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NEW WORLD NEWS



A NEW LEADERSHIP

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BATTLE LINE

|||| The news of the atomic explosion in Russia set off a chain of anxious speculation about the preparedness of any country to meet the threat of atomic attack. The time-schedule of national defence preparations has had to be drastically revised. In the next two years it is bound to demand a mobilisation of man-power and of scientific research on a very large scale.

|||| Meanwhile in the economic field the devaluation of the pound has brought home to Britain a state of affairs many hoped might have been avoided. The economics of the situation have been clearly stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Economic Committee of the TUC. There may be divergences of opinion about the reasons why we have got into the disastrous position where devaluation became a necessity. No one doubts, however, the need for a greater effort and sacrifice on the part of everyone in the nation.

|||| Yet, pressing as our military and economic problems may be, it is inadequate to think in these terms alone to bring an answer. Britain's crisis, though its symptoms may appear in the military, political and economic fields, is at bottom a moral and ideological crisis. The incentive to sacrifice is missing. Does Britain lack an objective big enough to enlist all the energies of all her people? Has she lost the will to rise to a great national emergency? The moral crisis demands a mobilisation of national character as great as the scientific and industrial mobilisation to meet our military and economic needs.

|||| The task before British statesmanship today is a colossal one—to recall to great ideas millions of people who have been brought up in a materialistic outlook which neither satisfies or inspires. Two hundred years ago Britain gave democratic leadership to the world because she had worked out in her public life and institutions the principles on which freedom rested and undertook an imperial mission to give that to the world.

|||| Britain's destiny today lies no longer in terms of imperial might or industrial supremacy. But if as a nation we rise to the needs of the ideological age we may give world leadership again. Our most urgent need is a new leadership in every area of the nation's life, trained in democracy's ideology, living absolute moral standards and equipped to mobilise the resources of the nation to meet the moral crisis of today. With such leadership Britain will be able to offer the world not alone the framework of democratic government but a demonstration of the spirit of sacrifice and responsibility which will make it work.

|||| *New World News* in this issue presents the story of a university where such leadership is being trained. It is one of the most hopeful signs of a resurgence in national life which if fully backed and followed through can guarantee the future of freedom in our land.

COVER: Miss Rosemary Pinsent of Birmingham—a student in the College of The Good Road. See opposite

THE COLLEGE OF THE GOOD ROAD



BY DR. CHARIS WADDY

IDEALS pass into great historic forces by embodying themselves in institutions." So the historian Rashdall states in the preface to his history of the medieval universities. It is an indication of the role they once played—a great contrast to the present widespread confusion of thought, analysed in such a book as Moberly's *The Crisis in the University*.

Farsighted men and women today look for some similar development, which might enrol and train the flower of the youth of the nations and turn vague idealism and disappointed cynicism into a disciplined passion for the building of a new world.

The inauguration of the College of The Good Road, is a great and timely event. To its first summer session at Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland, came 900 students from 41 countries and 81 universities. The rectors and vice-chancellors of nine universities were among the leading educators who visited or lectured to it. A famous Sorbonne professor said: "The future belongs to a few international universities that bring a solution to international problems on a world scale. I believe that the College of The Good Road will be the first one to do that."

How has the College of The Good Road come into being? The newly published prospectus* is a fascinating document. It tells its tale in picture and story, in the words and faces of the students themselves. Yet it is thoroughly business-like. There is the constitution as incorporated under the Companies Act in Great Britain; the needs in terms of fees and scholarships; the practical steps of investment and sacrifice which many have already made to start it and which many more can join in. Colleges of The Good Road are being founded in different countries and linked together by an international committee. Its governing bodies will consist not only of eminent educators but of leaders of industry and all branches of life.

Here is a brand new development in the field of education. Yet is in line with history. The best in the past has gone into producing this instrument for shaping the future.

It is in line with the historic role of the universities ever since their inception in the eleventh century. They have in the main provided a framework flexible and timeless, adaptable to the needs of each new development in thought and life.

The first universities sprang up at a time when the old forms of education were failing to meet the needs of a new age. They did not consist of buildings or organisations but of *people*, loosely-knit associations of masters and students, hungry for knowledge and life. Not one was just the same as any other. There was a certain pattern, but the development in each case had something of the character of an organism rather than an organisation. It maintained its flexibility and independence. It is the same quality that mystifies the visitor to Oxford, where over twenty colleges each have a distinctive foundation, each in its time reflect-

