An honest consultation on reconciliation, responsibility and renaissance

BLOEMFONTEIN CONFERENCE REPORT

4-8 APRIL 1996











Healing The Past - Building The Future

Healing. Building. South Africa needs both of these. The issue is - who heals? who builds? how do we build?

These vital questions - and others - focussed the attention of 250 people from all walks of life and parts of South Africa and 22 countries of Africa and the world at a conference initiated by Moral Re-Armament, held in Bloemfontein from 4 to 8 April, 1996.

The aim of the conference, opened by Free State Premier Patrick Lekota, was to learn how people deal with hate and hurt; how individuals mobilise their energies to build up their communities; how ordinary people change the course of nations and their history.

The report that follows highlights some of the contributions to this Easter consultation.

<u>Top:</u> Free State Premier Patrick Lekota, with (R to L) Free State Speaker, Rev Motlalepula Chabaku, Abeba Tesfagiorgis, Eritrea, and Walter Kenney, Richmond, Virginia, USA.

Centre left: Anna Marcondes, community leader in favelas (shanty towns) of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Centre middle: Joseph Karanja, Kenya. Centre right: Nurta Hagi Hassan, Somalia.

Bottom left: Rev Chabaku, Patrick Miyen and Prof Cornelius Marivate with Eunice High School girls. Bottom right: Iqhawe Traditional Dance Group.



Living Moral Values Stubbornly

PATRICK LEKOTA, Premier of the Free State

We need not only to understand moral values, but live them, and live them stubbornly. As stubbornly as Mahatma Gandhi, or Martin Luther King, or our own President Mandela who, in spite of the hardships of prison life, would not go to the level of those who punished him.

Those who think that morality is conservatism can only contribute to the terrible pain in societies. Without moral values, people are like animals. Morality is like daylight. If we can extend the sunshine into deep night, the world will be better.

The President has called on us to build a new moral order. There is no morality more relevant than the statement, 'Do unto others as you would like them to do unto you.' Sometimes people ask, 'Why don't we punish the whites?' That would be a failure to understand democracy. If you want your

We Who Have Suffered Must Not Be Bitter



democratic rights respected, you must recognise that the next person has the same rights.

We want a South Africa which belongs to all, black and white. As President Mandela said in his Rivonia trial in 1964, when facing a possible death sentence, 'I have fought against white domination, I have fought against black domination.'

For this to happen, we need to rise above personal feelings. Even we who have suffered must not be bitter. We should be happy that we were of service to our country. Let us remember those who did not live to see the goal for which we strove.

We are making progress. Here in the Free State, I see the barriers breaking down between black and white. But we need to do more. In this country, our family life is breaking down. In some countries, people are slaughtering one another. We need to understand that we are made in the image God.

To shape men and women who will make the world a better place is difficult. But if it was easy, it would not be worth the effort. That is why I am glad this consultation is taking place.

Facing Each Other

Dr PIET MEIRING, Professor of Theology in the Dutch Reformed Church, University of Pretoria, and member of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

If you don't face the past, it may return. That is the point stressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Commission is an attempt to face our past.

Many from the Afrikaner community say, 'Can't we just close the books?' We must close the books. But first we must open them. We must know what they say.

The purpose of the Commission is to establish as complete a picture of the past as

is humanly possible. The pain of the past persists today for thousands, particularly those who do not know what happened to a loved one. When we have discovered the truth, it should persuade us never to let this happen again.

In the coming months, perpetrators and victims will face one another. There will be nothing superficial about many of these encounters. There will be an immense need for forgiveness. We need people who will be bridges. If you are a bridge, some people will trample on you. But they may thereby get to the other side.

A New Moral Order

We need to record these stories. But even more, we need to create a new moral order in South Africa. As we step out of the wreckage of the past, this country is still a spiritual wasteland. Our appalling crime rate, the breakdown of our family structures, our disrespect for the dignity of people, all make it clear that we are a nation in need of healing. I hope that the truth and reconciliation process will serve as a vehicle to set healing in motion.

The whole process could go hopelessly awry. Or it could be one of the most healing things that ever happened to South Africa. It will depend on our leaders having the political will to go on with the process. And, even more, that the nation owns the process

ERIK PEETERS, student, University of Pretoria (R pictured at a workshop on reconciliation at the King-Luthuli Transformation Centre)

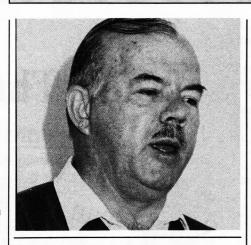
I have lived all my life in South Africa, but my eyes have only now been opened to the hurts we whites have inflicted. I want to ask forgiveness of all black South Africans.



