

# NEW WORLD NEWS

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LOS ANGELES

SEE PAGES 10 and 11

## MESSAGES TO THE WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

# NEW

### FROM THE ADMINISTRATOR OF MARSHALL AID

**M**AY I extend a very warm and sincere welcome to the distinguished visitors from Europe and Asia who have come to join us in the battle for world recovery. The people of the United States, through the Congress, have pledged themselves to help our friends abroad to help themselves. We in the Economic Cooperation Administration have found it a great privilege to be a part of this new statesmanship. But no one realises more keenly than we that the best security for this unparalleled investment, the surest guarantee of harmony between giver and receiver, and the only earnest of victory in our common endeavour to promote free institutions throughout the world is that we work together in a common faith and for a common cause. That faith and that cause are being dramatised with compelling power at the Hollywood Bowl tonight, and you have our unlimited confidence and support. **You are giving to the world the ideological counterpart of the Marshall Plan.**

**PAUL G. HOFFMAN**

### FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE

**G**OVERNMENTS are at grips with grave and difficult material problems of feeding, production, wages and prices. They see peace between nations endangered by the prejudices of race and by the rivalry of conflicting interests. Inside nations people are seeking the reconciliation of liberty with authority and an understanding between the classes. I salute in Moral Re-Armament one of the protagonists of inspired democracy which is destined to re-establish the supremacy of all the spiritual values at the heart of our tormented humanity.

**ROBERT SCHUMAN**

### FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

**Y**OUR valiant lifetime fight to restore the spiritual foundations of democracy through Moral Re-Armament has greatly heartened and substantially reinforced us who carry heavy political responsibilities. For the success of this effort you can count on our full support. Madame Chiang joins me in sending heartiest good wishes.

**GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK**

### FROM THE MINISTER OF LABOUR OF INDIA

**A**M wholeheartedly in sympathy with the ideals of Moral Re-Armament. Without a spiritual programme neither economic rehabilitation nor military preparation will save the peoples of the world from disasters too terrible to contemplate.

**THE HON. JAGJIVAN RAM**

### FROM THE MINISTER PRESIDENTS OF GERMANY

**O**N your seventieth birthday you can look back with pride on your life's work. You can be assured that the seed you have sown in the hearts of men has sprung up and has already borne fruit.

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

In deep gratitude millions of Germans think of you on your seventieth birthday, with best wishes for the continued success of your work and for your own health and happiness.

**KARL ARNOLD, HANS EHARD, HINRICH WILHELM KOPF, LUEDEMANN, MAX BRAUER, W. KAISEN,  
REINHOLD MAIER, WERNER HILPERT**

*Minister Presidents and Senate Presidents of the Lander and Cities of the British-American zones.*



# STATESMANSHIP

## FROM ITALY

I AM glad to be able to send you, through my friend, Umberto Calosso, Member of the Italian Parliament, my best wishes for the tenth anniversary of Moral Re-Armament, which I would like to spread, not only throughout Italy, but all over the world, because in this is found the solution to social and international problems, which, if they are not solved, lead inevitably to war.

**GUISEPPE SARAGAT,**  
*Vice-Premier.*

THE Italians are with you when you ask for moral freedom, for independence of the spirit, for more social justice. We'll never forget what America did for us. We'll be happy to work beside America for the cause of peace in a world without slaves.

**COUNT SFORZA,**  
*Foreign Minister.*



Delegates from twenty-four nations to the World Assembly for the tenth Anniversary of Moral Re-Armament in California.

Seated, reading left to right : **Mr. Roy Pinsent**, industrial lawyer, Great Britain ; **Mr. Kensuke Horinouchi**, President of the Foreign Service Training Institute, Japan ; **Hon. U. Calosso**, M.P., Italy ; **Professor N. A. Halbertsma**, Utrecht, Holland ; **Hr. Knud Kristensen**, Prime Minister, 1947, Denmark ; **Count Kanellopoulos**, former Prime Minister, Greece ; **Admiral Ekstrand**, Sweden ; **Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman**, **M. Ernst Boerlin**, M.P., Switzerland ; **U Ba Lwin**, war-time Ambassador to Siam, Burma ; **Mr. Vishnu Dalmia**, industrialist, India ; **Baron Karwinsky**, minister in Dollfuss and Schuschnigg cabinets, Austria ; **General de Benouville**, Executive member R.P.F. Party, France ; **Dr. Chen Li-Fu**, Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan, China ; **Herr von Herwarth**, Director of Bavarian State Chancellery, Germany ; **Congressman Johnson**, California, U.S.A.



# THE ANSWER TO ANY 'ISM' — EVEN MATERIALISM

BROADCAST BY DR. FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN, JUNE 2, 1948

EVERYWHERE men long for peace and prepare for war. They long to rebuild and prepare to destroy. They plan for new prosperity and expect fresh disasters.

What is the missing factor in the planning and the statesmanship of the world today?

It is our lack of an ideology for democracy. We say we are democrats, we need no ideology. We almost feel it is a sign of weakness to talk about an ideology.

So we try to meet the united plan and passion of alien ideologies with talk and with lip-service

to high ideals and with a last resort to force. And we hope to live as we have always lived—selfishly, comfortably and undisturbed.

We have all lived too long in an atmosphere of imagining that security, prosperity, comfort and culture are natural to man.

We forgot the eternal struggle between Evil and Good, victory in which brings the blessings of security and prosperity. But defeat in this struggle, and even ignorance of it, brings poverty, hunger, slavery and death.

It takes more than diplomacy to exorcise evil. It takes more than lip-service to fight for God. Statesmen talk about the answer. They talk of union. But disunity increases. They talk of moral values. But immoral policies prevail. They use these words which the hard logic of events has proved true. But it remains words. These men do not face the cost in their own lives and the life of their nations of giving an answer.

An extreme of evil must be met with an extreme of good. A fanatical following of evil by a passionate pursuit of good.

That is why democracy fails. Only a passion can cure a passion. And only a superior world-arching ideology can cure a world divided by warring ideologies.

We Americans have been lulled into a false security by believing that all the “isms” are across the sea.

“Isms” grow from unsolved problems in the life of men and nations. One man’s hate kindles a million hates. One man’s suspicion explodes a million suspicions. It spreads like a prairie fire. Or it creeps like a flame underground to burst out unexpectedly in a hundred places.

Is America free from hates, fears, suspicions, greed?

Why is our record of broken homes so high? How about industrial strife?

Are we victims of the greatest “ism” of all? Materialism.

Is materialism the mother of all the “isms”? Is materialism becoming our national ideology?

We stretch out generous hands to help Europe and Asia economically. But materialism frustrates our best intentions. Prices rise, money is worth

less. Troubles in industry cut down the supply of goods. At the moment when our strength is most needed abroad, we may find ourselves in our greatest crisis.

The other “isms” are banking on that. They wait their time. They know that money, food and clothes alone will not save Europe; that material things may make nations just strong enough materially to become their tools in their ideological conquest of the world.

Ten years ago Moral Re-Armament was born. In this very Hollywood Bowl the crowds gathered to see the preview of a new world order.

What have we learnt in these ten years?

We have learnt that democracy without an ideology can win a war but cannot build a peace; that ideological preparedness is the task of the whole nation, and is the one sure basis of national strength—moral, military and economic.

Today MRA offers the democracies and the whole world the superior armament of an ideology, without which armies are out-fought and statesmen are out-thought.

MRA has grown in ten years to the stature of a world answer to any “ism”—even materialism. It has restored for millions the simple sanctities of home and honour, and given hope for a new world. It has built the world organism that can make a reality of this hope. In the words of a British coalminer: “Moral Re-Armament is the answer to every ‘ism’ ever invented.” It is for everyone, everywhere.

Let me cite a few proven facts of the past twelve months. One hundred and fifty leading Germans came to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in Caux, Switzerland. General Clay in Berlin and Lord Pakenham in London made their visit possible. These Germans found the answer to nihilism and to an ideologically broken nation. An Allied official, Military Governor of Cologne, said: “MRA is the ideal solution for Germany.” A leading German Socialist, a former Minister-President, said: “If Europe is to be saved, it must be saved in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament.”

The first democratic handbook by Germans giving the answering ideology was produced by these men. It is going out far and wide, even behind the Iron Curtain. Sweden gave 100 tons

of paper because she saw her security lay in a new spirit in Germany.