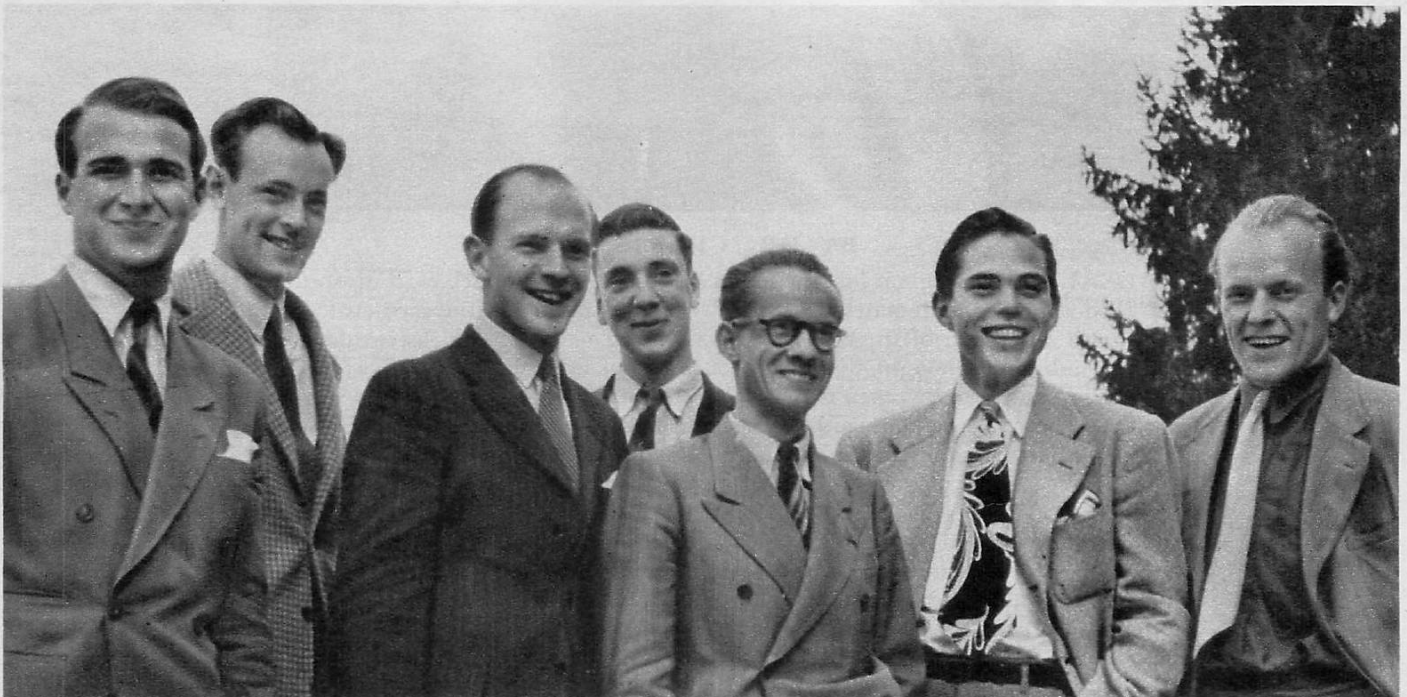
ing some new ideal passionately held and propagated. The medieval universities trained the men who made Christendom for a time a reality. The modern universities, starting with London, were founded to meet the needs of an industrial age, and have pioneered the scientific advances of the last hundred years. Now the stage is set for a new development, as the world moves out of an industrial era into an ideological era. We now need a greater conception than either medieval or modern education has provided.

Great developments in the field of character training have been made in the past by pioneers like Arnold of Rugby. The Britain of his day needed wise administrators and statesmen for a growing world task. He recognised this need and set out to answer it with men of character and leadership. The true *tradition* in the field of education is one of new life breaking through the old framework. To live in line with such a tradition is never merely to maintain the old ways but to be ready to create and recognise the new ways. Many a time in history, people would have preferred a gentlemanly development of the new out of the old. But change rarely happens that way. It is birth, renaissance, something brand new, and the old finds new life in recognising and serving it.

The College of The Good Road aims to meet the challenge of a new age. An ideological age demands men and women fully equipped with an inspired ideology. It must be a universal ideology. For the great thing which is new about the present time is that we stand at the beginning of a *world* civilisation. All those which have come and gone have been local. Only now, for the first time in history, have the conditions for a world civilisation been given to us.

One of the first lecturers to the college was Professor

At the summer session of the College of The Good Road. (Left to right) Oldrich Zabrodsky, Czechoslovakia; Alexander Kraft (son of Vice-President of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg)—Denmark; Murray Hofmeyr, Rhodes Scholar and Double Blue, Oxford—South Africa; Anthonie Dake, Foreign Representative for Law Faculty, University of Amsterdam; Jean Claude Gabriel, Vice-President of the 50,000 Paris students; R. St. Johns, writer—U.S.A.; Hermann Poppinga, Chairman of the Student Representatives of Berlin



* This illustrated prospectus is available, price 6s. post free, from the Hon. Secretary, 12a Charles Street, London, W.1.



Students of the college spending the winter in Scandinavia spent an afternoon with the Norwegian Minister of Defence (right)

Theo Spoerri, historian and Rector of Zurich University. He says: "The great historical process which is going on today is the formation of a world consciousness and a world conscience. We all feel, since the fall of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, that our world is one. It can be destroyed as one and saved as one. No problem—national, political, economic, social or philosophical can be solved today in any other perspective. To build this world consciousness and conscience, we need a new type of university. The three main factors shaping the coming era are youth, labour and the emerging leadership of the coloured races. The new type of university must embrace all these elements. It must deal with them not only through books but through personal contacts. This only a travelling university with a constructive ideology can do—and the College of The Good Road is such a university."

How does it fulfil these conditions? The preliminary training on which it is based has been given during the last four years to students from twenty-five countries. They have included representatives of the youth not only of the American continent and of Europe, but of the Far Eastern

nations as well: India, Indonesia, China and Japan, Burma and Malaya. The first body of students has travelled right across America and through many European countries. They have gained a wide knowledge of the world as it is.