BUKIWE MASEKO, student in hotel management

We can no longer shift the blame. Each one of us must be more responsible than ever for the future. Then South Africa can be a shining light for the rest of the continent. I have decided to take responsibility, starting at this conference.





From Apathy To Action

AN BOSMAN, marketing director, Kempton Park council

I am part of the white Afrikaans speaking community. We have held political power in this country, and have taken the blame for the misdeeds of our policies. It would be easy for us now to heave a sigh of relief and sit back, waiting for the next regime to make a mess of it. But the spirit of this conference is completely different. We as Afrikaans speakers need to move from apathy to active participation. I intend to work so that we join hands and help carry the responsibility. Prof Cornelius Marivate from the Northern Province responded: I never thought I would hear an Afrikaner speak like that. As a civil service commissioner, I see many Afrikaners seeking early retirement. If they all go, we shall make a mess. We need their skills if we are to succeed in the huge task we have ahead of us.



Dr Jara Moserová, President of the Czech Commission for UNESCO and well-known playwright. Her play, *Letter to Wollongong*, was performed in Pietersburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein. The play deals with the Czech attempt to come to terms with the injustice and cruelties of the past.

Putting Aside Interests

Rev GEORGE DANEEL, oldest living Springbok rugby player and a retired minister of the Dutch Reformed Church

MRA's message is that God has a plan for the world, and everyone has a part who is willing to listen to Him and obey. In 1932, some professors from Pretoria University tried to get rid of the English speaking professors and to make it a purely Afrikaans University. Their leader was Dr Arthur Norval, whose father had been killed during the Anglo-Boer War. He sought God's plan, and his life was transformed. He went to Edgar Brookes, Professor of English, to apologise for his hatred and for the plot against the English speaking professors. Shortly afterwards, they addressed a gathering together in the packed City Hall of Pretoria.

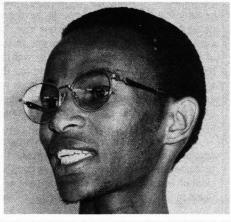
Then came the apartheid era. My wife and I, aware of the great changes needed in our country, decided to give all our time, unsalaried, to this work. MRA held multiracial meetings throughout these years, in the face of government opposition.

What of the future? I believe that God has started good work in our country and we can trust Him to continue it. This does not mean that we can fold our hands. The problems that beset the previous government still exist - violence, crime, corruption, unemployment, broken homes and division between our people. Hard work lies ahead.

It will demand that we put aside our own interests for the sake of the whole nation. God makes no difference between people. What right have we to differentiate?

S'fiso Msimang, civil engineering student (below)

All of us who came to the conference have a lot to do when we go back to our homes. We need to inform friends and relatives of what happened. That makes today, the last day of the conference, just the start of a conference in our homes and provinces.





Passing On The Baton

Rev MOTLALEPULA CHABAKU, Speaker of the Free State Parliament

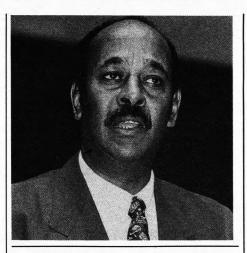
Let us sacrifice our hurts, and our refusal to forgive, so as to free ourselves to contribute to building a new society.

Let us mention some very great daughters and sons of Africa who have passed on, in gratitude to God for the illustrious way in which they have helped us to be where we are. I think of Musa Mabuza in Sophiatown; and of Bremer Hofmeyr who went to meet him. Of Justice Claassen who, as a man of high legal position, was bold enough to visit me in a small rondavel in White City Jabavu. I think of Philip and Kathleen Vundla. They contributed not just to South Africa but to the world. I think of Dr William Nkomo. Margaret Drury - there are many, from different races and backgrounds. They have passed on the baton to us. The joy of this weekend gives me every hope that we will not just grow but mushroom, because the seeds that have been planted have been very good.

Professor JANNIE MALAN, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)

The great hope is that we can put ourselves at God's disposal, and experience the miracle of rebirth which transforms our attitudes. Then we will discover the thrill of human unity amidst our cultural diversity.