French industry—battlefield of the ideologies—has found a uniting force. An employer, heading an organisation of employers of 600,000 workers, fought Labour. The head of all the Socialist women of France mistrusted Management. These two saw the new battle-line—for or against democracy's inspired ideology. They met. They changed. They apologised, and are working together. Thousands rally to them. They speak not of revolution, not of reaction, but of renaissance—the rebirth of a nation, the rebirth of a continent.

Italy—focus of an anxious world. Two hundred Italians, including twenty-six Members of the Italian Parliament from five different parties, came to the MRA Conference last summer. The Christian Democrat and the Socialist learned to work together. A Socialist said: "It is a miracle. Our parties can get together in the same way as we have." Is that one of the secrets of the Italian elections?

Britain—production is returning. But what is her greatest problem today? After seeing the Moral Re-Armament programme in the coalfields of Britain, a mine manager said: "Moral Re-Armament fills the emptiness and gives the dynamic we need." Lord Nuffield, the genius of Britain's automobile industry, sent this message to the MRA programme at the time of the British Industries Fair: "We must be prepared to face man-made problems which beset us by bringing into our personal, family and industrial lives in full measure the principles of truth, integrity, unselfishness and compassionate understanding of the other man's problems."

What is the common factor in all this good news? It is *union*—the almost forgotten solution to all our problems today.

Division is the mark of our age. Division in the heart. Division in the home. Division in industry. Division in the nation. Division between nations.

Union is our instant need.

Division is the work of human pride, hate, lust fear, greed.

Division is the trade mark of materialism.

Union is the grace of rebirth. We have lost the

art of uniting because we have forgotten the secret of change and rebirth.

Moral Re-Armament is the good road of an ideology inspired by God upon which all can unite.

Catholic, Jew and Protestant, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Confucianist—all find they can travel along this good road together. It lifts them above their differences to the level of a superior ideology.

I called on a great leader in his time of deep sorrow. He gave me these words of Fulton Sheen: "What the world needs today is not to plead for religious unity so much as to plead for the unity of religious people." Those are the words of a great Catholic leader.

The Jew has his pristine contribution in the words of the great prophet-leader Isaiah, "Nations shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God," and "Great shall be the peace of thy children." And in the words of the Psalmist: "Great peace have they which love Thy law; and nothing shall offend them."

And what does Islam say? The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, sent me this word: "Among my friends of MRA I have been delighted to observe the constant striving after discovering God's plan and purpose and putting their lives in accord with it. I am convinced that it is only through sincere and sustained effort in that direction that mankind can win through to its true redemption."

Is that the medium of approach for the Palestine problem?

It is so easy to have these great truths lost in prejudice. "Behold how these brethren fight one another," says the world. But it should be, "Behold how these brothers love one another."

The Bishop of Tammerfors, in Finland, came to see that great ideological play *The Forgotten Factor* in his own land and language. He was afraid a play might not be the right medium. He came. He wept. He said: "This must go to everyone." After the first act he telephoned a well-known industrialist, who came straight to the theatre. As a result, the cast was asked to show the play for a whole month.

What a joy must have possessed this Bishop who warily and almost against his will decided to

come, and found the thing he most longed for for his nation—an over-arching ideology.

And what does India say? The Minister of Labour in Bombay Provincial Government took this word back to the leaders of his country and to the millions of India's workers: "Here is the force that can change selfishness and greed and all that is wrecking the spirit and soul of people. Until I met Moral Re-Armament I had not felt confident that there was an idea which could be applied universally as an adequate answer."

Labour here in California says the same. They see this great principle of changing and uniting on the level of an answering ideology. It led a group of labour leaders to go to management and offer their services free for the filming of our play *The Good Road*. I didn't ask them to do it. They saw a tremendous part they could play and they took the initiative. Isn't this the freer atmosphere in which we all need to move? Isn't this the dignity of labour?

Think of strikes today. 75,000 men—100,000 men. No one thinks much about strikes. True, the President says they may have national repercussions. Economists give us grave warnings. But do we see that strikes can be the entrance for one of the "isms"? Is it materialism in the thinking and living of both management and labour—and of you and me?

Think of America destroying herself with the very thing she condemns in others.

And how about France? Italy? The Po valley? Do they understand the language of an answer to strikes?

And what does the employer say? The representative of one of the greatest aircraft manufacturers in California told us: "Until I saw your work, I thought the answer to materialism was dead with St. Francis."

Now make no mistake. I do not say that this message will be wholly popular. It stirs the con-

science. That is uncomfortable. It will always be open to misinterpretation by those who wish to escape it. But it comes as illumination to those who are ready.

Let me tell how it came to me. Just forty years ago I was divided. Just as nations today are divided. Materialism was winning its battle in my heart. I went to Europe to try to escape. But my battle came with me. One day, in England, God showed me the cost of my pride and my materialism. I admitted it. That is the first step. Get honest.

I said, "Sorry"—first to God, then to those I had wronged. That is the second step.

I learned to listen to God. I accepted His commission to bring an answer to men and nations. That is the third step.

God is calling men everywhere to be the instruments of Union. It comes not by conferences, not by laws, not by resolutions and pious hopes, but by change.

Change is the heart of the superior ideology.

As individuals change, a new climate comes to the nation's life. As leaders change, policies become inspired and the nation's life-blood flows again. As statesmen change, the fear of war and chaos will lift. The most difficult will respond to the firm, united but humble voice of reborn democracy.

Why should there be catastrophe again when, with God, renaissance is inevitable?

This is the new pattern of freedom for all nations. Shall it be a new Dark Age for Europe and the world? Or shall it be world-wide Renaissance of the moral and spiritual forces everywhere, bursting into life and bringing at the last moment a miracle to mankind?

Which shall it be? The decision lies in your hands.

*This speech by Dr. F. N. D. Buchman, at the opening of the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in Los Angeles, California, was broadcast in America, Europe, S. Africa and the Far East and translated into twenty different languages. Dr. Buchman's speeches are published in "Remaking the World" (Blandford Press, 5s.)*



# NEW ORDER IN JAPAN

BY KENSUKE HORINOUCI

**Mr. Horinouchi was Ambassador to the United States from 1938 until October, 1940, when he was recalled after dissenting from his Government's foreign policy. He lived in retirement until the end of the war and is now President of the Foreign Service Training Institute of the Japanese Foreign Office**

**T**HE Pacific War ended in the complete defeat of Japan. And it opened the eyes of the Japanese people. We were, however, slow to find our own faults. Some of our people blamed the Government and military leaders for their miscalculations and fraud. But they forgot the fact that without their cooperation their leaders could not have waged the war. Gradually they have come to realise that they should share the responsibility for this tragedy.

We are now making reparations as well as we can to the nations who suffered damage at our hands in the war. I strongly feel, however, that material reparations are not sufficient; spiritual restitution must be made. I take this opportunity to express my personal heartfelt sorrow for all the wrong

we have done to our good neighbours in the past, and I am certain that most of my fellow Japanese feel the same way. We Japanese want to learn from our mistakes and to remake our country as a cultured and peaceful nation.

It is true that after the war the Japanese people were in confusion for a time. But they have recovered their presence of mind and their initiative. With the help of the Allied Powers they have made many fundamental changes in their political and social life during the past three years. In fact, it has been a bloodless revolution. In Japan's history of many centuries we have never seen before such far-reaching changes.

First of all, we now have a new Constitution.

Probably it is the most democratic Constitution any nation has ever had. It came into operation on the third of November last year. In the former days the Emperor was the sovereign. He was the highest political and military power of the nation, though not infrequently he was made a figurehead, with the actual power being exerted by the military party. Today the Constitution speaks of him as being only the symbol of national unity. He has no political powers. He has only to perform more or less perfunctory duties.

By virtue of the new Constitution the equality of all citizens has been established. All members of the Imperial family, except the immediate relatives of the Emperor, have lost their position and privileges, and all



ranks of nobility and titles have been abolished.

For the first time in Japanese history women have obtained the franchise. We now count more than thirty women members in both houses of the Diet. Japanese women are also holding many important civic positions. We even see women in police uniform directing the traffic of our cities.