How does the College of The Good Road function? The main principle on which all its activities are founded is that human nature can be changed. With teachers and pupils alike it is a matter of experience, of daily experiment, of research into the full dimension of this basic factor in human relations.

This opens up an entirely new approach to the subjects which feature in the curriculum. History takes on new significance as we apply the lessons of the past to the shaping of the future. The moral and spiritual interpretation of history answers and overarches the materialist conception which has infiltrated so much of the world's thinking today. With the factor to change, psychology becomes a research into the answer to human relationships, instead of an endless study of problems. Languages become a direct road to the heart of another country. All these and

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many other subjects gain new significance as the college grows.

What is learned is immediately applied in the personal life and the practical work of the student. "If you can bridge the gap between the idealistic thinking and the materialistic living of our students, you will do what is needed for our country," said one professor. The students of The Good Road are given the basic equipment of personal living: absolute moral standards; how to deal with jealousy, fear, place-seeking, resentment; how to solve the simple day-to-day problems of working with other people and of family life; how to plan not only for their own lives, but for their nations.

Three hundred students have now commenced the winter session. Alan Thornhill, former Fellow and Tutor at Hertford College, Oxford, heads the Lecture Committee. Tutorial classes function not only as training units to discuss lectures and write essays but as family groups to share experiences and answer the personal needs of each student. The Library Committee has set to work to find the means whereby the best books of every country can be made available. The first gift to the library was made by an

English student—a selection of the best 150 books of his own much-prized collection.

What immediate achievements can we expect of this College of The Good Road?

We can look to it to "provide officers in the war of ideas, men and women morally and spiritually sound and clear and fully trained in ideology"—as Sandhurst, Saint Cyr and West Point provide officers for the war of arms.

It will also be a source of the manpower and the weapons needed for a programme of remaking the world. Already the youth it has been training have been the strength of powerful weapons for presenting democracy's inspired ideology: *The Forgotten Factor* and *The Good Road*.

And one point further. It will provide the best possible focus for the sacrifice and investment of you and me, of all who seek security for their nation or their children, of all whose hopes are centred on the youth of the world. In such a great conception, everyone has a part. Old and young, rich and poor, will be stirred to give all they can to make possible the enlistment and training of the future leadership of a new world.

Addressing the student body, Heidelberg University. Students from each of the ten faculties attended the summer sessions at Caux



INSPIRED DEMOCRACY

BY FRANCIS BRADLEY

This is the second of two articles discussing the choices facing nations which have yet to determine their philosophy and form of government today. The first article dealt with two contemporary aspects of democracy—the so-called “Western” and “Eastern” brands. The present attempts to describe some of the characteristics of a third way—an “inspired democracy” which bridges the gap between the other two and fulfils the positive aspirations of both.

WHAT, then, is inspired democracy? Inspired democracy does not compete with other forms of government, because it is not itself primarily a form of government, but a force. It fulfils the deepest aspirations of mankind—aspirations which are half expressed and half frustrated by other contemporary forms of government. In Germany, for example, the deepest hunger of the people, whether youth, labour, or management, is not for food, shelter and the physical necessities. It is the hunger of the mind and heart for the meaning of personal and national life: the need to live for something great. It is called the ideological vacuum.

The ideology of inspired democracy is a simple, basic ideology for everybody. It shows men the true meaning of life, and nations their true destiny. It supplies the democratic man with the inner discipline he needs and the inner freedom he desires. It solves for the individual the problem of combining freedom and order. Thousands in every land are finding through it how to do what political philosophers have said must be done, but have not succeeded in doing. Men are learning to accept a universal moral and spiritual authority in their own lives and to live under the direction of that authority. Thus they cease to be slaves to themselves. They are set free from narrow self-interest and materialism—free to serve the larger interests of their nation and of mankind—free to find their part in the universal plan. The application of this experience on the economic, social and political levels, shows how men can live in freedom and still preserve an ordered care for everyone, everywhere. Here the nations see a power capable of fulfilling the Marxists' and every man's dream of peace, social justice and class—freedom for all. Inspired democracy can do this because it deals in a practical way, first with the individual and his fundamental needs, and then moves through change in the individual to change in the system he creates.

It is this ideology which is beginning to win the hearts and capture the imaginations of Germany and the nations of the East, for here they see also the West repenting of its failure to care for all mankind, and beginning to restore. In Germany, for example, the West is not wholly free of guilt for the collapse of the Republic in 1933 and the rise of Hitler. If the victorious allies had been able to give defeated Germany an ideology for democracy, the evil plant of Nazism would never have flourished as it did. Today, however, when Germany and Europe face a greater crisis, Moral Re-Armament task-forces, recruited from many nations and equipped with the ideological weapons of

plays, music and literature, have been moving through the country at the invitation of the Germans themselves; and many hundreds of German leaders of every political persuasion have been trained to create and propagate an inspired democracy which is the answer to chaos and to every form of totalitarianism.

Democracy without an ideology is irrelevant today, because we are living in an ideological age. In the democracies of the West people sometimes ask what is meant by an “ideological age.” They are puzzled because so many of these democrats are living in the age of their fathers and grandfathers—an industrial age where markets and finance determined national policy. Today, however, political and economic issues are not the basic ones. The dominant factor in every nation is the ideology which rules the minds and hearts of the millions.

