

NEW WORLD NEWS



SWISS HARVEST
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BASIS FOR CIVILISATION

RALPH W. PAGE of the PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN

THE core of European civilisation is the Christian religion—a body of principles and beliefs governing the attitudes and actions of every individual citizen.

This religion proclaims its principles and beliefs to be the only absolute laws. They constitute the citizen in whom they are reposed as the only sovereign power on earth. Under this belief, mankind delegates authority to governments and governors, to commercial managers, to all manner of organisations to conduct their business and interests and cooperative endeavours.

And in proportion as they require these servants to uphold and conform to the precepts of this religion, the people remain free and the communities develop in strength and peace.

Science and technology and the growth of democratic government have changed the outward form of this civilisation. Science has brought great material wealth. Democracy was assumed to be the political expression of the Sermon on the Mount.

But is it? And do we now honour these foundations of our greatness?

Today this civilisation is challenged and shaken by the Communist creed which frankly has no moral principles and recognises no personal integrity, but does promise cooperative material prosperity under an overlord.

As matters stand, we offer the world in contrast a material prosperity based upon free private enterprise and capital accumulations.

In the words of a modern Moses, "The Western civilisation that has . . . run like wildfire round the world has not been the whole of one seamless web; it has been a flare of cotton waste; a technological selvage with the religious centre torn out."

If we maintain this presentation in the conflict of ideologies we face the imminent danger of defeat. For we then discard the overpowering examples and precepts of the prophets, the saints and martyrs, the philosophers, poets, seers, dramatists, artists and inspired architects of our system, and rely upon the adulation of traders and fabricators and economists to enlist the loyalty of peoples hungering for justice, for friendliness, for a guide toward the aspirations for peace, good will, kinship and participation that is inherent in every living soul.

For the purpose of re-establishing the spiritual and moral foundation of our civilisation, and presenting it to the world as the heart of our programme for world recovery, unity and peace,

a World Assembly celebrating the tenth anniversary of Moral Re-Armament was recently held in Los Angeles.

It is not too much to say that this conclave was more important to America and its relation to all peoples than any political convention. It was attended by 150 representatives of the nations of the world, and addressed by a host of outstanding leaders, including former prime ministers of Greece and Denmark, the captain of the French resistance in the war, the president of the Bavarian parliament, the vice-president of the Chinese legislature, and the secretary of the Italian Workers' Party. The movement is endorsed by President Truman, congressmen, the prime minister of Canada, heads of both national labour unions, and a growing body of industrial marshals.

The programme supported is universal—the common denominator of the moral and spiritual principles recognised by all sects and denominations of Christians, and equally by Mohammedans, Buddhists and Confucians. The demand is that we regulate our private lives, our political and economic activities, and our international policy in strict accordance with these fundamental religious principles.

The pre-eminent influence of this endeavour in our ideological contest with Communism is recognised in our highest councils. Paul Hoffman, administrator of the European Recovery Programme, sent this message to the conclave:

"The people of the United States . . . have pledged themselves to help our friends abroad to help themselves. We in the Economic Co-operation Administration have found it a great privilege to be part of this new statesmanship. **But no one realises more keenly than we that the best security for this unparalleled investment . . . 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.**"

This organisation or movement, being one that embodies the ideals and convictions common to all Americans and also common to all races, creeds and people of good will, not only deserves but demands the active support of every citizen.

FUTURE OF EUROPE



Group of European journalists at the Caux Assembly. At end of table, Dr. R. Pechel, Editor, *Deutsche Rundschau*

By our correspondent at the Moral Re-Armament European Assembly

EUROPE in these days is strong on speculators but short on prophets. The reason is simple. A speculator adds up a few facts and makes a guess, while a prophet knows the basic facts so well that he has confidence in assessing the future, too. There are so many confusing facts in Europe today that it is simpler to be a speculator.

By all ordinary standards, the chance to deal with Europe's problems has already been thrown away. Democracy has delayed and debated, while the materialists have conspired and consolidated. No one knows when the showdown will come, or where. It may be Berlin, or Greece, or Italy; it may be soon. Many are afraid to say what they think, in case they should be right. The speculator balances the industrial might of the United States against the unrelenting energy of the Eastern Powers. He considers the march of events with a mind that takes in political manoeuvres but often discounts national character. The answer is anyone's guess.

But the prophet is not content to guess on such a basis. He looks at Europe with eyes

that penetrate beyond the superficial impression of political and economic instability. He understands that national character is the fountain-head of national policies and the guarantee of prosperity and peace.

Last month, in Paris, the European Recovery Programme was launched and details of its administration were discussed by Mr. Paul Hoffman and the representatives of sixteen nations. But Mr. Hoffman himself is only too keenly aware that economic aid alone is insufficient. An ideological counterpart to the Marshall Plan is needed. The conception of Western Union has grown and taken form in military and economic agreements. But its effectiveness will depend ultimately on the strength and unity of the individual nations, and the power of an over-arching democratic idea to hold them together. From now until the end of the year the United Nations General Assembly meets in Paris. But it ploughs a hard furrow in the rocky soil of difficult human nature. Its problems do not abate with much talking about them.

Berlin, heart of a shattered nation, is the

symbol of the widespread frustration and hopelessness in Germany today. The wave of strikes which swept Italy on the attempted assassination of Togliatti is evidence of the powerful hold of the materialist forces on the industrial and political life of that country. Recurrent crises in French political affairs reflect the deep disunity among her leaders. These are the warning signs of Europe's urgent need of an ideology for democracy.

Will France find a way through her present troubles into a stable political and industrial set up? Will Italy decide on measures that would unite the nation? Will the Nordic countries and Holland and Belgium pioneer the way to something more than economic recovery? Above all, will Germany emerge from a welter of confusion, hopelessness and self-pity into responsible nationhood once more?

Will these things happen? That depends on the statesmen and the ordinary folk of the democracies. If they find in time an answer to disunity and despair, an inspired ideology for democracy, Europe will arise from the



sleep of apathy and disillusion and see a new day. If they do not, or do not in time, then Europe must face slavery, starvation and slaughter. At bottom the situation is as simple as that.

Are there signs that the democratic nations are meeting the challenge of materialism with a greater ideology? There are. At Caux, in Switzerland, in the last few weeks people from most of the countries of Europe have gathered together. They have come not to look for an answer, but to train for action. The answer has been found: and the fate of Europe depends on applying the answer on a national scale, and doing it at once. Many of those who have come to Caux have been doing this for some time, and the evidence of their success is impressive. They have come to plan further action. Their objective is the moral re-arming of Europe.

M. Tilge, Secretary General of the Employers' Federation of the North of France, has been here with industrial delegations from France, representing thousands of workmen. "I have spent many years discussing ways and means of reaching agreement between opposing interests," he says. "But I forgot that you cannot build except on a moral and spiritual foundation. I made a beginning in practical reconciliation by apologising to the workers. And that is sometimes difficult."

The assembly he arranged at the end of last year in the north of France was attended

Steel-helmeted police deal with workers on strike in Milan. A strike-wave swept Italy after attempt on Togliatti's life

Sixteen nations discuss Marshall Aid in Paris. Focus of their attention is Mr. Hoffman (centre) speaking to Mr. Harriman. M. Spaak, Belgian Prime Minister (right)



A.T.P.

A.T.P.



Presse
Diffusion

**M. Robert Tilge, Secretary General,
Employers' Federation, North of France**

by 1,200 people, mostly drawn from the Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing industrial region, and had most profound effects on the industrial life of the area. Workmen and management officials in many cities have begun to settle their differences together. His experience is typical of many others. The evidence of a new spirit at work in industry comes from many countries, and from both sides of the unreal line between management and labour. It is not experimental; it has been tried and tested and proved over a number of years. Production has been raised, strikes have been solved, wage agreements reached without fuss. A new Industrial Revolution is under way.