Another important feature of the new regime is the Constitutional guarantee of fundamental human rights: freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, and freedom of religion. The right of everyone to an education is also guaranteed. We now have compulsory education for nine years. New text-books have been introduced. Co-education and a freer form of instruction have been adopted and social studies are being emphasised. All these things are very new, and many teachers don't know quite what to do, but a start is being made.

As regards the freedom of the Press, there is no censorship of the press or of mail by the Japanese authorities. This is a revolutionary change from the strict military censorship of former days.

Under the new Constitution all citizens are free to worship according to their own conscience. Now Shinto has no preferential position as a religion in Japan. It has been completely separated from the State, although independent Shinto bodies are permitted to function as religious groups. On New Year's Day, 1946, the Emperor himself pronounced that he should not be regarded as divine.

The judicial and police systems have been completely reformed. The police have been stripped of the excessive power which they had before. While this makes the life of the average citizen easier, the police sometimes fail to catch suspected criminals because they cannot make arrests without warrants.

Another important change has taken place in the field of labour. After the war, restrictions on labour were lifted and new laws have been enacted to guarantee its proper position in the national life. Since the end of the war more than half of Japan's 10,000,000 industrial and agricultural labourers have been

organised into more than 20,000 local unions. Generally labour is having more freedom than ever before in enhancing its social and economic standing. It is a conspicuous change when compared with the situation before and during the war. In those days the labour movement was oppressed by the military.

All large landholdings have been split up into small units and all absentee owners have lost their rights. Tenants have the right to purchase the land they need. The Zaibatsu, the large holding companies owned by Mitsui, Mitsubishi and a few other large families, have been broken up. Also, by the new decentralisation policy, many large monopolistic industries have been separated into smaller units.

### Renunciation of War

One of the most important policies of post-war Japan, adopted and proclaimed in her new Constitution, is the renunciation of war for ever. Japan has abolished all land, sea and air forces. She has given away even her right of belligerency. In the Constitutions of France and Brazil you will find a clause where the respective nations renounce aggressive war. Japan, however, has renounced war, even as a means of self-defence. And we Japanese are determined to rely for our security and survival upon the justice and the good faith of the peace-

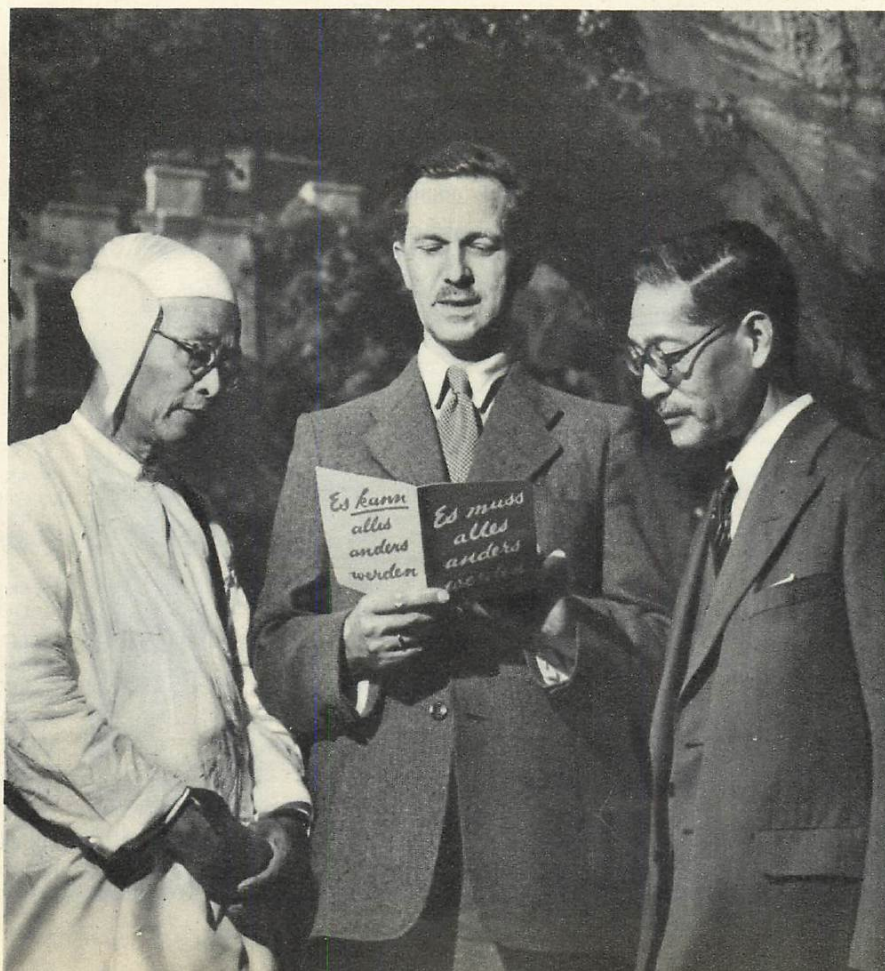
loving peoples of the world. This may be an adventure in the unsettled world situation of today. However, it is our deliberate national policy to count on the guarantee of our security through the United Nations or some other international arrangement.

So much for a general view of the revolutionary changes in our post-war national life. We Japanese people have a genuine wish to make democracy really function. On the other hand, we are confronted with a serious economic crisis. There is a grave shortage of food and raw materials. Official prices are a hundred times pre-war prices and the black market is several times greater still. These economic difficulties, together with the lowered moral standards after the war, are impeding the progress of the Japanese people on the road to democracy.

Some people say that without bread we cannot build up democracy. That may be true, but I believe that without a spiritual dynamic we cannot make democracy real. In our eagerness to rebuild our material life we are apt to forget the importance of moral recovery. We must restore honesty and unselfishness to our daily life. We urgently need a spiritual revolution.

The new Constitution has given us the machinery of democracy. Even more important is a new spirit which will make it work. In the last year we have seen the whole structure of

Mr. Horinouchi (right) discusses a handbook for democracy with Dr. Stein, Minister of Education for Hesse, and U Ba Lwin, war-time Burmese Ambassador



democracy collapse in country after country. There are in the world forces aimed at the destruction of democracy. They are threatening even countries where forms of democracy have existed for many years. It is absolutely essential in Japan that we have a working answer to these forces from the very start. This is why I attended the recent Moral Re-Armament Assembly on the west coast of America: to meet leaders from many countries whose first concern was to create a world-wide force which would give democracy an answering ideology. This world-wide force is Moral Re-Armament. Many of us in Japan are not only grateful for the material aid we are receiving; we are even more grateful for Moral Re-Armament. It is the moral and spiritual dynamic which can make democracy work.



**BARON KARWINSKY**, Minister in Dollfuss and Schuschnigg Cabinets, Austria (above left).

"Austria is finding rebirth through Moral Re-Armament. With me is my friend, Dr. Kauth, editor of a Socialist paper. He is a Socialist, I a Conservative. It is through Moral Re-Armament that we got to know each other, and it is through Moral Re-Armament we fight together." "MRA is the great idea to bring together men of different conceptions and convictions," said Dr. Kauth (right). "It is a roof under which all can unite to build a new world."

**COUNT CARLO LOVERA**, leading Catholic Lecturer (right) with **Dr. F. PECORARI**, former Vice-President of the Italian Parliament (left), and **SIGNOR CALOSSO**, Secretary of Socialist Party.

"Moral Re-Armament can do valuable work in Italy," said Count Lovera, "within the framework of traditional Catholicism, drawing also on the rich experiences of the other Christians who are drawn together by the menace and pressure of anti-Christian materialism. Moral Re-Armament is a call to all people to bear moral responsibility. Only from this beginning can true faith spring again."

"The combination of Pecorari and myself, Catholic and Socialist together, is a miracle," said Signor Calosso. "This morning we took the first step by listening to God. I suggest proposing to the Italian Parliament a moment of quiet before decisive votes. A Catholic and a Socialist making such a suggestion to the Speaker of the House would be something all Italy would talk about."



# PLANNING WORLD

At the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, four nations planned for democracy's answer. At the assembly they issued the following statement on behalf of national leaders of their countries.

"The battle now raging in the world is fundamental. An ideology can the democratic way of life, with its dignity, survive and shape the future.

In the face of the attacks of Godless materialism and ideology based on absolute moral standards, we, the twenty-four countries, we have seen and heard, are carrying to the millions in many nations the message of Moral Re-Armament. It offers a practical programme of sound home and international teamwork, and peace within and between nations. We mean to fight for Moral Re-Armament in our own countries and on a world front."