THE PRICE OF IDEOLOGICAL ILLITERACY

A simple illustration of the ideological illiteracy of the West is provided by Czechoslovakia. The directors of the Skoda Works, before the coup in 1948, reported to their bankers in Paris: “All is well in Czechoslovakia. We have democracy, and the wheels of industry are turning again.” A daughter of one of the directors said: “Father is blind. He is so busy in industry he does not know that an ideology is preparing to take over our country.” He was living in an industrial age. She, his daughter, saw that it is an ideological age. In three weeks the directors of the Skoda Works were in gaol and the Communists in power.

What happened in Czechoslovakia is now happening, slowly but on a grand scale, in the markets of the Far East. Their control today is being decided not by business and industry, but by an ideology. It is another illustration of why Western democracy must have an ideology.

“Modern times,” to repeat the question Dr. Peters, Professor of International Law in Berlin University, asks in his *Problem of German Democracy*, “have seen doubts arise about the value of democracy. . . .” But there is an answer to democracy's dilemma. The choice is not restricted to “Capitalism” versus “Communism” or to “Peoples'” versus “Western” democracy. In Moral Re-Armament the nations see a third way, an inspired democracy which will unite the world. Frank Buchman points out that it is a life to be lived—a road to be travelled. As democrats everywhere begin to live this life, the nations of the world will travel this road together—the good road that leads “not to the right nor to the left,” but straight ahead to every nation's and the world's true destiny.

THE BIG

A DISCUSSION BETWEEN



MAX Tell me Comrade Paul, how is it that you as a Marxist and a Communist could go to Caux?

PAUL Well Max, as a Marxist I never make up my mind about anything until I have had a chance to see it personally; that is why I went to Caux. I feel it is the one place in the world where people tackle the whole question of world peace effectively.



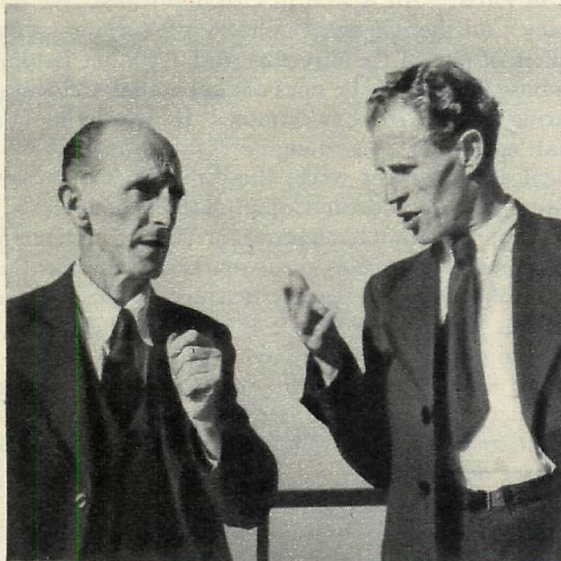
MAX But I think that Moral Re-Armament is trying to bolster up Capitalism which is being so hard-hit by Communism today.

PAUL That is not true, because Caux is trying to bring in a better social order through an inspired democracy where a man is given his true value as an end in himself and not just treated as a means.



MAX But how can you Re-Armament with

PAUL Marxists, Communists, Christians all want the same thing: the end of exploitation of man by man. Re-Armament with



MAX But look, Paul, we Communists say that the competitive system breeds Capitalism, because the profit motive determines its whole structure.

PAUL Yes, Max, that is the old world, each against each, but Moral Re-Armament wants to make a new world each for the other and then profit and competition give way to constructive teamwork.



MAX But as a Communist I don't believe in God.

PAUL My dear Max. The first question is not whether you believe in God, but whether you will listen to the voice inside. With anything I want to do I can always listen to two voices within myself, a negative and a positive voice. I am sure you will agree that every man hears these two voices.



MAX Yes, I can give you a date with her for the next day. The next day was another voice.

GER IDEA

N TWO RUHR MINERS



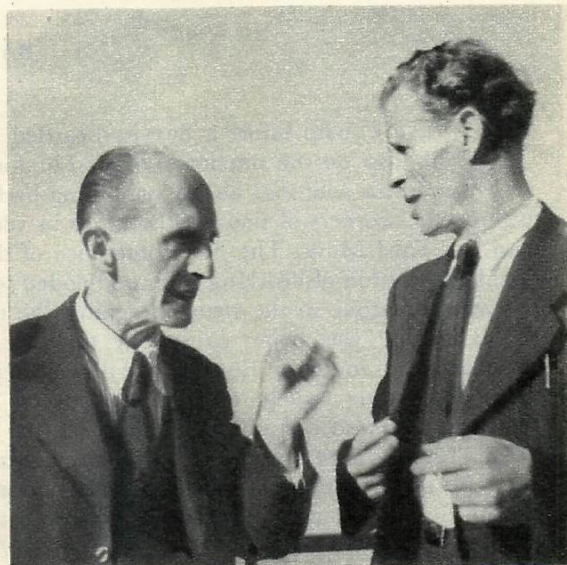
ncile the ideology of Moral
e ideology of Marxism?

s, Social Democrats and
new social order. They all
a social order where the
y man is eliminated. Moral
to put people before things.