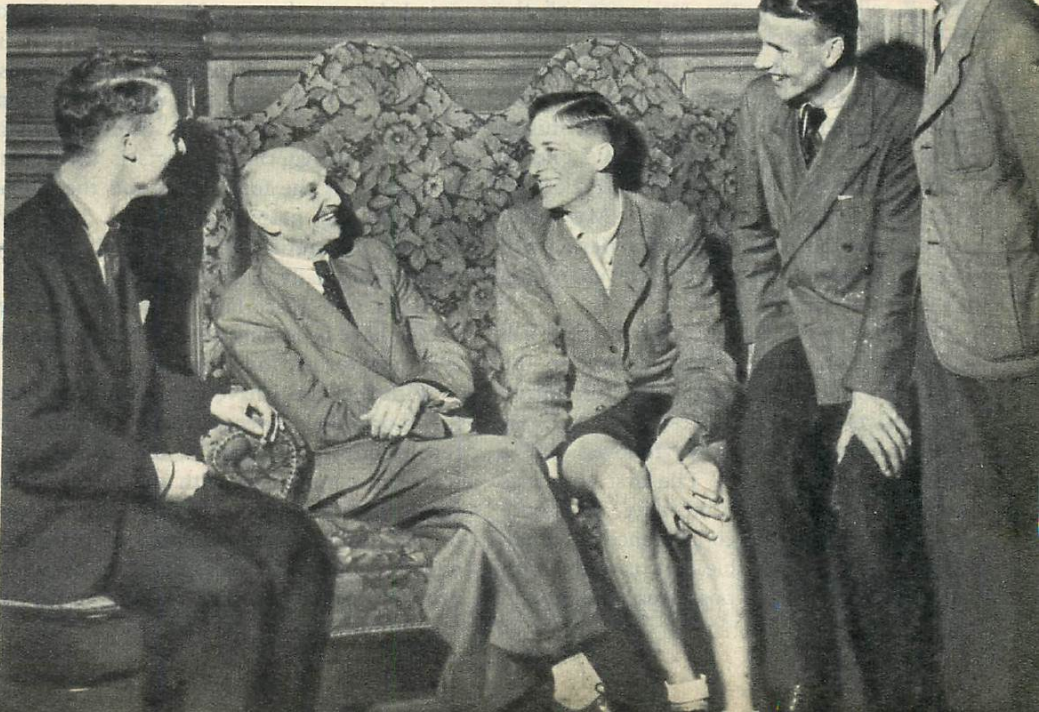
Last year one hundred and fifty picked

leaders of German political and educational life came to Caux. The handbook of democracy which they published on their return has already gone abroad in paper-starved Germany to the extent of 800,000 copies in the last six months—in all four zones. The hungry millions of Germany need a message of hope. As they get it, and respond to it, they will set about rebuilding their country in a wholly new way. The statesmen who have come to Caux this year from Germany are already doing this.

Take for example, the Minister of Education for Wurttemberg-Baden. Addressing the Assembly on the subject of "Education for the Rebuilding of the Nation," he told how the application of the principles of Moral Re-Armament was successful in dealing with the difficulty of teacher-pupil relationships in schools in his province. "The old authoritarian school is giving way today to a new democratic school where our main aim is to create a sense of responsibility. A new school needs new teachers, and new teachers need a new spirit. Here at Caux is the spirit of change which is the answer."

Or take the Minister of Labour of North Rhine-Westphalia, Dr. Halbfell. He was so impressed with the results of the industrial play *The Forgotten Factor* that he has had it translated into German and it is now in course of production. "I have seen such evidence of new cooperation and incentive wherever Moral Re-Armament has been applied," he says, "that I am overwhelmed. Under the flag of Moral Re-Armament we will answer totalitarianism of any kind and all that comes from it and bring moral and spiritual renewal to the world."

Dr. Bauerle (second from left), Minister of Education for Wurttemberg-Baden, talks with German university students and youth leaders at Caux. A new education to create a new Germany demands a new spirit in her schools, he says



The Vice-President of the Italian Parliament came to Caux last year with twenty-six members of the Constituent Assembly. This year a delegation has arrived which represents every political party from Socialist to right wing. The unity evident among those who returned from Caux last year, they say, is a miracle. Christian democrats and Socialists working together above party and religious differences may have a profound effect in strengthening the country against totalitarian ideas.

Most heartening news of British industrial recovery comes from the coalfields where the Moral Re-Armament play *The Forgotten Factor* has been playing. Miners' representatives from S. Wales and the Midlands area have given evidence of a fresh incentive leading to increased production. They return to bring further official delegations back again this month.

The Assembly at Caux is a conference with a difference. It is less a round of discussions of points at issue than an atmosphere in which problems are capable of solution. "It is a remarkable feeling for Germans to be received on a level of equality and humanity among representatives of different nations," said Dr. Hans Ehard, Minister President of Bavaria, for instance. "Here we have a chance to speak freely. I am personally thankful to have experienced at first hand the atmosphere and impact of Caux. It builds links from man to man and from nation to nation." The democratic unity of Europe depends on her statesmen living in this atmosphere.

NEW LIGHT IN THE EAST

DR. CHEN LI-FU

Dr. Chen Li-fu is the vice-President of the Chinese Legislative Yuan and the Secretary-General of the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang. Trained as a mining engineer in America, he worked in the mines of Pittsburgh and Scranton in Pennsylvania. Back in China in the winter of 1925, Dr. Chen enlisted in the revolutionary forces then sweeping the country. Shortly after the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, he was appointed director of the Sixth Department of the National Military Council and early in the following year became Minister of Education. During the past two months he has been making a tour of America and Western Europe at the request of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to study democratic institutions, and visited the Moral Re-Armament Assemblies at Riverside, California and Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland.



DURING these past weeks I have been talking with the statesmen of the democracies. I saw President Truman and Secretary Marshall in Washington, Prime Minister Mackenzie King in Ottawa, Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Minister Bevin and Sir Stafford Cripps in London. I saw Prime Minister Marie and Foreign Minister Schuman in Paris. My chief purpose has been to exchange views with them and to tell them what we are doing in Moral Re-Armament.

These are days of great crisis in the world and millions are hungry for an answer to the totalitarian philosophies which battle for control.

We have been warned in *The Great Learning* what inevitably follows on a materialist way of life. "The first emphasis of statesmen must be on morality. It is only with morality that the co-existence of human beings has been possible. It is only with morality that man possesses the earth.

It is only by the possession of the land by moral beings that wealth in the form of material products is secured. And it is only material wealth produced under those conditions that can be useful to men. Morality is the foundation, while wealth in the form of material products is the superstructure. If the foundation and the superstructure are placed in reverse, men will be led to mutual violence and robbery, which will finally end in war."

China is a peace-loving country, but her people have been long at war. She is fighting even now for her independence.

With this aim I have worked for my Party for more than twenty years. During the revolution, the strength of the revolutionary forces in comparison with the forces of the war lords, was only one to fifty. But we went to war. It is the moral force of patriotism which counts. It was moral force which brought people together to fight under the

leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. We had that behind us.

During the fight with the war lords between 1924 and 1928 for the independence and unification of China the revolutionary forces were divided into separate groups. China was occupied by war lords in many places: so those who fought for democratic principles were also divided in separate commands. My early task was to bring these men together in their small groups. Then I began to make a move in our Executive Committee to abolish all these and consolidate them in one Party. Every man would be a Party member and not a group member. It was very acceptable. It made a united force of 8,000,000 members and it is this force which has been engaged in the fight against the war lords, the Japanese and the Communists.