Pictured on this page are some of the delegates. Principal signatories on their behalf were:

**AUSTRIA:** Baron Karwinsky

**BURMA:** U Ba Lwin, war-time

**DENMARK:** Hon. Knud Kristiansen

**FRANCE:** General de Benouville

**GERMANY:** Dr. Gustav Heilmann, Horlacher and Dr. Wilhelm

**GREAT BRITAIN:** Lord Harcourt, General, Medical Services, I

**ITALY:** Count Carlo Lovera

**INDIA:** Sir Homi Mody, India

**NETHERLANDS:** Mr. H. J. V.

**SWEDEN:** Admiral Yngve B.

**SWITZERLAND:** Hon. Ernst

AS AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE IN THE DEMOCRACIES WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOU TO JOIN US IN MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IN THE HOLLYWOOD PALMS, CALIFORNIA, JUNE 2ND AND 3RD.

IN OUR VIEW THE DEVELOPING WORLD HAS THE SKILL IN IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE. WE FEEL YOUR GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES.

ECONOMIC AID IS ESSENTIAL TO WORLD PEACE WITHOUT THE FORCE OF A SUPERIOR IDEOLOGY. WE FEEL YOUR GOVERNMENTS OF THEMSELVES HOLD A SOLUTION.

MILLIONS OF THE WORLD OVER ARE LOOKING FOR A SOLUTION. WE FEEL YOUR GOVERNMENTS OF THEMSELVES HOLD A SOLUTION. WE FEEL YOUR GOVERNMENTS OF THEMSELVES HOLD A SOLUTION. WE FEEL YOUR GOVERNMENTS OF THEMSELVES HOLD A SOLUTION.

**INVITATIONS** (by cablegram above) were issued by a distinguished group of eighty-one nations. "This may prove a turning point in history," cable

# ING A ANSWER

ment in California, delegates from twenty-  
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which was sent to the Prime Ministers and

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ates to the assembly.

; **Dr. Kauth.** (picture top left)

ambassador to Siam.

**CHINA: Dr. Chen Li-Fu,** (see picture bottom right).

ensen, Prime Minister 1946-47; **Hon. Ingvard Arent,** Mayor of Fredericia, Editor.

ille; (picture, top right); **Madame Eugenie Eboue,** Socialist Senator for Guadeloupe.

emmann, Mayor of Essen; **Dr. Stein,** Minister of Education, Hesse; **Dr. Michael**  
**m Hoegner,** President of the Bavarian Parhament and Socialist leader of the Opposition.

linge of Peshurst; **Lieut.-Gen. Sir Alexander Hood,** G.B.E., K.C.B., Director-  
British Army, 1941-48; **Mr. Frank Painter,** President N.U.M., Warwickshire area.

**Hon. Umberto Calosso; Hon. Fausto Pecorari** (see picture together, bottom left).

ustrialist. **JAPAN: Kensuke Horinouchi,** President, Foreign Training Institute.

an den Broek, Head of World Broadcasting Corp.; **Prof. N. A. Halbertsma,** Utrecht.

ckstrand, C.-in-C. Eastern Fleet, Swedish Navy; **Bishop Bengt Jonzon,** of Lulea.

**Boerlin,** Member of Swiss Parliament, Member of Swiss Foreign Affairs Committee.

URGENCY OF IDEOLOGICAL PREPAREDNESS FOR THE  
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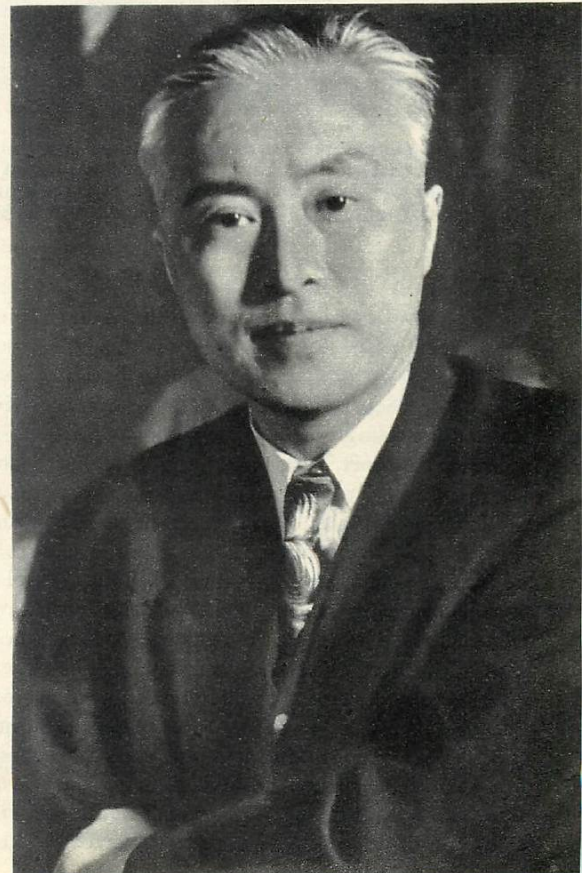
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were sent to the delegates to the M.R.A. World Assembly  
U.S. Senators and Representatives. "This may well  
Joseph H. Martin, Speaker, House of Representatives.



**GENERAL DE BENOUVILLE,** Executive Member of the French R.P.F. Party (above right).  
"Dr. Buchman is giving democracy an ideology without which democracy is nothing but an empty word."



**Dr. CHEN LI-FU,** Vice-President  
of the Chinese Legislative Yuan.

"The first emphasis of a states-  
man must be on morality. In the  
spirit of Moral Re-Armament, to  
change, unite and fight, China is  
standing in the front line and  
waging a life and death struggle  
with totalitarianism and material-  
ism. Whether she succeeds or  
fails in her efforts will profoundly  
influence world peace in the  
future. If we wish to avert  
another world catastrophe, we  
must proceed from the bottom  
up."

# SOUTH WALES

## REPORT BY

WILL ARTHUR

General Secretary N.U.M., S. Wales

W. E. HOPKIN, O.B.E.

Chairman of the T.U.C. Regional  
Advisory Committee of South Wales

Members of the Invitation Committee  
of "The Forgotten Factor" to S. Wales



Historic Cardiff Castle was the scene of the tenth anniversary celebrations of Moral Re-Armament in Great Britain. The Lord Mayor of Cardiff was escorted to the Assembly by the flags of the sixty nations in which MRA is working. "The British and American people are destined unitedly to give the world the answer of this inspired ideology," he said

THE visit of *The Forgotten Factor* to South Wales has been successful beyond the dreams of those of us who served with the Lord Mayor of Cardiff on the Invitation Committee. Seven thousand leaders of South Wales, including civic delegations from Swansea, Newport, Port Talbot, the Rhondda and many valley towns attended showings at the Prince of Wales Theatre. Delegations came in from every major Trades Union in the area and from seventy collieries, in many cases comprising the majority of the pit consultative committees, in response to our invitation. Nine thousand Rhondda people have literally stormed the famous Empire Theatre, Tonypany, to see the play this week. The response from all quarters has been wholehearted and immediate. As Jack Jones, the author of "Rhondda Roundabout," said: "This 'Forgotten Factor'

which demands a change of heart from everyone has pierced the armour-plating of every ideology from Conservative to Communist and set thousands on the new road."

Mr. Sidney Mitchell, Chairman of the Rhondda Council, said: "The Rhondda has been enriched by the visit of this play. It carries the most powerful message that has been given the world for nearly 2,000 years. As you and I resolve to put into practical life the lesson of this play, the world we all long to see will be assured to us all." Mr. Will John, M.P. for

Rhondda West, introducing the play one night said: "The Moral Re-Armament policy will give new vision to the people of the Rhondda—forward outlook, enthusiasm, unconquerable hopefulness, and daring." Mr. E. A. Jones, Chairman of the Rhondda Labour Party, said: "If this country is to survive, the spirit of Moral Re-Armament must prevail among all members of the community." Following the invitation to the Rhondda, invitations have been received to take the play to Merthyr, Aberdare, Pontypridd, Caerphilly, Swansea, Newport and many other centres. *The Forgotten Factor* is a play with a message to the heart, which is an inspiration. It is played by inspired players. We all feel, in the words of Meth Jones, Chairman, Cardiff Central Labour Party, and for forty years political secretary of the miners, that "nothing so effective has been seen in Wales for many years." We believe Moral Re-Armament will have a great and lasting effect in our valleys. We see in this MRA task force the spearhead of an answer for South Wales."