MAX But, Paul, isn't Moral Re-Armament financed by the capitalists?

PAUL Max, there are capitalists who give money, just as there are workers who do. The main point is the motive which makes them give money. Remember that Frederick Engels, who was the son of an industrialist, supported Marx in need.



MAX But suppose capitalists refuse to change? Will they continue to exploit the workers?

PAUL If they do not change they will cause class war and social revolution. How far they will go depends on us and how much we, starting with change in ourselves, fight to bring Moral Re-Armament into Capitalist circles and change them.



example. I got to know a girl
ther one evening. I made a
next day. I came home to my
some voice saying to me:
at." I hardly slept all night
ed off the date, thought there
saying: "You are a fool."



PAUL Fine. It means following the good voice that fits in with the four absolute standards of Moral Re-Armament.

MAX What are they?

PAUL Absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. We need those absolutes to change people and social conditions.



MAX Well, Paul, I am going to try to change myself and live according to those four absolutes and fight for them.

PAUL We need fighters like that to make a new world. You ought to fight for Moral Re-Armament with your Communist fire and then we and many others can make the new world we want to see.

WORKERS, UNITE THE WORLD

BY WILLIAM E. PORTER

WEARY with effort a heavily-bearded man threw his cap on the sideboard of his London home and told his wife that at last something had been done to unite the workers of the world. It was in 1864, and the man was Karl Marx. The first conference of the International Association of Working Men had ended with success. It was a milestone in the struggle against the exploitation of labour that was being caused by the race for profits and markets in industry. But it broke down after only eight years of life due largely to conflict between its leaders, Marx himself, and Bakunin, the anarchist.

Men's hopes were raised again in many lands when they heard of the formation of the Second International in 1889. At one time it brought together Socialist and trade union leaders from twenty-seven different bodies. After thirty years of life, the strains of the First World War and the repercussions of the Russian Revolution led to its dissolution in 1919.

Delegates from thirty-four countries formed a Third International at Moscow in the same year to further the class struggle and revolution on a world scale. At first it campaigned with great vigour to achieve this, but without the results that had been hoped for. Then followed a period of inactivity and at one time it held no conference for seven years. In 1935 there was a new phase of action with the formation of the "United Front" against Fascism. The Second World War came and led to many further changes of policy and in 1944 it was finally disbanded. Today we have its equivalent in the Cominform with headquarters at Bucharest.

THE ROOT OF DIVISION

In the purely trade union field the International Federation of Trade Unions brought national workers' groups together from 1913 until 1945. Then Kusnetsov of Russia, Citrine of Britain, and Hillman of the United States Congress of Industrial Organisations, inspired the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. This uneasy body still continues, but only after dividing the trade union movements of the world by an ideological rift which has led to yet another International. The new group is holding its first Congress in London, in November, and will have representation from practically every non-Communist trade union body in the world.

Think of the tremendous effort and thought and fight that has been put into this task of uniting labour. Men have given everything for it with great ideals in mind. They have felt that the purpose of a labour movement united on a world basis is to answer war and unemployment, and to secure justice and plenty for everyone. Yet at the end of 1949, five years after a world war we are no more certain of a united world than we have ever been. For the lack of

what we may call a uniting ideology the workers are divided into Communist and anti-Communist camps.

In countries where the trade union movement is very young, and in countries where the industrial revolution that faced Europe in the last century, is only just beginning, the workers are in a great dilemma. They do not wish to make a choice between opposing blocks, but to find a basis on which all can unite.

It is time to re-examine the objectives and basis of world labour unity if we are to remain true to the future. Much effort has been spent in investigating the economic and political reasons of failure. Now we must also investigate the moral causes that have been evident in the ambition of leadership, the selfishness of followers and the apathy of the masses. These have been at the root of division. Fortunately today, uniting factors are being developed to answer these causes and we can now study them.

THE NEW FACTOR OF CHANGE

It is the bankruptcy of civilisation if we believe that the only course to take is to organise defensively against Communism on the one hand, or the Western Democracies on the other, and thus maintain a permanent division of the world that may ultimately lead to war. In the light of this danger a recent speech made by Max Bladeck, a miners' leader from the Ruhr, is of significance. He was speaking at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, this summer:

"I was a good fighter and a good Communist, but after a difficult battle I have fundamentally changed and, with the same spirit of attack which I had for Communism, and the same battling spirit, I am now fighting for Moral Re-Armament. I believe that it is the ideology proclaimed by Frank Buchman which is going to bring mankind the change in the world system for which they long. The meaning and purpose of this ideology is to produce for mankind a world where people are not at enmity, and where all contradictions are ruled out.

"In what way will it help the world if we have a war between East and West, and the East or the West triumphs and plants its flag on top of the ruins, and the people are no longer there? That is why I have changed myself. I simply turned to reason and reality. I have already changed a number of other Communists. Men who do not change are reactionaries and enemies of world peace. That is the thing we have got to recognise, and men who do not do so will be responsible if one day they see a heap of ruins.

"In the West we can produce the economic and social conditions where there is enough for everybody. Then the Eastern world will realise that real change has taken

place, and this ideology will penetrate there too, and create for people a life free from fear."