The Hour Of **Accountability**

Dr YUSUF OMAR AL-AZHARI, former ambassador, Somalia

We Somalis are of one ethnic origin, with one religion and one language, and are inter-married. Yet for four years we have killed each other mercilessly. Children as young as hine are looting and killing. There is famine and disease. We have no government, no police force, no courts, no hospitals, no running water, no electricity.

As a result of both diplomatic and grass-roots initiatives, most of the fighting factions have now agreed to meet around the negotiating table. I am one of those involved in these initiatives. My involvement in this work is due to a dramatic change in my own

I had a good education. I married the daughter of the then Prime Minister of Somalia. I held office as an ambassador and director-general to several ministries.

Then came the hour of accountability. A military junta led by Major General Siad Barre took power, my father-in-law was assassinated, and I was taken at 3.00am one morning from my beloved wife and four children. Thousands of my compatriots suffered a similar fate.

I was thrown into a small cell. There I remained for six years with nothing to read or listen to, and no-one to talk to. I was tortured daily, mentally and physically. For six months, torment, hate and depression possessed me. I was afraid that I might go

One night I knelt, soaked in tears, and pleaded with the Almighty Creator to give me peace and a vision to guide me. That night I was exalted spiritually in my cell. When I finally stood up, eight hours had passed.

My inner voice told me that I had deluded myself. 'Be honest to yourself and to those around you, and you will be the

happiest person on earth.' From that day, I was freed from fear and despair. Love had been planted in my heart. Hatred evaporated. I realised that I was responsible for my past actions. I vowed to serve my fellow countrymen, poor and rich.

I was released from prison when Siad Barre was deposed. He went into exile in Nigeria, having lost everything. In my heart, I felt I should visit him. It took me two years to obey that conviction, but eventually I went. I told him that I forgave him. Tears of remorse flowed down his cheeks.

Examine Our Failures

We in Africa tend to speak of the torture and injustice of our colonial past - and rightly so. But the actions of colonialists have no comparison with the brutal injustice inflicted by Africans on their own citizens.

It is time that we examine the failures of Africa since independence. Some say that they are the result of a conspiracy by advanced countries to subjugate Africa. Others blame bad African leadership. I think that both are true. There are powerful people in the advanced countries who want our leaders subservient. But we can only tackle this conspiracy if our African leaders are incorruptible.

Let us hold a conference on the failures of African leadership, bringing together those prepared to search out the truth, including former African heads of state, retired or deposed, and well-known traditional leaders of Africa, together with friends from other continents.

Winners Never Quit

REG BLOW, Australian Aboriginal of the Year 1995 - 1996

I have never forgotten what a South African friend told me when he visited Australia some years ago. It seemed to him, he said, that the Aboriginal people, having set off in the race of life with everyone else, had crashed into a rock and fallen down. Instead of getting up, they were asking, 'Why was that rock there, why did it catch me?' He felt that we have got to learn to pick up our hurts and get on with the race. Since then, my slogan has been, 'Ouitters never win, and winners never quit.'

I head the oldest Aboriginal organisation in Australia. We are fighting problems in our community such as drug and alcohol addiction. These are so serious as to threaten our very survival. Drugs are being

pushed even to eight-year-olds. It is not a fight between black and white, but between good and evil.

Somali man's

how to forgive

example of

What The Press Said

Standing up to brutality in Eritrea and living to tell the tale

The Star

We are establishing enterprises toenable my people to stand on their own feet economically, independent of the government. This is important for our dignity. Only 30 years ago, Aboriginals had no citizenship rights in Australia. Now white Australians are beginning to see that our culture contains important lessons. They are learning from Aboriginal land management techniques about how to sustain our country. And with materialism running rampant and creating misery, they are now taking an interest in our spirituality.

A council for racial reconciliation is now helping overcome racist attitudes. And recently the High Court overturned the legal

fiction that Australia was terra nulla (no-one's land) when the white people arrived. These steps give hope. But there is plenty of work yet to be done, and everyone is needed. I believe that those who have suffered most have the most to give. So let's get on and do

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Premier Patrick Lekota meeting Reg Blow and Frank Wanganeen from Australia



21st Century Phenomenon **Missed Headlines**

ABEBA TESFAGIORGIS

Forgiveness and repentance are not easy by any means, but with God's help they can be achieved. Only when we really forgive and repent - when we search our hearts daily, and act - can we have a legacy of love and humility.

Forgiveness is not simply saying 'I forgive you,' and then relaxing; it entails taking responsibility - working and fighting for the good of all.