Mr. W. M. Arthur, General Secretary, N.U.M., South Wales, greets the Mayor and Mayoress of Port Talbot during the recent performances of "The Forgotten Factor" in Cardiff



# SPEARHEAD

## RHONDDA AFLAME

BY ONE OF THE CAST OF  
"THE FORGOTTEN FACTOR"

"THERE was a fellow killed this evening. Got caught in the screens." My hostess's brother Gwilym dropped this piece of news as he sat down in the kitchen after the afternoon shift. Dan Evans, my host, told the story of how once at Porth at the southern end of the Valley, there was an outbreak of water which flooded one of the workings. Eleven men were trapped. They ran in front of the water up to the end of the working. The water stopped like a wall a few feet short of them, and there they stayed in the small compressed air chamber till they were rescued twelve days later by their comrades digging a way to them from another working fifty yards away. "There's a picture of those men now, in the Wyndham Hotel, Porth," said Gwilym.

Dan took me round the Valleys one day in his car, on his tour of duty for the County Council. We drove up to the Bwlch, the north-west exit from the Valley. Ridge after ridge of mountain, for the most part green and gently curving, on either side of us. Far below you could see the chimneys and pithead of two collieries in two different valleys. "There's coal all the way between those two. They'll join up in the end," said Dan, "some miles of it."

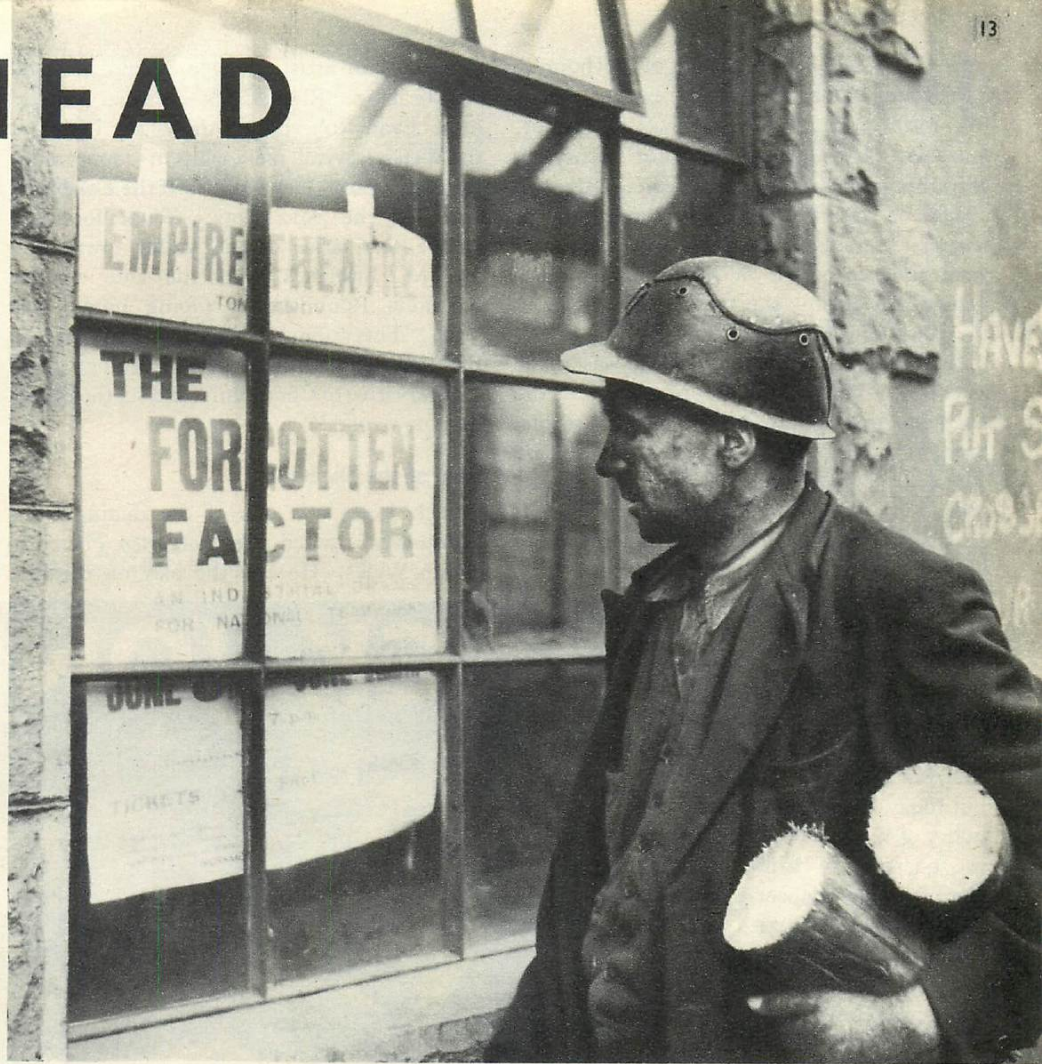
There are 110,000 people in the Rhondda Valley. In its twenty-four townships between the natural hills and the man-made mountains of slag which top these hills, twenty pits are working. In the depression between the wars, tens of thousands of young people left the Valley for work in England or abroad.

Communism? Yes, it's there. Maerdy in the Little Rhondda is known as Little Moscow. Harry Pollitt polled 15,000 votes there in the 1945 election, only a thousand less than his Labour opponent.

### Valley of song

The people of the Rhondda are cultured. They read, they sing and they act. They love their homes and their valley. Many a play, destined for a long run in London, has been tried out at the Empire Theatre, Tonypanyd.

It was here that General Smuts met the miners at a critical moment of World War I. If they had stopped work then, the whole



industry would have followed. But Smuts asked them to sing for him. They sang as only Rhondda people can, the old Welsh hymn, "O Fryniau Caersalem." Inspired by this, Smuts spoke to them in such a way that the strike was averted.

### Nothing like it since Smuts

It was here, too, that *The Forgotten Factor* was shown. "There's been nothing like it here since General Smuts," said Dick Lewis, seventy-one-year-old manager of the theatre.

How about the effect of *The Forgotten Factor* in the Rhondda? There must be thousands of comments and stories I never heard. These are just some that came my way.

Take Jack Hughes, an old-time Labour leader, who was miners' agent at the Cambrian and instigator of the 1912 riots. Jack says: "I've been fifty years in the mining industry. I've led the biggest strike in history. I have never in all my life, seen anything so powerful, or any audience so gripped. I have been on platforms with Tom Mann, Ben Tillet and our other great Labour leaders, but I've never seen anything like this." Or take another man, an experienced Communist leader, still young. He told us, in a simple and humble speech backstage, before the show on Saturday

night: "If you can get the spirit of unity you have among yourselves out among the thousands, we'll have the happiness in the world we all long for." On the last night he presented flowers to the cast.

Or take the Chairman of one of the largest and most politically advanced Miners' Lodges in South Wales. He said, speaking of his colliery: "If we really get this thing we can take it to the whole country." Next day he says he reconciled two disputes in record time because both he, the Manager and Coal Board Officials had seen the play and could operate on a new basis.

At another colliery in the valley, the Secretary of the union branch overheard the manager talking to an overman. The overman had a grudge against some miners. "Now, forget all that, Jim," said the manager. "It is 'What's right,' not 'Who's right' that is the policy for this pit now."

### Everyone was there

And at the joint production committee of one of the leading factories in the valley the chairman was almost embarrassed. Business which generally took two hours was completed in fifteen minutes. "No one mentioned *The Forgotten Factor*," said the chairman afterwards, "but we all knew that we had all been there."

**J**ACK JONES, the author of "Rhondda Roundabout," is a fiery, honest, hard-hitting, humorous fellow, an orator, musician, poet and prophet. For twenty-six years he worked at the coalface. At the age of fifty he started writing as a career, and in fourteen years has made the warm hearts and grim realities of the Welsh mining valleys known throughout the world. His voice is the voice of Wales.