This introduces an entirely new factor into the whole question of world unity. The principle of change. This is basic to unity of any kind but because it is uncomfortable we have avoided it. "You can't change human nature," has long been the cry. Arthur Lewis, British Labour M.P., in a recent speech said:

"I thought that you could not change human nature. But I have experienced it myself. Human nature does change. I find the impossible happening. Now I realise that nothing is really impossible. The thing is to find how to make it possible. I would have said to my friend, Sir Patrick Dollan, here, forty years ago that it was impossible to fly in the air, impossible to have atomic energy, and he would have said the same thing. It was not impossible. The thing was that we did not then know how to find the answer, but now we have found the way to fly in the air and to release atomic energy."

He went on to say that he felt that Moral Re-Armament had shown how to make this change in human nature possible, and that the answer to world industrial, economic and political problems would be based upon it.

WE CAN UNITE THE WORLD

Then there is a second factor to unity, and that is the objective. There is a fundamental rule about this. To achieve its purpose an objective must be bigger than the unit involved. For example, when a man takes on a task beyond his own selfish interests it unites his personality. When a family decides to work for the progress of community and nation, parents and children work together. When a nation takes on the job of preventing world disaster as Britain did in 1939, or in unselfishly aiming to answer world problems, that nation becomes united.

There has been the call in the workers' movements, "Workers of the World, unite." But that is a limited objective of a defensive nature that can never achieve its intention. The objective needed today is the great positive "Workers unite the World." And they will unite it on a basis free from hate and greed and fear. Every worker can take on this task. Irene Laure, who was for years Secretary-General of the Socialist women of France, has tackled in a practical way a basic problem of European unity which is the hatred and suspicion which exists between her country and Germany. She was a Resistance Leader and her own children were tortured by the Gestapo. She says:

"I saw that we needed a democratic ideology which could unite France and Germany, but that it must begin in my own heart. I had to change the hate I had for the German people. Once I had accepted that, the situation clarified and I had hope again.

"I have just spent eleven weeks in Germany. What I saw in Germany filled my heart with joy because I know that in Moral Re-Armament we have found the basis that can unite our two peoples. My friends and I have spoken to political party groups in ten out of eleven state parliaments. We have spoken on the radio and through the press to every class of society. We went into Berlin on the air lift. Now the Allies must give their whole hearts to bringing this new ideology which can reach everyone." This is the kind of action we need desperately today.

A third factor for unity is the simple issue of honesty. Men say that peace is indivisible. The same is true of honesty. Some men believe in the ideal of political honesty, and are a little inexact with their wives. Others complain of international swindles and conveniently forget to return borrowed tools. There is a small beginning and no end to dishonesty. There is mathematical certainty in the contribution of honesty to unity. Heinz Grohs of the Ministry of Labour in North Rhine-Westphalia, who is responsible for the training of the leaders of 100,000 workers in one of the big industrial cities of his country, says:

"Every decision a man makes, whether it be in his personal life, his professional or industrial life or public life, he must make in the light of four moral standards, absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. Only in this sane and healthy state of mind and soul can healthy, sane decisions be made."

For the Branch President of the Mineworkers' Union of a large colliery in the British Midlands honesty began with the family. He told his wife the kind of man he really was, and also the difficulties he had to face. They found a new happiness together. This honesty at home reflected itself in a new understanding with the colliery manager and his fellow trade union officials. Both the mining industry and trade union unity were directly benefited.

THE VIEW AHEAD

A change in human nature, a superior objective and absolute honesty. If these are the basic principles of world labour unity, then they are the ones we must act on as a priority. We shall find to our surprise that as we begin to apply them the barriers which lie between man and man, nation and nation, East and West, fall away before the force of a superior idea and a superior way of life.

Unity cannot be bought or sold or organised. It is a new attitude of heart and mind towards one another by the members of a family, of a factory, or a trade union, of a nation and the world. That such a new attitude is a practical possibility is being shown to us today through the application of the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. Mr. Setsuo Yamada, Socialist Senator from the fateful city of Hiroshima, sees this clearly when he says:

"As Chairman of the Labour Committee in the Upper House I have entirely failed to find out how to unite our three trade union movements. We cannot force them into one body. There is no other way than to unite them ideologically. As Dr. Buchman has said in his book, *Remaking the World*, 'an inspired democracy' is the only basis of unity for the trade union and labour movement leaders in all countries, and for the rank and file of the tens of millions of workers of the world."

As we begin to achieve this, then tremendous possibilities will open up for mankind. Labour unity will not be a narrow defensive idea but a great constructive force at the service of all. It will continue to deal with the material factors of wages and hours and health. It will constantly be at work to remove from our lives the elements of fear that come from the dangers of unemployment and sickness and war. More than that, it will see that the security this brings does not lead to apathy, but creates moral responsibility and gives to each one of us a real part in the building of the world we long to see.

- ★ An election policy for today
- ★ A practical step towards unity in the East
- ★ Not the atom, but the answer

Man in the crow's nest

ONCE upon a time in Britain, there was a political rumpus. Families were divided. Friends became foes. Enemies began to shout to each other's faces what they had muttered behind each other's backs for years and years and years.

One of the great statesmen of the day was angered by the manoeuvres of a gentleman called Wolff. Wolff's teeth were constantly snapping at the peer's shins—he was barking and growling about his heels all the time. So the noble peer, who was a straightforward man, went up to Wolff and said he failed to understand why Wolff was behaving in the way he did. "What is your political object?" he asked. To which, with a bland smile, Wolff replied, "To do good, my lord, simply to do good."