The Communists did not want us united. The more splits you have the more chance it

will give them to infiltrate. They said : " Chen Li-fu has a small group of his own. Why should you abolish yours?" But the unity of the Party is now an established fact.

When the Japanese war was inevitable and the invasion broke out, I was appointed by our leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to talk to the Communists because he considered me the man most qualified for this task. I asked them : "If the Japanese invade China would you fight with us or with the Japanese?" I made them make a public declaration themselves in which they said : "We will fight against the Japanese under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek." They would abolish their Red Army and Soviet organisations in China. With this assurance we were ready to resist Japan.

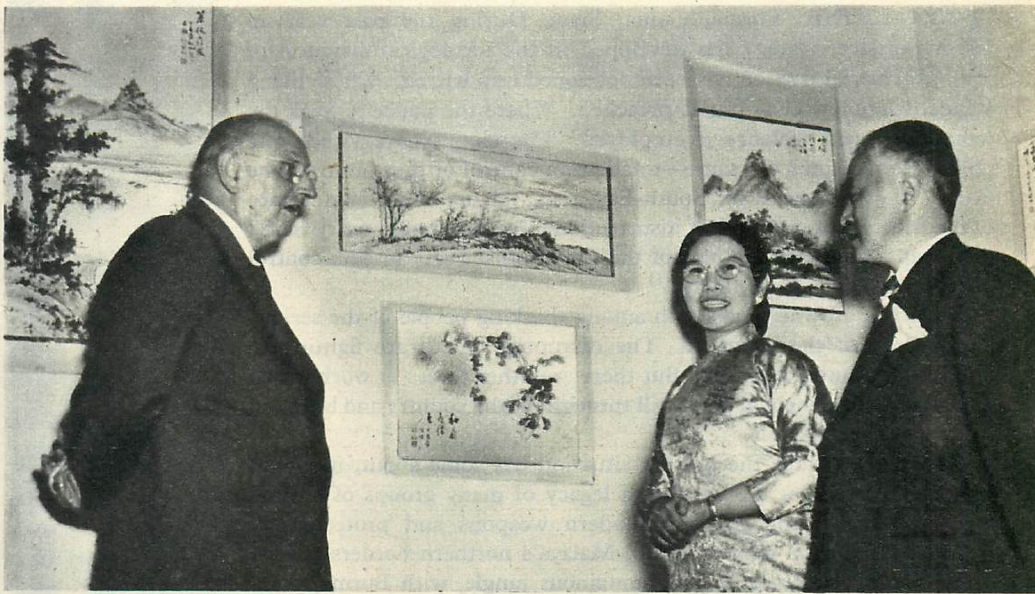
So, on July 7, 1937, when the Japanese invaded China we went to war and fought. At that time all the newspaper correspondents came to me and asked : " How can China fight a war with Japan?" For everyone thought that China would be beaten by the Japanese in two or three weeks. I told the pressmen that it was not a question of whether we *could* fight or not, but a question of whether we *should* fight or not. I said : " China may have to be sacrificed, but remember what we fight for will be everlasting."

Scheme of world conquest

We fought alone for four years against Japan. During this time we told the world that the invasion of Japan was not limited to China, but their ambition was to conquer the world. But the world powers did not pay much attention until Pearl Harbour. Then they began to realise. But China had had to suffer for four years first.

Now the same thing is happening again. China is invaded by another aggressive force. That aggressive force which follows Japan is even more insidious and more dangerous. This is the Communist force which has 1,000,000 armed soldiers fighting in China. We again told the world that the scope of their aggression is not limited to China. It seems to me that the world powers are not paying attention again. We have fought this evil for three years already. Maybe we shall again have to fight for four years before people realise what is happening.

This force demoralises everything. We have seen the effects of Communism in China. They encourage children to kill their parents. They take away all liberty from the people. They kill men just like they kill chicken. One province had a population of 20,000,000 but after the occupation by the Communists during eight years, the population was reduced to only 14,000,000. Six million lost. This is a war between humanity and



Madame Chen Li-fu, a distinguished Chinese artist, shows Dr. F. N. D. Buchman her paintings

inhumanity. This is a war of civilisation and de-civilisation.

Today is a very critical moment in China, and in this crisis we are finding a new force, founded by Dr. Buchman, which brings a superior ideology to the world. It is the starting point for remaking the world.

An evil ideology is now spreading which encourages dishonesty, impurity, selfishness and hatred. My own country, China, has for years been fighting against this evil which has threatened to destroy our nation and our civilisation. I have found as I talk to friends of all nationalities the same evil ideology is doing the same evil things in their nations. The world is hungry for a superior ideology and Dr. Buchman has brought an idea which will satisfy that hunger. Moral Re-Armament can help every man in every nation. It will

lead toward perfection of personality and the fulfilment of the national destiny.

The first point is to change. From my experience change is possible. This philosophy of change will sweep away all lesser ideologies. I must start with myself and China must start with herself.

Then we must learn to find the guidance of God. I have already experienced how this guidance works in statesmanship and achieves what we ourselves could not achieve.

China has recently embarked on a new era of constitutional democracy and we are eager to learn from Moral Re-Armament. I believe that wherever democracy is, it must be backed by a force of morality. Without that moral backbone, democracy is an empty shell. Moral Re-Armament is the heart of inspired democracy. We must now live this ideology ourselves and take it to our nations.

Dr. Chen Li-fu receives a Swiss cake from the cast of the European revue "The Good Road"



INDO-CHINA, Burma, China, Siam. During the past year an impressive strategy has developed in the ideological conquest of Asia. Racial friction has been developed into hatred. Where living standards are low class war is preached. Where the police is weak the weapon of open violence is employed. The tactics have varied. The object has remained the same—totalitarian control of the country. The Commissioner-General for South-East Asia, talking of the significance of the widespread outbreak of insurrection in yet another country, said: "It is an attempt on the part of the Communist Party to gain control of the whole or part of Malaya."

There is a growing realisation among thinking people of the serious implications of the situation. The disruptive forces are fighting to reduce the country to chaos. But there are other forces at work which are rallying the people of good will throughout the country and bringing the hope of an answer.

To appreciate how the present situation has come about, it should be remembered that the war left a legacy of many groups of lawless men plentifully supplied with modern weapons and protected by perfect cover in the jungles. Also, Malaya's northern borders consist of hundreds of miles of wild mountainous jungle, with Burma, Siam and Indo-China beyond. This makes it easy for bandits to withdraw and for organisers of trouble to enter the country.

However, in spite of the deplorable loss of life among responsible citizens, and of the serious menace to the country's production, there is little doubt that, compared with neighbouring countries, the forces of law and order are strong enough in Malaya to enable Mr. MacDonald to say: "There is no question but that the Government will destroy reasonably quickly and completely the forces of the enemy both inside and outside the jungle."

The suppression of violence and restoration of order, however, is only the first step towards her security. Malaya is now under ideological attack. Any weakness or disunity, any racial fears or jealousies or any labour-management conflict may be the place where the next threat will develop. Malaya is in a key position in the Far East—therefore, the battle for control will be persistently sustained.