In the birthday honours, Jack was made a C.B.E. That night he returned to the Rhondda to celebrate with his own people. Speaking from the stage of the Empire Theatre, Tonypany, before one of the packed showings of *The Forgotten Factor*, he thanked them for all they had meant to him in his writing. "I only hope I have been worthy in my interpretation of you," he said.

"In times past," Jack continued, "I have advocated disruptive policies, policies against the unity of the community, from this stage. I have led many fights, but today I want to fight for the policy of What is Right instead of the question of Who is Right. For fifty years the world has been rent by the ideologies and the 'isms.' Today we in the South Wales coalfield must decide whether at long last we can live together as a civilised community. We must seek guidance, not from writers and experts, but from the God on whom the Rhondda so rightly depended for so long. I have benefited much from Moral Re-Armament in the past fortnight, and am proud to be associated with this play."

Afterwards, the Rhondda—"revolutionary and riotous,

sporting and artistic, religious and musical, coal-bearing Rhondda"—crowded round him. Evan Roberts was there, the leader of the Welsh Revival, making his first appearance for forty years. Jack Hughes of the *Cambrian*, who led the 1912 riots. Councillors and Lodge secretaries of the Valley towns and N.U.M. branches. All the tide of the Rhondda Roundabout. Going home Jack said: "This forgotten factor . . . has pierced the armour-plating of every ideology from Conservative to Communist and set thousands on a new road."

#### Role of the theatre

Jack Jones was one of the distinguished group who invited *The Forgotten Factor* to South Wales. He saw the play on the first



# JACK JONES



## VOICE OF WALES

our time, seen our most vital industry almost ruined for lack of the spirit which is the hopeful and inspiring theme of the play, *The Forgotten Factor*. Industrial strife, for which all concerned, including governments, were partly to blame, for more than a century divided and embittered us.

"We all, without exception, lacked understanding of each other and lamentably failed to realise that God is, after all, the only safe guide in industrial relationships—as in everything else. God, our help in ages past and our only hope in the years to come, was by us closely confined within our churches and chapels.

"From the stage of a theatre here in Cardiff it has been revealed to us how and why we went wrong, and how we can put ourselves right. We have another chance, possibly the last chance,

to put ourselves right with God and mankind.

"'Guidance from the stage of a theatre!' many will perhaps exclaim. Why not? Totalitarian countries, notably Russia, make their theatres favourably reflect and serve their way of life. I think it high time the commercial theatre in all democratic countries 'opened up' to stage performances designed with the view of preserving and enriching the democratic way of life.

"Commercial managements and film magnates, too, if they want democracy to endure, should in every way help MRA to 'put across' its timely and most urgent message.

"I have observed on the part of a tiny minority a deplorable tendency to say about this movement, 'Yes, it's all right, but. . . .' There are no 'buts' about it. Here are the basic ideas that are leavening the lumpy, dangerous life of the world today."

night in Cardiff. At a civic reception five days later, in a speech which was relayed by trans-Atlantic telephone to Dr. Buchman in Los Angeles, he described the play's relevance to South Wales:

"As the South Wales coalfield developed, Cardiff grew from a village to a town, and from a town to the fine city it is today. For more than a century the people of Cardiff and of the coalfield have been almost entirely dependent on the basic industry of coal-mining. The miners of the coalfield, numbering at one time a quarter of a million, went down the mines to get the coal. The port of Cardiff handled and exported by far the largest percentage of their output. In 1915 the South Wales coalfield achieved the amazing output of 56,000,000 tons; and Cardiff exported 12,000,000 of them.

"But we who are now elderly have, in



# SON OF SWITZERLAND

**S**T. GALLEN looks across Lake Constance to Germany and the Austrian Alps. Here, in what was then the virgin forest of the Steinach valley, the Irish monk, St. Gallus, built his cell in A.D. 613. Later an abbey arose on the site of the hermitage and became a centre of Christian culture for a wide region of Europe in the Dark Ages. It was the birthplace of medieval music and one of the centres of the mystery play and of medieval German poetry. The oldest and most important textile centre in Switzerland, its embroidery has carried its name to many lands.

This past month special celebrations took place in its City Hall to honour the seventieth birthday of Dr. Frank Buchman, whose ancestors travelled from this city for America 200 years ago. The concert hall was decorated with flowers and flags of the Canton and city, and of the European nations represented. The "Festakt"—festival celebration—was broadcast and filmed.

Mayor Konrad Naegeli of St. Gallen paid tribute

on behalf of the citizens to Dr. Buchman's work. Dr. Max Volland, Chief of Police and Education, he said, had flown to represent the city of Dr. Buchman's ancestors at Los Angeles. Dr. Volland had taken with him an "Urkunde" or proclamation hand-lettered in black and gold on parchment, with the city seal attached signed by the Mayor and President of the Citizens' Council. The proclamation said: "We are proud to be linked with you through our district, which was the home of your forefathers 200 years ago. You are doing on a world-wide scale what the founder of our city, St. Gallus, did 1,500 years ago for surrounding countries, and what the great humanist, Vadian, did in the time of the Reformation 400 years ago. At a time when class and race hatred are tearing nations and continents to pieces, you have raised up the uniting, world-spanning ideology of MRA. This gives everyone everywhere a chance to conquer materialism in personal and national life."



**H**OW do you make up your mind? It is twenty-five years now since I discovered the secret. During that time I have found that my reason has been illuminated in a new way by the voice of God speaking directly to me through my mind, and the minds of my friends who are also listening to Him.

For God's guidance comes through other people in teamwork. When the barriers that separate them are down, when they seek God's plan *together*, then each may be given a segment of the plan to follow. The whole pattern for their project builds up to something far richer than they could ever have achieved as individuals working alone.

If I think a course of action is right to take, I talk it over with others concerned. I start with my family, who have also captured this secret of the art of living. As I do so, the weaknesses of my own thinking begin to clarify. A "community of mind" begins to emerge. This is, of course, a natural process of consulta-

decisions need to be taken. We open our minds and hearts to each other.