★ An election policy for today

This phrase of Wolff's is the keynote of all men in public life. It illustrates a forgotten fact about the politicians of all parties. Most of them are wholly sincere men. Many of them have been drawn into public life by a hatred of injustice and a love of liberty which they feel are best expressed by the parties they support.

In some cases, it is true, once they have taken their seat on the political charabanc, fame is the accelerator and ambition the wheel by which they try to regulate their speed and course.

But almost every politician is wholly sincere in his belief that he is a better man for the job than his rival, and that his party will save the nation from the peril which the other party inevitably will produce.

They truly think that the best service they can give their country is to govern it themselves, and prevent anybody else from doing so.

That is why so many people in so many countries believe that a change of government will answer most of the problems which face them. In an ideological age this is a picayune conception. It is as if one lieutenant engaged on a single section of a vast world battlefield thought he could change the tide of history by seizing the command from his colonel and then altering the colour of his men's uniform, equalising the rates of pay and rations between officers and men on his part of the front.

Rates of pay and conditions of service are important. Even the colours of uniforms are worth some consideration. But the man, the party or the nation which hopes to decide a world struggle must have a strategy that includes every section of the world and into which all local tactics fit; also a positive conception of the new world order to be set up

after victory which will capture the minds and win the hearts of the soldiers fighting on the other side.

Philosophies of life which seemed adequate in the industrial age are out-of-date in an ideological age. Any candidate, any party in any election today if he wants the minimum adequate philosophy for our times must possess:

1. A conception of a new world order for which he plans and fights and to which *every* public and private action is related.
2. A power and practice of building unity within families, cabinets, trade unions and industries, between classes, races and nations.

★ A practical step towards unity in the East

While Britain faces the bitterest political conflict in recent years, the countries of the Far East struggle to find a constructive basis of unity as an answer to the civil war which constantly threatens their whole economy.

Last month the Burmese papers carried news of a gesture of good-will which may do much to establish new relations between Burma and Japan. "NEW FRAMEWORK OF UNITY THROUGH CHANGE: JAPANESE BUSINESS MAGNATE STRESSES BURMA-JAPAN TEAMWORK" the *New Times of Burma* headlined it. *The Burman* carried a similar story, "MITSUI FAMILY IN RANGOON: FIRST JAPANESE TO VISIT BURMA AFTER THE WAR."

Returning to Japan from the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly at Caux, the Mitsuis took the chance to start something new between Rangoon and Tokyo. "I want to apologise for the wrong we have done to the people of Burma," said Takasumi Mitsui.

There never was, and probably never will be a more interesting age in which to live.

The progressive human brain, aided by millions of hands and muscles, is opening up sources of power and richness which could secure and unite the whole of humanity. But reactionary and changeless human nature offers its programme of destruction, division and desolation to an extent never before experienced by man.

The split atom can harness a new dimension of force to the uplifting or to the downfall of nations.

Some believe that the future goes to the nation which makes the biggest number of atom bombs the fastest. It is a wholly false philosophy. The attention of the world has been directed to the atom race between America and Russia.

★ Not the atom, but the answer

Distinguished men have said that one hope of world liberty and peace depends on who controls the atom. With a respectful caw, the Crow from its Nest disagrees. Atom war, if it were to come, which God forbid, would settle neither more nor less than was settled by the panzer wars, the gas wars, the cavalry wars, the artillery wars or the bow-and-arrow, knights in armour, spears and knobkerry battalions.

More people would be destroyed. But no materialistic ideology would be answered.

The future belongs to the nation which provides, not the atom, but the answer. The answer is a world ideology of change for all men everywhere. Which nation will provide that answer? Its name will be remembered long after the atom bomb is a museum piece.

Such a nation will be:

1. *The greatest diplomatic force in history.* Its relationships with all other nations will bring the secret of change and unity in every negotiation.
2. *A united people,* free from class-hatred based on fear of insecurity or greed for gain.
3. *The strongest nation in the world,* sustained by the love and gratitude of all other people.

That nation will solve before the eyes of the world every problem of the past and of the present. It will set a pattern for the future as different in dimension from the past as atomic force is from David's sling and stone.

It will give the world a political, economic, social, moral and spiritual education which will at last help mankind to become mature. It can be your nation.

CAUX

Here are the heights on which God fashions the morning.
This is no earthly summit merely, where bold ranges
Rise out of emerald pastures. Those far waters
Are more than earthly deeps; those rolling mists,
Ascending and descending, more than vapours
Through which at dayfall men's bright lanterns shine.

Here are the heights where God fashions the dawn.
He fashions it of silence and still hearts,
Decision's surgery and painful wounds;
Of dark doors opening, and shame and tears,
The faltering word, the outstretched hand, the friend
Discovered in the foe, the hope new-found,
The expanding vision and the eager feet
Set on the Good Road to the City of God.

Of these, here, high between heaven and earth,
God shapes the morning, God fashions the new day.

HERMANN HAGEDORN

FAR EASTERN FERMENT I

BY LEONARD ALLEN

Professor Allen, who has just returned to Europe from Canton, outlines in the first half of this article the background to the civil war in China today. The conclusions he reaches about a constructive policy for China and the whole Far East will be published in the second part of this article next month.