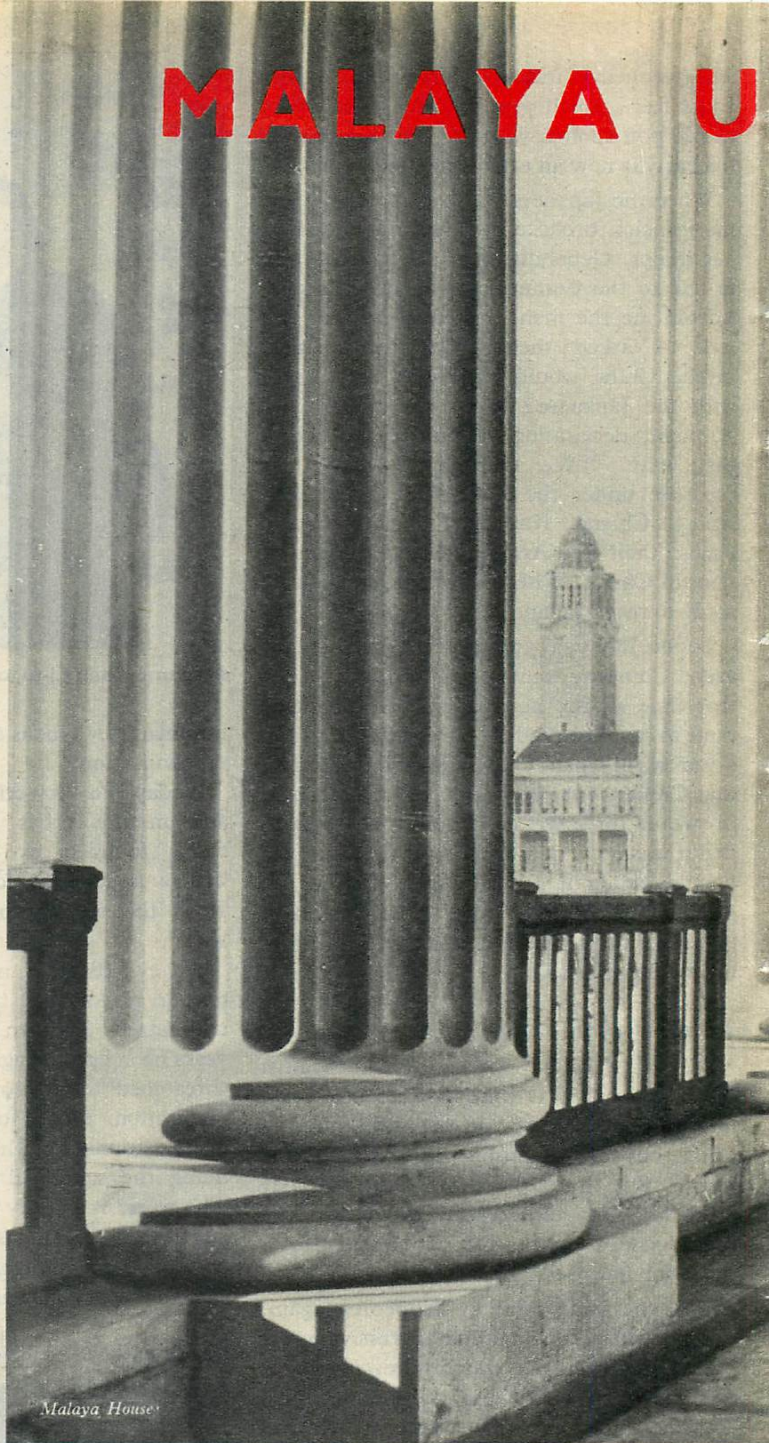
Let us get a picture of this country and her problems. Brilliant colour, lush undergrowth and tropical jungle, green fields of rice, wide stretches of clean, cool-looking plantations, producing 51 per cent. of the world's rubber, gravel scars of the mines producing 24 per cent. of the world's tin, modern towns and picturesque villages linked by good road, rail and air services, a great seaport, gateway to India, the

Brilliant colour, lush undergrowth and tropical jungle



Malaya House

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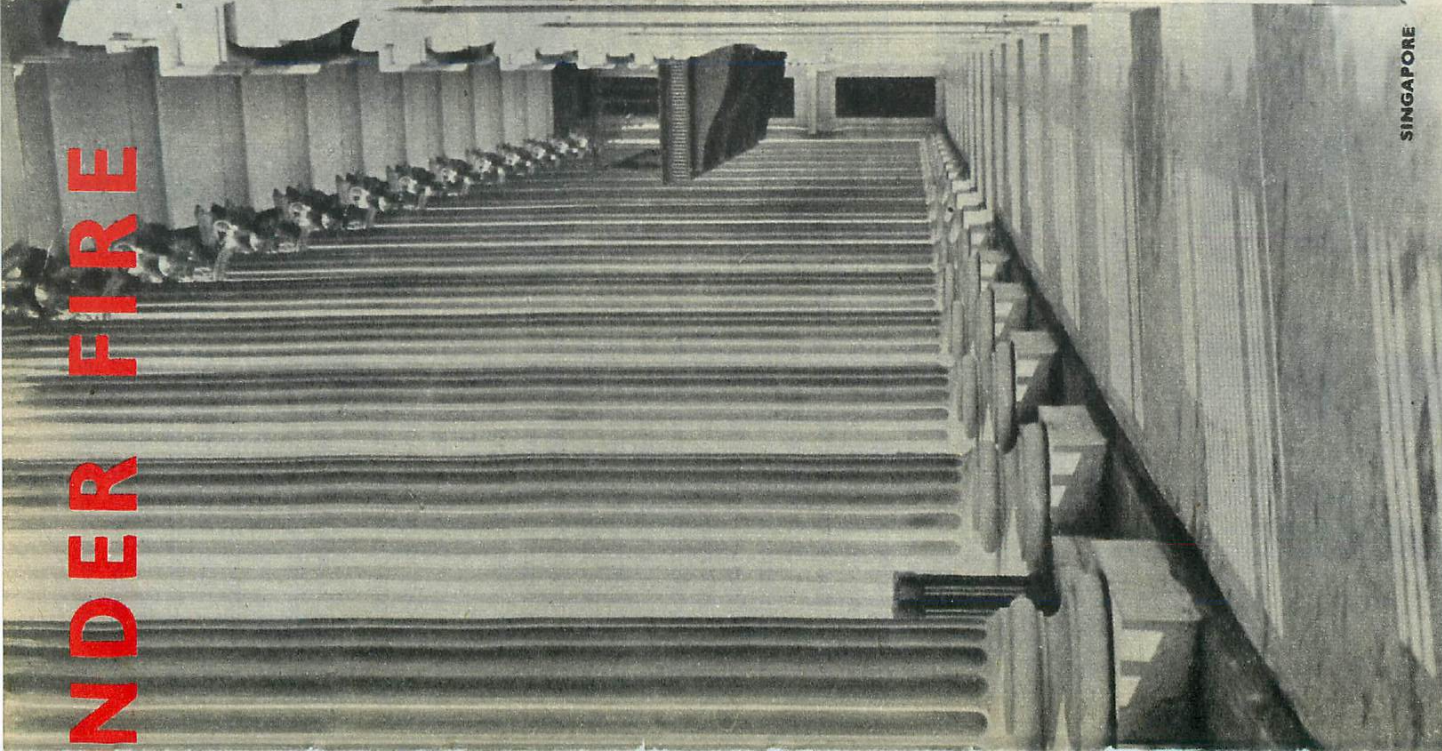


Malaya House

BY A FAR EASTER

Far East and Australia—that is Malaya. To a traveller arriving from another country, in Penang or Singapore all looks surprisingly peaceful and prosperous. Only rice, butter and sugar are rationed—no coupons or points are required for clothing or any other item. Costs are high, but so are the wages. Business, education and entertainment are in full swing. The machinery of administration on the whole functions smoothly. There is a feeling of friendliness in the streets. Malays, Chinese, Indians and British meet and greet freely. In spite of the events of the last six years Malaya has a unique opportunity of recovery and development—if she is given the chance to get on with it.