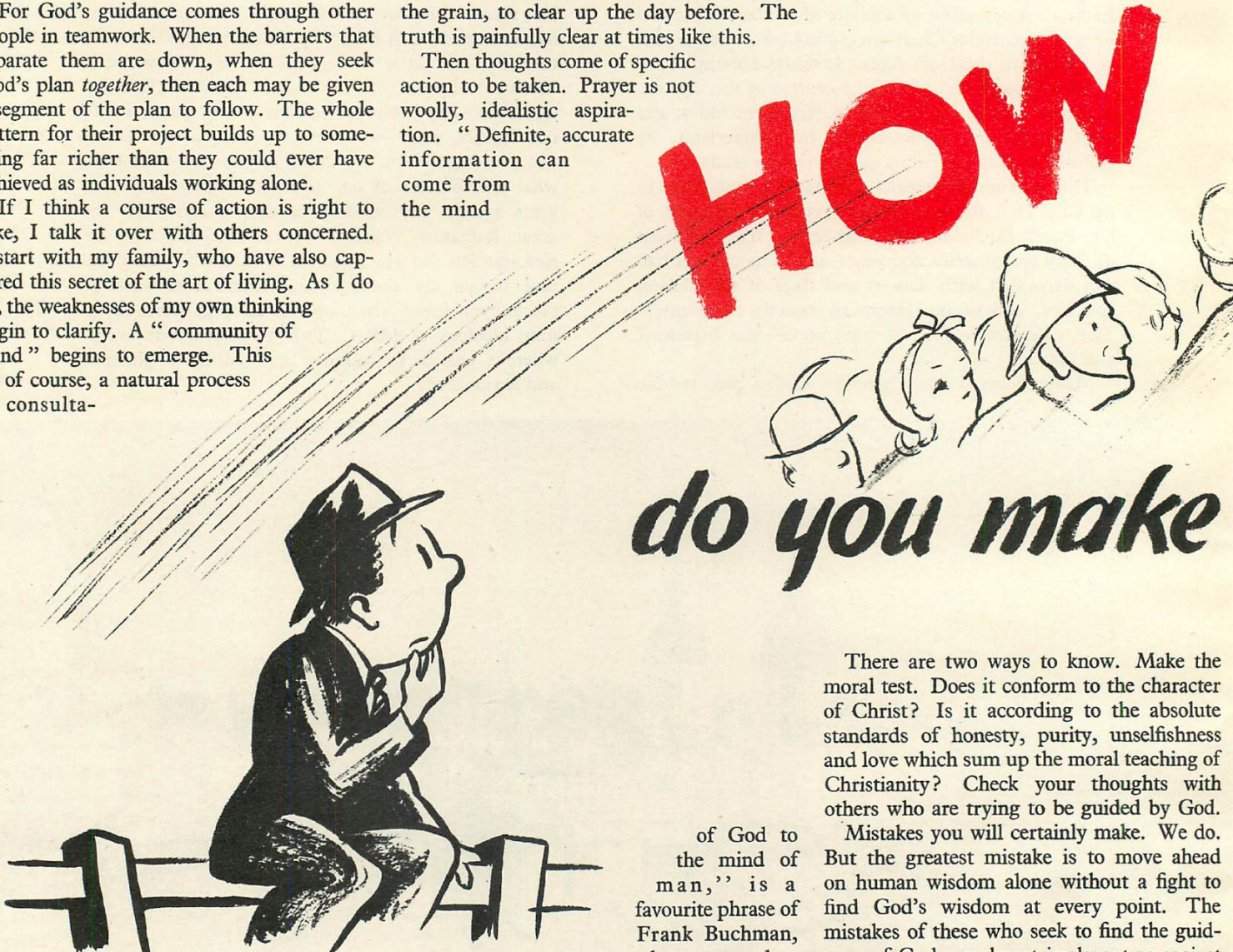
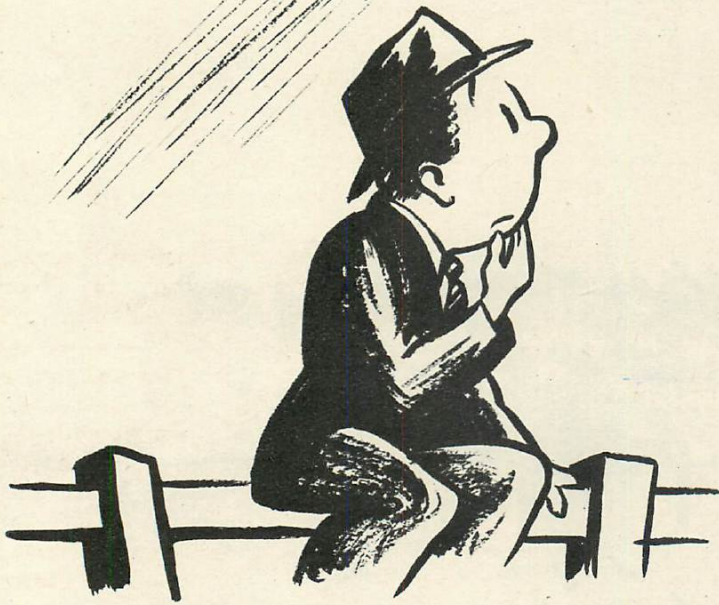
"You were dictatorial with the children yesterday." "Apologise for that thoughtless word." "Stop trying to wangle your own way." "Start helping others to grow instead of grabbing the limelight yourself," are some of the first thoughts that come, often against the grain, to clear up the day before. The truth is painfully clear at times like this.

Then thoughts come of specific action to be taken. Prayer is not woolly, idealistic aspiration. "Definite, accurate information can come from the mind

to sort out the truth from the false? These thoughts may be the promptings of my own mind. They may come from the unconscious. How can I know?

Certainly these thoughts need to be checked. I sometimes have a foolish thought because I sometimes have a foolish mind.

**HOW**  
do you make

tion, but it is immensely heightened when the individuals in a group have achieved a real unity with each other and fight for God's maximum plan.

Finally, God makes His pattern known to us in the direct luminous thought that comes to mind as we are quiet. Silence was once described by a child as "what you don't hear when you listen." But silence can be living and moving in its power when you take time to realise the Presence of God.

A time of silence has become for me and my family, and for countless others in this generation, the key to the action of every day. We start early, before breakfast, before the telephone, before conversation, to find out God's specific plan for ourselves and for our world; we look over the day to see what

any man of this age has taught people to listen to God.

Insight into a business operation, people to write to, what to say, thoughts about the country, an assurance of God's love and power, perspective for the problems I have to face, vision for the day's opportunities, come tumbling along in those early morning quiet times.

I write down these thoughts as they come. As the Chinese say, "the strongest memory is weaker than the palest ink."

In a letter to Peter the Barber, Martin Luther once wrote: "And when the Holy Spirit speaks, stop all that you are doing and write it down. For what the Holy Spirit says is more important than 1,000 sermons."

But how, you may ask, does one know how

of God to the mind of man," is a favourite phrase of Frank Buchman, who, more than

There are two ways to know. Make the moral test. Does it conform to the character of Christ? Is it according to the absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love which sum up the moral teaching of Christianity? Check your thoughts with others who are trying to be guided by God.

Mistakes you will certainly make. We do. But the greatest mistake is to move ahead on human wisdom alone without a fight to find God's wisdom at every point. The mistakes of these who seek to find the guidance of God are almost irrelevant as against the mistakes of those whose pride pushes them to be "masters of their fate," whose heads "bloody, but unbowed," might be less bloody if they were bowed.

Or you may say: "Why should God be concerned with little decisions? I can imagine Him intervening in the great crises of life; why should I bother Him over the details?" Well, some details you already know the answer to. But who knows where details stop and crises begin? How many serious events in your life turned on a seeming incident, being at a certain place at a certain time, turning to the right instead of the left, the single word, the yes or no—these are the warp and woof of the pattern of life, the pennies out of which the fortunes of life are made.



The price of guidance is obedience.

Years ago, a great Christian statesman, Bishop Logan Roots, was asked by Madame Chiang Kai-shek: "How do I find the guidance of God?" He replied: "I take it

I know neither A nor B. But I was commanded by the Voice that speaks the will of God to declare to my King that God would give him back his kingdom. And I did so.



# up your mind?

BY  
**KENASTON TWITCHELL**

In this concluding section of his article, Mr. Twitchell picks up again the ideas he developed last month and deals with their application in our personal, national and international life. He writes from an intimate knowledge of statesmen in Europe and America and twenty-five years' experience in dealing with the problems of government and industry on both continents

you do not merely want to find God's approval of your own plans?" "No," she replied. "Then," said the man who gave his life to lift the Chinese people, "you must do two things. You must take time every day to find out what God's guidance is; and second, when you find it, you must obey it without reservation."

The answers you look for in guidance may come like a flash of lightning etched across a black night sky. They may come slowly like the dawn, but they come.

Such guidance is the good road of history, a key to its meaning. The Psalmist "waiting on God"; the statesman Isaiah at a time of national crisis saying: "Though scant and scarce may be your bread and water from the Lord, yet He who teaches never leaves you now . . . and when you swerve from right or left you hear a voice behind you whispering: 'This is the Way, walk here'"; Joan of Arc telling her inquisitors: "I am no scholar.

What God empowered me to do, I did, and henceforth whatever He commands me to do, I will not fail to do it."

This is the high road of Christian history seen in the unfolding of the church. Monseigneur Chevrot, well known for his Lenten sermons at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, spoke of this tradition last summer at the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly in Switzerland. He recalled the words of Father Gutteri, buried near Montreux, "Over a hundred years ago he said: 'The world that you want to transform into a just one will not be transformed because you yourselves are not transformed; and so long as you refuse to change yourselves, the world will not change. The world can change if each of you changes.' How shall we change? And he replies: 'By listening to God because God does not stop speaking to us any more than the sun stops shining.' When shall we listen to God? 'It is the

morn-  
ing be-  
fore the  
distractions  
and activity of  
a busy life that  
we must listen.'

How shall we listen to God? Here is the reply: 'You write it down. Write it down so that you may preserve the spirit in you and so as to keep its words.'"

Abraham Lincoln said: "I have so many evidences of God's direction that I cannot doubt this power comes from above. I am satisfied that when the Almighty wants me to do or not to do any particular thing, He finds a way of letting me know it." When congratulated by members of a Commission for whom he had written a plan, Lincoln said: "It was written down as if dictated to me. Hereafter thank your Heavenly Father for it, and not me."

Try listening to God. Make the experiment. It is the secret of efficiency, the key to adventure, the leaven of human relations.

The American representative on the United Nations Security Council said recently: "Working together patiently under the guidance of God is the only way to make the United Nations work."