HOW would you like to live in a city where 1,000-dollar bills drift down the street in the wind, and where no one bothers to pick them up? That city is Canton, immediate objective of the Communist thrust in South China. In a local post-office in this refugee capital of Nationalist China I saw a 500-dollar note being used as a brush in a dish of paste. Before the Nationalist inflated currency finally disappeared into the stratosphere, the last quotation was 36 million to one U.S. dollar.

Inflation is just one part of the tragic story of China's collapse. Daily the newspapers record the advance of Mao Tze-tung's armies into the remnant of Chiang Kai-shek's southern corner of China. Of the twenty-eight provinces, six remain in Chiang's hands at the time this article goes to press. Then there is Formosa, 100 miles off the coast of South China, where the Nationalists plan to make their last stand. There they have an army of about 200,000, plus the remnant of an air force and a navy, and a reserve of possibly 200 million U.S. dollars.

During the past year I have been in China, withdrawing from city to city in the face of the Communist advance. I left Nanking twelve days before it fell. When Shanghai was threatened I scrambled out of that city on a plane to Canton. In Canton I watched the feverish construction of street barricades in the face of the oncoming storm.

As this story of Chiang's retreat has appeared in the press, it was for most people an account of remote battles way over there on the other side of the world, with a lot of unpronounceable names of generals and cities. But, to live through it all, is to feel deeply the whole human tragedy, and also to sense something of its significance for the whole world.

Take, for instance, the family with whom I lived last winter in Kiangsi province, just south of the Yangtze. A family of four generations all living under one roof. On Chinese New Year's Day at the end of last January in the open courtyard of that home, there was all the merriment of the great Confucian family—that heartbeat which has kept China alive for 4,000 years, longer than any other civilisation on earth. There were the long red tapers on the family altar for the ancestors, remembered by name for twenty-five generations back. And in the midst of all the

festivity there was the news coming in over a small battery-receiver set—fresh Communist advances in the north.

Five months later in Canton the whole family appeared one day at the railway station, eleven of them, with all their portable earthly possessions. They were on their way to Formosa, the last bastion of freedom.

This family is just one of thousands fleeing before the storm. And for many of them this is the second time within twelve years. Back in 1937 and 1938 they were on their way to Chungking instead of Formosa.

What is going on behind the Communist lines, as the tide sweeps down through China towards the fragile dykes of South-East Asia, is little known. Foreign news agencies have been forbidden to report from Peking and Shanghai. Except for fragmentary and often conflicting stories from refugees, or through personal letters, there is a news blackout. It is reported that Christian missionary institutions which were once proclaiming the gospel are now compelled to teach dialectical materialism.

The success which the Communists have had in China is their most important victory since World War II. There are at least three outstanding factors in this brilliant achievement.

They planned for 25 years

First of all, they have planned for it for a quarter of a century. It did not just happen. In 1923 Borodin was sent from Moscow to take hold of Sun Yat-sen's floundering revolution, and to swing it into the orbit of the Marxist world upheaval. Chiang Kai-shek foiled this attempt in 1927, and drove the Communists under Mao Tze-tung into North-West China, where for twenty years they patiently built up their strength and trained their leadership for a second attempt. Meanwhile, at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow hundreds of Chinese leaders were trained. Today the Chinese Communists are reaping a hundred-fold from their long-range planning.

A second factor in their brilliant success was the aid they received from Soviet Russia in taking over Manchuria in 1945 and 1946. As the Russian army withdrew from Manchuria, they left for Mao Tze-tung the arsenal of Japan's crack military striking force, the famous Kwantung Army. Chiang made an effort to recapture Manchuria. He was too late. Historically it has been true that whoever controls Manchuria eventually controls China. That is where Japan began her conquest of China in 1932. With Manchuria in their grasp, the Communist subjection of the rest of China became a series of mopping-up operations, with an

occasional major battle to give the illusion of a military campaign.

The third factor in the Communists' success was the ideological vacuum in Nationalist China itself, and also among the western supporters of Chiang's regime. Twenty years ago Chiang Kai-shek kindled a great fire in China with the ideology of Sun Yat-sen. He unified the nation. He held them together during eight years of war against Japan. But that fire has now burned out. Some of Chiang's former generals have sold their arms and their armies to Mao Tze-tung. Meanwhile, the United States, and others, gave Chiang something to fight *with* (in a military and monetary way) but nothing to fight *for* ideologically. Militant Marxism has found little difficulty in sweeping into this ideological vacuum.

Now the question is: what of the future? Do the Communists continue their onward sweep from Canton to Singapore? And from Singapore to Calcutta and Karachi? And then on through the Middle East?

One thing is clear. The same ideological vacuum which has existed in China also exists in the rest of Asia. The political and economic factors may be different. But the crucial question for the rest of Asia and for the whole world is: will that vacuum be filled as the vast China void has been filled? Or, is there some other answer?

TO BE CONCLUDED



Acme Photo

"The People's Republic of China" is launched in Peiping. President Mao Tze-tung and General Chu Teh reach the climax of their quarter-century struggle to communise China.

Mass exodus from Nanking railway station. As the Communist forces pour southwards, thousands flee before the storm in China.



A.T.P.

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