UNDER FIRE



NEW CORRESPONDENT

Background to this modern scene is the building up through the years of the country's racial structure side by side with her economic development. The Malay, a Mohammedan by faith, is well known for his attractive easy going ways. Malaya has been his home for many centuries: only the primitive tribesmen of the hills were there before him. Now the Malays form just under half the total population of the country. For many years there has been a great influx of other races. Labourers from India went there to work, and others from India and Ceylon joined the public services, practised in the learned professions, or began to trade. They stayed and increased. Now Indians are the third largest community

SINGAPORE



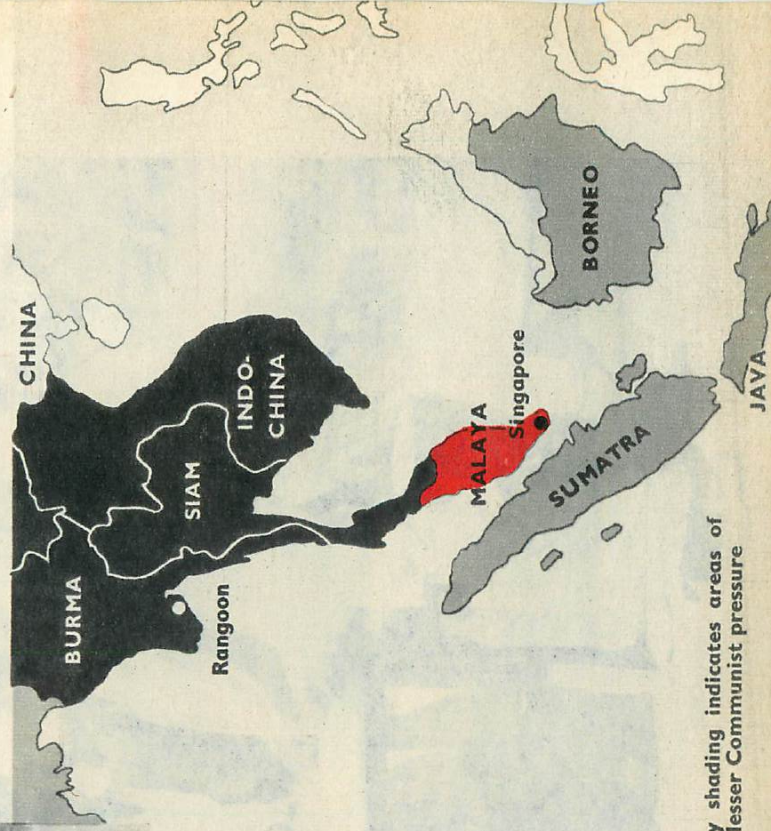
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in the Peninsula. Chinese began to come many years earlier. Some Chinese families have been settled in Malaya for over 200 years. Through their industry and fertility they and the Indians have come to own most of the shops all over the country, and a big proportion of the commerce. They greatly predominate in the population of Singapore, and are increasing so fast that the Malays see themselves likely to be outnumbered throughout the country in the near future.

Even in pre-war Malaya, that paradise of racial tolerance, there was a mounting fear among educated Malays that their race might be submerged. Under Japanese occupation jealousies and fears between the communities were fostered and grew apace, and the receding tide of war left exposed much sharper differences than had existed before. These fears were focused on the Constitutional plans introduced by the British Government. In the first of such plans the Malays saw reason to fear that their special position in the country would be affected. In the second, the Chinese saw an undue partiality shown to the Malays. Meanwhile, the Indians had become more politically conscious, and were pressing for fuller representation in the Legislature. Under these conditions tension between the communities began to increase and relationships to deteriorate with a speed which surprised many of the members of the communities concerned. Statements made in the Press tended to foment the disharmony, and early last year it looked as if Malaya was to be burdened with a permanent racial problem. It is not difficult to imagine how such a situation could be exploited.

For while inter-racial feelings have, not the deep-rooted bitterness and suspicion apparent in many other countries, they remain a potential source of danger. Alongside the violent signs of disunity, however, there is encouraging evidence of a uniting force at work. Those Malaysians who disinterestedly want the best for their country are concerned that the differences between the various elements of the population should be settled without delay.

Last Christmas in a message to the Press for 1948, the Malay leader, Dato Onn bin Jaafar said: "As leader of the Malays of the Peninsula . . . I can give the assurance that the Malays are prepared and ready to work together with the people of all races and communities to recreate a land of hope and promise, moving towards the goal of self-government. We were friends, we are friends—let us continue to be friends."

Early in January a gesture came from certain Chinese leaders in withdrawing their proposal for a second "hartal"—a token strike by which they wished to register their protest against the most recent constitutional proposals. A further development took place when the



Black and grey shading indicates areas of greater and lesser Communist pressure

proposed Chinese boycott of the new Federal Councils was called off. A leading article in the *Singapore Free Press* of February 5, pointed out the importance of this decision in preserving the representative character of the new Councils. As constructive moves like this were made, racial tension began noticeably to subside. In spite of strong feelings about where things could be better in the new Constitution, there was a will to cooperate.

Among those who have most whole-heartedly striven for Malayan unity has been a Singapore educationist, recently appointed a member of the Governor's Advisory Council, Mr. Thio Chan Bee.

The *London Times*, describing the inauguration in Kuala Lumpur of the new Constitution for Malaya, reported on February 2 :

"In view of the protests which various elements in the Chinese community have made against the new Constitution, it is interesting to note that three Asiatic unofficial members of the Singapore Advisory Council were present, and one of them, Mr. Thio Chan Bee, conveyed the cordial good wishes of the Singapore Council."

Mr. Thio Chan Bee himself wrote of recent events :

"The issue is not merely the question of the campaign against the Red guerillas, but of binding Malays and Malayan Chinese



Mr. Thio Chan Bee, (left) discusses the problems of the East with Dr. K. T. Sih, former Chargé d' Affaires in Rome and Chinese minister at the Paris Peace Conference

together on a constructive level. It is not merely a matter of getting the peace-loving Chinese to help do away with the trouble-making Chinese, so as to solve the present problem more easily. Instead of the 'vertical' line of inter-racial and inter-class division, we must draw the horizontal moral line, above which all can change, cooperate and build together."

Reviewing his own life he says : "When my parents were rich, I felt and behaved like a proverbial 'capitalist,' I enjoyed myself, I cared little for the poor. But when my parents became poor and I had to suffer hardships, I felt like a Communist, I hated the rich. When I became a teacher, I often behaved like