Repentance means sharing the pain of the oppressed, sharing talent, expertise and possessions; it is to open one's heart and

As an example, let me say something about my own country, Eritrea. After the Second World War, most colonised African nations got their independence, but Eritrea was federated to Ethiopia, and after fourteen years, Haile Selassie annexed Eritrea, claiming it as the fourteenth state of Ethiopia.

When all dialogue for a peaceful solution failed, our Eritrean struggle began in 1961, but it was a David and Goliath situation - 50 million Ethiopians against 3,5 million Eritreans; 300 000 Ethiopean soldiers with all kinds of sophisticated weapons and thousands of Russian advisors, against only 50 000 Eritrean fighters.

Peace After 30 Years

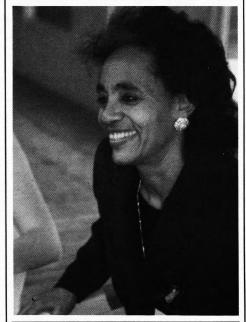
This war cost thousands of lives, destruction, degradation, and starvation. Finally in May 1991, after thirty years, we won, and after an internationally supervised referendum, Eritrea gained independence in May 1993.

Here I would like to share three important events of forgiveness and repentance. On the historic day of May 24, 1991, as our fighters proudly marched into the capital through one entrance, the defeated soldiers fled through the other. One might have expected our people to unleash their pent-up anger on the exiled soldiers by whatever means. Instead, Eritrean people said, 'As God has forgiven us, and given us our land and our sons and our daughters, so shall we forgive the soldiers. They, too, have parents who want them to come back home

Eritreans gave retreating Ethiopeans bread to eat and clean water to drink - all the way through to the border of Sudan.

Secondly, our war was the longest war

Abeba Tesfagiorgis wrote two Tigrinya language novels while in the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. She was imprisoned for six months. After a period of exile, she returned to help found the Centre for Human Rights and Development in



in Africa, and, with the exception of some Scandinavian and Arab countries, we had nobody on our side. To the West, we did not count much - after all, we were poor. To fellow Africans, we were secessionists and war-mongers.

Continuously our president had said, 'Let us not have animosity against those who have betrayed and forgotten us. We have to open a new chapter of peace. Resentment has no place in our national life.'

Thirdly, soon after liberation, a delegation representing different ethnic groups from Ethiopia came to Eritrea to witness the destruction - they saw villages levelled to the ground, towns bombed, mad and suffering parents who had lost their loved ones, and they literally wept, and publicly asked forgiveness on behalf of their people and country.

Returning home these delegates started raising funds for Eritrean orphans: they took action, they didn't only say 'sorry.'

Today, the relationship between these two countries who were at war for thirty years could not be better; the smell of gunpowder, fear, anger and hate seem to have become

We Eritreans hope and pray that the relationship continues to flourish.

May God speak to our hearts and may He give you, our South African brothers and sisters, faith and courage to forgive and repent, to heal and to work for the common



Break Free Of Fear

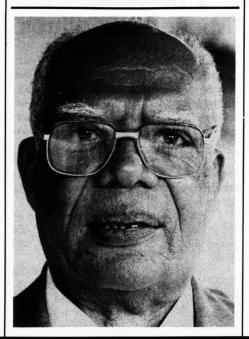
Sir HOWARD COOKE, Governor-General of Jamaica

You in South Africa are conducting a great experiment in democracy. If it succeeds, it will be of immense significance to political life throughout the world.

I am here because of an encounter years ago with a South African militant - Dr William Nkomo. I was a radical who asked no quarter in a fight and accepted none. I enjoyed being the rabble rouser, setting people on fire for a diabolical performance. Nkomo said to me, 'Most people think that to bring change you must fight in an evil way.' He showed me an alternative. It was the start of a new way. Since then I have gone to many people I have wronged, to ask forgiveness.

When the great Master was on earth, his disciples were a quarrelsome bunch. After he was gone, something happened to them. The Holy Spirit gave them an enabling power.

Leaders Need Absolute Moral Standards



They were no longer disciples; they were apostles. I hope that when we leave, we will have that enabling power, to transform the situations in which we live.

To change the world, we must change the leaders. Some of the great wars of history have been caused by jealousy between two leaders.

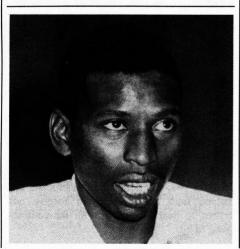
Leaders need absolute moral standards and an endowment of simplicity. If we are arrogant and selfish, if we think we own the world, people will not get near us. If I haven't learnt to forgive those I think are my enemies, I cannot change them.