A commentator in a national magazine reporting on the United Nations news, said recently of a delegate to an important sub-committee: "M. is easily the ablest man on the sub-commission. . . . He has been responsible for more compromise solutions than any other man on the commission and his quick perception has saved days of work." M. has practised for fifteen years the habit of listening to God.

Increasingly at the nerve centres of world affairs there are rising up men and women whose insight and strategic action have been decisive in defeating the sabotage of destructive forces and winning the battle for the peace.

What might happen if we, the people of Europe, starting with you who read these lines, should resolve at all cost to put absolutely first obedience to God's orders? What might it mean if we resolved to establish the government of God in every aspect of our lives?

Then Europe would live out an inspired democracy, and the atomic age be turned into the greatest renaissance of all times.

Is it worth a trial?

# HAMLET'S CASTLE

**G**UARDING the narrow entrance to the Baltic stand the green copper spires and massive bastions of Kronborg Castle, on whose battlements Shakespeare placed Hamlet's ghostly father. For centuries the threat of its great guns exacted toll from every ship that passed the narrows, much to the profit of the kings of Denmark. In 1935, 10,000 people thronged its courtyard to hear Frank Buchman speak. This year, on June 6, thousands from the four Scandinavian countries came again to celebrate his seventieth birthday.

The courtyard was gay with traditional costumes, worn down the ages beside Norwegian fjord, on Swedish plain and Danish farm. Grouped around the tall lifeguardsmen holding the national standards, a Nordic chorus a hundred strong led the crowd in songs of four nations.

## Unity of Nordic lands

Dr. Paul Brodersen, Dean of Copenhagen Cathedral, welcomed among other Scandinavian personalities, Mr. Ole Bjørn Kraft, former Danish Minister of Defence, Mr. Nils Hagelin of the Swedish Ministry of the Interior, Finnish film director Mr. Viljo Lampela, who produced *The Forgotten Factor* on the Finnish stage, and Mr. Lauritz Johnson, Programme Director of the Norwegian State Radio.

Major-General E. C. V. Møller, Chief of Staff of the Danish Army, flanked by forty



**Major-General E. C. V. Møller, Chief of Staff of the Danish Army, with officers and cadets of the Danish armed forces who are taking a lead in ideological preparedness**



officers and men of the armed forces, delivered the keynote speech. The General directed the sabotage activities of Danish Resistance against the Nazis. His exploits and escapes have made him a legendary figure in Scandinavia.

"Twenty-five thousand recruits," he said, "join our forces each year for military training. But human beings must have a basic ideology to live by, and here Moral Re-Armament provides the way to train these men, not only as good soldiers, but as good democratic citizens. Yesterday our Premier said: 'The Nordic lands must be one family,' and in Moral Re-Armament lies the secure basis to achieve such unity."

He then called on his young officers to report to the assembly on the courses of ideological preparedness which the army has developed both for soldiers and civilians.

# WINDMILLS IN THE STORM

**H**OLLAND has made a remarkably rapid recovery since the war. The isle of Wálcheren and the former Zuiderzee-polder "Wieringermeer"—have been reclaimed again. Of more than 1,000 destroyed or damaged railway bridges, practically all have either been completely reconstructed or repaired provisionally. Tens of thousands of houses are being built or made habitable again.

We are still faced, however, by many problems.

Rationing is very strict in this land of milk, eggs and butter and does not allow for more than about 2,800 calories a head per day. Substantial quantities of foodstuffs and

**BY H. J. VAN DEN BROEK**

*Head of the World Broadcasting Corporation,  
Hilversum*

fódder have to be imported, mainly from the United States and Canada.

We need to purchase abroad raw materials for industry as well as machinery for its rehabilitation. Lorries and cars for transport, locomotives, planes, military equipment, typewriters, precision tools, are things Holland has never produced and which it badly needs. Before the war, being prosperous, it could easily afford to buy everything it wanted. Today every purchase of

food and other necessities has to be very carefully considered.

One of Holland's most serious worries remains the housing shortage. Owing to large-scale destruction during the war years and the continuously rapid increase of the Dutch population, the number of dwellings needed at present is estimated at nearly 300,000, for the next ten years at 700,000. Raw materials and labour are too short to allow for the construction of more than about 30,000 houses or apartments in 1945. The moral dangers of this situation need hardly be stressed; the number of divorces is rapidly increasing and the conditions under which whole families have to live are sometimes appalling.

The Limburg coal mines with their production of about 10,000,000 tons a year are not sufficient by four or five million tons for Holland's needs. Imports from abroad being strictly limited to what is necessary for industry, fuel for private use is severely rationed. In the textile industry, too, production has not yet attained 60 per cent. of the 1939 level. Clothing and household textiles are obtainable only with great difficulty.

The general impoverishment during the war years—due to German looting in its multiple forms, as well as to the drying up of the Dutch economic resources—inevitably resulted in a sharp fall in the post-war standard of living, compared with the year 1935-40. Prices have increased about 100 per cent., whereas salaries and wages according to different groups of workers have—if we leave out a few exceptions—gone up only from about 25 to 75 per cent. Skilled labour and agricultural workers—the position of the last category was very bad indeed before the war—are among the most favourable cases; civil servants and personnel of public services come far behind. Despite heavy subsidies on the most important foodstuffs, like bread, milk, margarine, the purchasing power of the population remains far below the level of the pre-war years.

This situation created ideal conditions for serious labour troubles. It is to the credit of the Dutch Labour Movement that this has been avoided in Holland. Wages and prices have, for the last eighteen or twenty months, after the most necessary post-war adjustments had been made, been remarkably stable. Communist elements and the relatively small worker



tion they control, have several times tried to stir up trouble. But the three big Labour Unions—Catholics, Calvinists and Socialists—have stood firm in their support of the Government policy of stable prices and wages and sound public finances.

The fact that the Government coalition is composed of Catholics and Socialists, who occupy 61 out of 100 seats in the Second Chamber, has undoubtedly contributed to the understanding attitude of the leaders of the Unions. This has come in for strong criticism by the Communists who, for the first time in history, have become a force in Holland to be reckoned with. During the war they took a very active part in the Dutch resistance movement and many of their leaders were killed or imprisoned. At the general elections in 1946 they obtained 10 seats out of 100 in the Second Chamber, whereas before the war they had never had more than 4.

Holland now looks forward to twenty years of peace to deal with these problems. But she needs more than economic stability to achieve this. Morally, socially, and spiritually Holland has much ground to make up. Under the German occupation it became a habit, almost a virtue to dodge regulations, buy on the black market, corrupt

civil servants and so on. In the political field differences are as deep as before the war, often more so. Over Indonesia, discussions have sometimes reached a point of extreme violence. The differences between religious denominations, which had almost disappeared during the war, have again raised their head.

What is the answer to these problems?

Just after the liberation, Dr. L. J. M. Beel, now Prime Minister and then Minister for Home Affairs, wrote: "A sound and healthy home life and cooperation in the field of industry will result in the foundation of firm national unity on which the rebuilding of the Kingdom of the Netherlands will depend. I am convinced that despite the deep privations which Holland has suffered, the people of my country will still command the spiritual power to shape their future along these lines of mutual understanding."

Over the past ten years, the world force of Moral Re-Armament has been strengthening in the democratic countries the moral values which are the sure answer to the moral collapse which precedes totalitarian dictatorship in the world today. Dutch statesmen have played a leading part in its work of building sound homes, industrial teamwork and national unity.

Last year the Dutch Government was represented at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in Switzerland by the Ministers of Reconstruction and Agriculture. During this year the President of the Catholic Miners' Union brought a party of Trade Union and industrial leaders to Britain to study the work of Moral Re-Armament in industry.

Mr. Frits Philips, Vice-Chairman of Philips Industries, and Professor N. A. Halbertsma, of the Philips' Works, Eindhoven, have recently taken new steps to train industrial leadership in Holland in the principles of teamwork of which Dr. Beel spoke. These same men chartered the first plane to fly from Europe to the West Coast of America, to carry the European delegations to the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly at Los Angeles.

In the ideological battles being fought within and around her borders it is impossible for Holland to be neutral. Now is the time for her to develop the moral re-armament of her people which will make her proof against subversive elements and enable her, in the words of our Queen, Wilhelmina, "to make honesty, confidence and understanding the rule of conduct between individuals and nations."