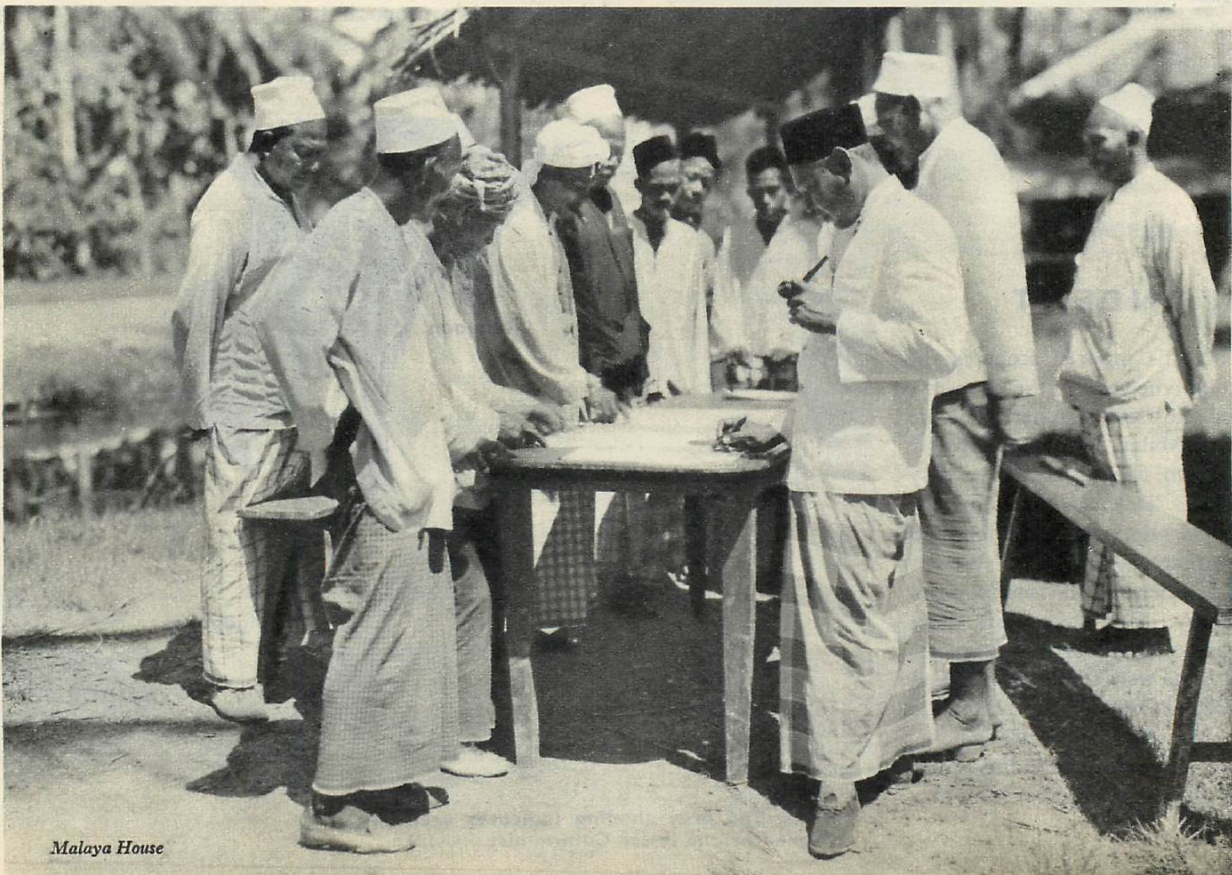
an imperialist to the boys under me. Then, when my own personal ambitions were frustrated, because I lived in a British colony, I felt like a nationalist. Then came the day when I realised that self-interest was the root of all these 'isms' that were ruling my life. I decided that I must change. That was where the new idea began."

In 1946 this Singapore educationist saw the relevance of an ideology of change to the needs of his country. "Slowly and painfully," he says, "it was borne in on me that a personal faith is not enough. It must begin to affect the destiny of my country." He decided then to fight for the inspired teamwork and cooperation between races and classes which is the only

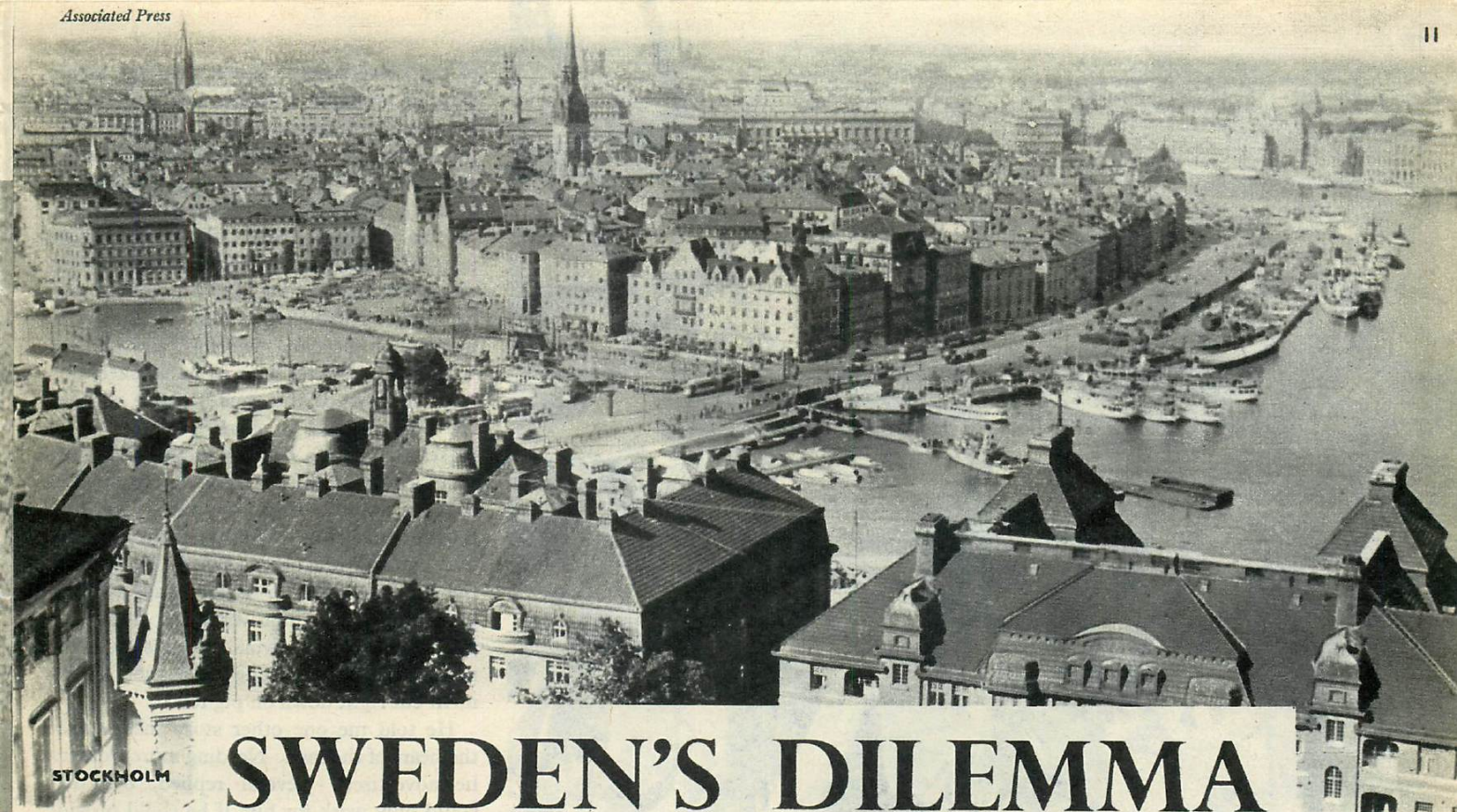
answer to the disruption of materialistic ideas.

The suppression of the present violent attempt by the Communists to seize control is already under way. But the ferment of new ideas, roused and misdirected by Marxist propaganda over recent years, will remain. The longings in the hearts of the people will make them turn to the glittering will-o'-the-wisps offered by the materialists unless they are caught and enlisted in a greater force. Malaya urgently needs such a force, trained in ideological warfare and committed to bringing a permanent answer in the moral and spiritual rearmament of her peoples. The possession of such a force is her only permanent security.

The machinery of administration on the whole functions smoothly in the villages and towns of post-war Malaya



Malaya House



STOCKHOLM

SWEDEN'S DILEMMA

BY E. W. OLSON

Political Editor of "Svenska Dagbladet", Stockholm

WHAT is wrong with Sweden, only ten years ago an example for the world—"Sweden, the middle way"? Its people once used to "fight, starve and win victories alike," as a poet described it. After 1809, when Sweden lost Finland to Russia, it was a small and for many years a poor country. The last fifty years, however, it has undergone a remarkable development.