God has called MRA to train such leaders, and we must take on this responsibility. We have great writers amongst us, good speakers, prophets. But there has to be a new dynamism. Too often we are diffident. Let us make up our minds that we are going to face the world. Let us go into the offices of our business and political lead Some of these people are dying for someone to sit and talk with. We must break free of fear and reach out to them. Let us go into the world and win it to God.

Facing The Consequences

KIO KINUTHIA, Nairobi, Kenya

One of my greatest obstacles to absolute purity was my love for sexual indulgences. In 1994, I made a girl pregnant. I was so disturbed psychologically, I felt guilty, my mind could not settle. I sought the help of my inner voice and the thought that came to me was to marry the girl. This scared me. I was just 23, fresh from university, with no job and no source of income - how could I manage? Furthermore, I had two girlfriends; what would the other one feel? I could not seek a job for I was busy organising for the first East African Youth Conference for MRA.



This thought kept on coming back to me, it was so straight and clear: 'Take responsibility and face the consequences.' I decided to obey my inner voice and I married the girl. One month later, she got a job in the city; one month after the conference, I landed a job, too. We are now happily married.

But there was still the problem of the other girl who was so upset with me that I couldn't face her. My inner voice commanded me to face her, explain and apologise. It took me three months to muster the courage and face her. When I apologised, to my surprise, she forgave me and now we are still friends.

Aids Message

Dr SAX ADU-SARKODIE, AIDS specialist, Ghana

The AIDS epidemic has dramatically affected the economic development of our countries and is now threatening agricultural production. This is because it largely strikes people between the ages of 20 and 50 - when they are the main breadwinners to their families.

We cannot sit by, saying that it is not our problem, because the solutions our countries have tried are not working. We have emphasised the use of condoms. In Ghana, 97% of the population know that condoms can help prevent AIDS; and yet there has been no reduction in the infection rate. The sex industry - cinemas, TV, teenage magazines, contraceptive manufacturers - is swamping

our society with its message that sex is glamorous.

A New Level Of Faithfulness

Some of us have concluded that we will not answer AIDS until we have a new level of faithfulness and honesty in relationships. We are going into schools and to every group possible, to give this message. This is something which all of us can do, who care about the suffering AIDS is causing in our society.







Ambassadors For Peace

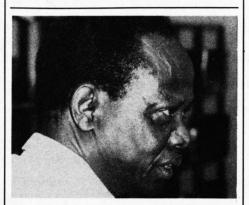
Former vice-president of Sudan, Lt Gen. JOSEPH LAGU, urged South Africa to 'learn from the mistakes of countries which achieved independence before you'.

General Lagu comes from Sudan's Southern region. His people have long felt exploited by the Northern-dominated Sudanese government. Lagu launched the Anyanya guerrilla movement, and fought against the North for eleven years. Tens of thousands died.

He described how an unexpected action encouraged the government to agree to peace talks. In 1971, a Sudan Airways flight crashed in territory controlled by Lagu's guerrilla forces. There were 29 survivors, all Northerners. Lagu's soldiers wanted to kill the rvivors of the plane crash in revenge for the massacre of a church congregation. After a fierce struggle with his conscience, however, Lagu ordered that the survivors be returned home.

'They became our ambassadors,' said Lagu. 'They spoke well of us, and Northerners began to question the hard-line attitude towards the South. The government came under public pressure and eventually initiated the peace process. A treaty was signed in 1972 which gave peace to the Sudan for a decade.' Lagu was appointed the country's vice-president.

Peace broke down, he said, due to the rivalry which grew between him and the other Southern Sudan leader, Abel Alier, and similar rivalries in the North. 'As we turned



away from one another, the era of peace, tranquillity and stability gave way to fresh conflict.

'In 1983, civil war broke out again. Sadly this has brought my country into far greater turmoil than ever before. I long for the day when we Sudanese can remain in our own country without fleeing as refugees.'

Preserve Your Hard Won Achievement

Lagu was heartened by his visit to South Africa. 'But to preserve your hard won achievement,' he warned, 'you will need to sustain harmony among all your people without allowing any community to feel marginalised.

'I believe that the future of South Africa depends on the relationship between President Mandela, Vice-President de Klerk, and Chief Buthelezi. If that relationship is strong, you will not only maintain stability in South Africa. You will also help to resolve conflict beyond your borders.'

