: The Cultural Significance of Alcoholics Anonymous as a Social Movement", **Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly**, vol. 23, no. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 21-40.

21. The sociologically inclined have long described the power of culture to create individuals who demonstrate behavior patterns and ideals which are uniquely reflective of a specific cultural experience. One of the best recent examples is Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler and Steve Tipton, **Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in**

American Life(New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1986). A more modest Canadian book, Reginald Bibby, **Mosaic Madness: The Poverty and Potential of Life in Canada**(Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1990) has made a good case that pluralism is a driving force within the Canadian contemporary culture. During my interviews with MRA workers many emphasized the value of being able to fit into a contemporary ethos of pluralism that is common to the modern liberal democratic mindset. Their feeling is that being seen as being committed to a particular religious position limits the range of work and of people they might otherwise be able to work with.