Half a century ago fifty per cent. of the population lived by farming, mostly on a small scale. Nowadays Sweden is a highly industrialised country with, in normal times, a great international trade. Almost every Swede is a potential inventor and Swedish inventions have been the foundation for great industrial enterprises. They have carried Swedish goods and the Swedish name all over the world. The workers are highly skilled, the employers good business men. The national income has increased to about 3,000 crowns per inhabitant. The living standard has for years been the highest in Europe.

Two world wars left Sweden untouched. The armistice of 1945 found the country with a well-developed production apparatus and large funds, even in foreign currency. Three years later Sweden is in very serious financial difficulties. What is wrong with her?

The Swedes are generous people. They have always been ready to help other nations. During its winter war Finland received supplies worth hundreds of millions from Sweden. Relief work since the war, for Ger-

many, Austria, Holland, Belgium, France and Hungary, has been strongly supported from Sweden. Large credits have been placed at the disposal of Poland and other countries. But Sweden has not been brought to poverty through these gifts and credits.

The answer to the question above is very simple. Sweden suffers from an acute illness—materialism. The "get" mentality is far more common than the "give" mentality. Its social welfare policy has been developed to such an extent that citizens feel no responsibility at all, because the government seems to be responsible for them in every area of life. The government recommend more work and more savings, more production and less consumption. But production per head of the population is declining.

Way to turn the tide

A great deal more money is being spent than saved and everyone seems to be thinking only of his own interests. Farmers are permanently short of hands, even if they pay about the same wages as industry. People prefer city life, with movies and dancing halls. The birthrate has for many years been very low, and the number of divorces is increasing. Juvenile delinquency is more prevalent than ever. The legendary Swedish honesty becomes more and more a pious lie.

But already many people in Sweden have realised that there is a way to turn the tide. They are working for Moral Re-Armament

within all groups and classes of society. But it is, and will be, hard work, because people who believe in an Almighty State do not easily believe in Almighty God. Perhaps the crisis will teach us a lesson we very much needed. As creators of eternal prosperity we have failed. We do not like to admit it. The authorities seem to think that every weakness in the system can be mended with more and more regulations. It does not work. A general election this month may possibly change the majority in the second chamber, where the Labour Party now has 115 members out of 230. But will a new majority mean a new policy?

The policy Sweden needs must be based on absolute moral standards and teamwork. Democracy is the only method of government worthy of a civilised nation. But many think it is a method only for good and quiet times. Democracy has its weaknesses, they say. It is not true. The only weakness in democracy is weak democrats.

Here Moral Re-Armament can give inspiration and strength. Suppose Swedes one day said to themselves: "We want to know the whole truth about the situation. We are all going to give more than we get. We want to work together in a new spirit of unselfishness, honesty, purity and love. What can I do for my people? Tell me and I will do it. We will all do it together."

That is the very simple way to national renaissance. Why not try it?



Walter Hosegood chats with members of his Farm Council during a break in the harvesting

FOOD AND MEN

BY HANNEN FOSS

YOU can, at a pinch, burn corn. But you can't eat coal. Nor can you make a meal of export-only motor cars, mackintoshes or machine tools.

Thus I ruminated as I travelled on a local train through the Somerset countryside to find out more about our basic industry, agriculture.

Two-thirds of the world's population is engaged in agriculture, yet for all that, nearly half the world's population lives at starvation point. Small wonder M. Reynaud recently appealed for France to make agriculture its greatest industry. For beyond all the other threats of slumps, strikes, unrest and war lurks that of hunger, and it will take all the wisdom of statesmen and devotion of workers to see our cupboards aren't bare in the years to come.

More production is the cry in agriculture as in our export industries. I'd heard a farmer describe our situation as "Like a man

with a limited income and a growing family. He must do more than economise. He must make the fullest use of his garden or allotment." So I went to see how his garden grew—and hear his plans for it growing more.

Walter Hosegood farms 385 acres of Somerset land. He is no novice to the game or the ground. Here his father farmed before him and his father before him. He breeds cattle, pigs and sheep. He knows the land and he loves it. He is keen eyed and keen brained, as rabbits learn who get near his gun. He is intensely human, caring more about his men than money, and the world's wants than wealth. Yet his farm thrives financially.

I talked to him about how we were to achieve more food production. To raise and sustain a permanent high level he felt several things were needed.

Better housing and amenities in rural areas. The problem is not solely the responsibility

of the Government. Some time ago money became available through his landlord for spending on improvements. There were three obvious ways it could be used. (1) To put rather expensive finishing touches to a dairy producing accredited T.T. milk; (2) To improve some old pigsties where, because of their bad condition, he was losing money on pig-keeping; (3) To renovate and bring up to date five cottages. They were better than most, but not good enough.

The dairy would have to be finished anyway, so part of the money went on that. He was tempted to spend the rest on the pigsties, to turn a liability into an asset, and be in a better position to pay his men. The cottages would have to wait. But one thought persisted—"Absolute unselfishness. The cottages must come first." So he asked the landlord to put in new drainage systems, baths and other improvements. As it happened, the pigsties would have been a bad investment, for not long after, the Government cut right down on pig food.

He told me one other story that showed the heart of the man. Needing more workers, he advertised. Several replied, but they could only work for him if he could provide them with homes. There was only one cottage he could have, in which dwelt an old woman, who had been there many years. He could have her evicted and the police would then have to find her somewhere else. Reason dictated that that was what he should do.

He thought about this long and often, but he could not feel justified in getting an eviction order. So it went on for months, the need for workers no less, but deep in his heart unconvinced about ejecting the old woman. It was a test of his faith, a test he said of whether "people matter more than things."

One day a nearby farm was sold, parts going to adjoining farms. Three of its workers, compelled to find work locally because they had cottages there, came asking him for work. So he got the workers he needed, and the old lady stayed in her cottage.

The second great need is willingness to try out new ideas and methods. During the second year of the war, with help from schoolchildren, a field of potatoes was cleared earlier than usual. He had planned to use it for market garden crops the next year, but it seemed a pity to leave it idle till the following June. He thought of putting in spring cabbages but had never grown them on a big scale before, he had put in no seed, he had no plants and owing to the dry season none were obtainable locally. They would have to be sent some hundreds of miles and the price was high. But the thought came to his mind, "Never mind if

it pays or not, those cabbages will be wanted."

So he ordered 125,000 plants and seven acres were planted. Into his village started pouring evacuees, the Army were billeted in every available inch of space, and when the spring came no one had any greens with which to feed the new population and demand was greater than supply.

After the war he thought of doing more market gardening. But with German P.O.W.s being repatriated and the threat of labour shortage, he gave up the idea, and also reduced his potato acreage.

Then he and his wife visited a farm in Suffolk. One evening they sat with the farmer and his household around the big log fire and discussed the need of the nation for food. His friend said something which stuck in his mind, "If God told me to keep 5,000 hens and I only had feed and houses for 1,000, I should go ahead and keep 5,000."

He returned to Somerset with a new idea. He consulted his Farm Council and they decided to grow cauliflowers, carrots and spring cabbages, though where the extra labour was to come from no one knew.

The next morning he received a letter from a friend to whom he had written twelve months before. The letter had chased his friend all round the world, finally reaching him in his home town after leaving the R.A.F. He wrote saying that some of the youth of his town wanted to help farmers that year, and offering their help.

A camp at Easter was the result, a larger one in the summer, and another this August with youth from several nations at it. In this and other ways the labour problem was not the nightmare it had threatened to be.

"Most important of all," he told me, "If we are to win this battle for food, we need a deeper spirit of cooperation between farmer and man. That is why we started a Farm Council.

"In November 1945 I went up to London and met the owner of a tannery and his wife

and talked about the Works Council they have in their factory. Some of the members of it were there too. It sounded good, the sort of thing that helps bring management and labour together. My wife and I thought—why shouldn't we try it on the farm?