Philia Pantshwa, part of a delegation from the King-Luthuli Transformation Centre, where joint workshops on the conference themes have been held



Teaching The Nation

'You teach a woman, you teach a nation' best summarises the seminar on women's issues. Women have much to offer, it was agreed, especially demonstrating the basic moral values that our daily living expresses more than words.

A Ugandan said that in her experience, if a woman can find peace of mind through prayer, she can teach young people security. The law can't change the nation; such change comes from the heart. As the issue is one of responsibility, both men and women are equally needed in a joint effort to build the future.

Transition With Mutual Regard

NIRMALA PILLAY, law lecturer, University of Pretoria

When I went to university there was only one choice - the Indian university at Durban-Westville. Now the universities are open. Black students entering universities such as Pretoria are ill-prepared financially and educationally to meet the challenge. The perspectives of struggling students and academics wanting to maintain standards do not appear to be reconcilable in an educational policy.

Nirmala Pillay speaking at a seminar on youth and education, with Wesley Kgomo, President of Vaal Technikon SRC. Students at the conference represented Vaal, Mangosuthu and Port Elizabeth Technikons; Universities of Venda, Natal, Pretoria and Potchefstroom; high schools from Giyani, Pietersburg and Bloemfontein.



Where is the hope? Students from the ranks of those who have been formerly represent the University in excluded competitions alongside white students, participate in volunteer and community services, and are appointed to tutor white and black students. Apart from the fact that certain staff members are at the forefront of formulating policies and developing courses to aid struggling students, some students tell of the extraordinary lengths to which their teachers will go to in helping them in their studies and future careers. The smooth transition from formerly exclusive institutions to inclusive ones will depend less on political policies but rather on the mutual regard the people who teach and learn have for each other.



Grant McPherson, head boy of St Andrew's School, Bloemfontein

We, as the youth, are excited. Excited because our country is changing and we are a part of that change. We want to take an active role in this process. As citizens of South Africa we want to be a part in the rebuilding of South Africa.









Our Commitment

A document calling on South Africa's leaders and people to commit themselves to healing and building was launched at the conference and signed by delegates, with a view to taking the spirit of its message into the life of the nation.

A Response From Other Countries

We from other countries are challenged by your 'Call to Our Nation'. We intend to take it back to our own countries, and work to bring its spirit to bear on our national life.

A Call To Our Nation

A new era has dawned. Now we have the chance to create a society where

- · all are treated with dignity
- · the colour of one's skin is neither an advantage or disadvantage
- · men and women, young and old, can contribute fully
- · the poor and the weak are protected
- the environment, urban and rural, is respected and nurtured.

Many gave their lives in the long struggle to reach this moment. Some we know; but many who suffered and died as a result of injustice are known only to their loved ones. Others were rejected by their own communities.

Their sacrifice must never be forgotten.

We commit ourselves to work together for the healing and building of our nation. We will do all we can to

- put right the wrongs of the past, acknowledging our own contribution to that past, especially our indifference in the face of evil
- stand for the truth, even if it means standing against 'our side'
- · build bridges to those from whom we have been separated
- deal with the prejudice in us which nurtures stereotyping of other groups, ethnic rivalry and racism.

The richness of our society lies not in our affluence but in the integrity, compassion and courage of our people. A new future for our country begins as each of us takes responsibility for the well-being of our families, communities and those alienated from us. We accept that responsibility.

Actions Speak Louder Than Words

The conference 'Healing the Past, Building the Future' was part of an ongoing programme around the country. In Soweto, Walter Kenney (L), ex-Mayor of Richmond, Virginia, USA, addressed a Palm Sunday rally. He is pictured with Clir Padi (R), Mayor of Greater Johannesburg's Western MSS.



WALTER KENNEY, ex-Mayor Richmond, Virginia, USA

We believe that when descendants of oppressors and descendants of oppressed openly acknowledge their shared history and shared wounds, true healing can take place. And with that healing, trust can begin to flourish. For it is the things that we hide within which ultimately wound us from the inside out

We are here to learn from you and to share with you our challenges as to how to heal the past and build the future. Africa, and indeed the world, needs individuals willing to be committed to sustained work that will reconcile, rebuild and remake our nations.

Elder Statesman

Conference delegates from Australia, Sudan, Nigeria, South Africa and USA visited elder statesman Walter Sisulu for a meeting of hearts and minds on common issues.



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