"So the next pay night we called all the men together a quarter of an hour earlier. About eighteen or twenty of them sat round the room, wondering what was coming, I expect.

"When I told them what we'd heard about the factory, and asked if they'd like to try it out on the farm, they were very keen. We decided to form a Council of six,



including myself. Five representatives from the men were elected for a year, three of them to retire annually but to be eligible for re-election. The rules are few and quite simple. The whole idea is that management and men shall have a chance to meet together and discuss things with complete honesty. We get everything out into the open, not only the complaints but suggestions for the better running of the farm. I get criticised a certain amount, but we all learn from it."

From Lionel Roy, the secretary, he

borrowed the Minute Book of the Council. On the first page is written:

"MAIN AIMS AND PURPOSES

- "(a) Teamwork, and What is Right, not Who is Right.
- "(b) To seek to improve the standard, efficiency and smooth running of the Farm, and Service to the Community, and to receive suggestions.
- "(c) To enable everyone connected with the farm to keep in touch with the different sections.
- "(d) To discuss general Farm Management and Plans.
- "(e) A report to be made monthly and exhibited in a prominent place."

Through the Farm Council everyone has a say and an interest in the work and management of the whole farm.

One of the good ideas produced by one of the men has helped build up the present high-quality milking herd. He thought that some old second-rate cowstalls where fat cattle were tied in winter could be converted into a modern dairy. Today that is so and twenty-four cows are milked there.

Milk is one item for which the Government has asked for a 20 per cent. increase. Walter Hosegood's dairymen have now upped the annual milk output 70 per cent. and are aiming at a further 20 per cent. I went over his books for ten years and found his average yield was 840 gallons per cow per year: the national average stands at 670.

I met Jack Humphrey, local organiser of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, talking to Walter Hosegood in the harvest field. He feels the scheme is excellent and mentioned that there is a move afoot to have Production Councils adopted nationally. "The secret of your success with it is what I term your "family of men," he said.

It seems to me, to feed the family of nations aright we need everywhere "families of men."



RECOVERY IN THE RUHR

BY DR. AUGUST HALBFELL

Minister of Labour, North Rhine-Westphalia

LACK of coal, lack of iron and steel, lack of manufactured goods made of iron and steel, lack of chemical by-products of coal—these are typical of the economic situation in Europe. It is felt most keenly in the Ruhr district. In addition to these difficulties the political disunity of the Allies has a bad effect. People in the Ruhr cannot concentrate on their work. Political questions hinder them on all sides. On every lip is the question whether the ideas of Washington or Moscow, whether socialism or bolshevism shall dominate this region.

Is it not as though these questions were only occupying politicians and heads of labour unions. The man in the street and the factory discusses them all the time, and his work

suffers as a result. It is a tragedy that more than three years after its collapse Germany does not help anyone. Everyone says that he is not to blame, so little happens.

Uphill fight

Our coal production is around 300,000 tons per day. We set ourselves a great target but it was reached in spite of hunger, lack of housing and lack of the most elementary needs. The coal miner is still under-nourished even though he is better off in this matter than any other group of people in Germany. Twelve thousand miners have been weighed at intervals over a period of a year. The figures showed a steady average of 22 lbs. under-weight.

Tuberculosis and silicosis, which are typical miners' diseases, increase through this under-nourishment. Food parcels have been a help and an incentive for greater production, but not a real solution.

Since the currency reform there has been a general improvement. The worker can once again buy many things with his wages. The food situation is better. The supplies of bread, vegetables and potatoes are adequate, although prices have risen sharply. Fat and meat are still lacking, however, and the extra rations which the heaviest workers get are still far from adequate.

All the same, the figures of absenteeism are down and the will to work has gone up. The production per man-shift climbs slowly but

steadily. The number of miners, especially of young men, is rising. Older workers are not attracted by mining, and so the average age of personnel in the mines is low.

Financially, the mines are once again independent of state subsidies. This has led to a sharp increase in the price of coal. The mining industry now gets the full financial returns from what it exports and must once again pay its way.

Overhead costs up

The immediate cause of the increase in the price of coal is not in the wages but in the overhead costs, which have gone up steeply. The total cost of wages per ton of coal produced amounts to something over ten marks. This is less than 30 per cent. of the price of coal, whereas before the war it was about 50 per cent. That is a great change in a branch of the industry which was previously noted for its high wage costs. This fact is of decisive importance for the wider economic situation. The management of the mines and the sales and the marketing side have to make a profit. Since this cannot be solved from the angle of wages alone, the industry has still to find a solution to this problem.

The main effort is to raise production. There is a wide open market for coal, of course. But there are great difficulties in the way of increasing production. People abroad must realise this. The material needs of all kinds and lack of workers are the chief difficulties. For instance, there is not enough iron and steel. Production of iron and steel has gone up, but it is far behind coal production. There is a lack of iron and steel because there is too little coal, and there is lack of coal because there is too little iron and steel for equipment. Germany still has to import certain iron and steel equipment. If the 6,000,000 ton programme was carried out, she would have achieved only 50 per cent. of the iron and steel production which she is allowed. Production of both steel and coal must therefore be increased.

Housing is the problem

In both industries there is a lack of workers. Lack of men to work has been for many years very typical of the German employment situation. In North Rhine-Westphalia, which has 12,500,000 people, 1,000,000 men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five are missing. 400,000 are disabled. These losses are the most difficult economic burden on Germany. In the whole country there were between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 dead in the war and 2,000,000 disabled.

In spite of the lack of men, however, enough workers can be attracted from other branches

of industry as long as we can get enough housing for them. Fifty per cent. of all dwellings in the Ruhr district were destroyed. Yet there are over 20 per cent. more men there than before the area was damaged. In spite of that, we have succeeded in 1947 in attracting 47,000 miners from other districts. This figure will be achieved again this year. The understanding and willingness to sacrifice on the part of the Ruhr people has miraculously given additional housing space. It is a magnificent example of good will and desire to help.

One danger, however, has shown up. The currency reform has revealed our poverty. Nobody has money for long-term credits, but without these credits we cannot build. After a time, no doubt, we will succeed in overcoming the difficulties in this matter, too. There is enough security for these credits but there is a lack of liquid assets. This seems to me to be a good opportunity for foreign capital investment, since housing space in such a rich industrial area is always in demand.

Hope of recovery

If the Ruhr is to give the iron and coal that Europe needs, then Europe must give the Ruhr what it needs. It is impossible, in the long run, merely to take from the Ruhr without giving back to it. The Marshall plan is a splendid help, but Europe must do something on its own behalf beyond the Marshall Plan.

Beyond material help, and even more important, is to give moral and spiritual help to the people of the Rhine and Ruhr. They need a great idea by which they can live.

All over the world the disease of materialism is attacking nations. The protective measures we have so far tried have been unsuccessful. But more and more leading politicians, trade unionists and industrialists are awaking to the urgent need of a moral and spiritual answer.

Recently, I went with a delegation from the German coal mines to confer with British miners' leaders. What I saw with my own eyes convinced me that they had found the good road to recovery. I talked with British miners in their homes and with managers about the toughest problems they are up against. They told me they saw the answer in Moral Re-Armament.

I told them of our difficulties in Germany. I am convinced, and so is every good German, that we will overcome these difficulties with a will that will find a way. But an iron will alone will not do it. We have to win the victory over division and hate, over the spirit of grab. We must find a new way that is as different as the aeroplane is from the motor car or the horse and cart.

We have one great hope. We will overcome all difficulties, both material and moral, if we can bring the ideology of Moral Re-Armament to our people.

Currency reform has brought a general improvement in the economic situation in the Ruhr



