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SEE PAGE 13

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IDEOLOGY IN THE PITS

EDITORIAL IN "STOKE-ON-TRENT CITY TIMES"

WHAT are the North Staffordshire miners after? What brought India's Postmaster-General, and Bombay's Minister of Labour to our coalfields within the space of a few weeks? Why have coal-face miners from North Staffordshire been invited by responsible statesmen to America and half a dozen Continental countries? Is it just because of their increasing production or have they an invisible export that nations need even more than coal?

Now we hear that our miners are holding a national rally for Moral Re-Armament in the Victoria Hall, Harley, under the slogan, "Europe—The Miners' Answer."

To this they have invited mining delegations from every British coalfield, and from the coalfields of Northern France, Belgium, Holland and the Ruhr.

Exporting an answer

Is this just another production drive—a boost for the National Coal Board?

Heaven knows we need that; but in our opinion our miners are after something much, much bigger than that. They are beginning to export not only coal, but something which the democracies need more than anything else today—an inspired ideology.

It is over eighteen months now since almost any Saturday afternoon on Stoke Station you could have seen parties of miners and their wives boarding the 3.18 train for London.

To have seen them return you would have had to stay up into the small hours of Sunday morning, when a special bus would bring them back from Crewe, depositing them, tired but happy, at their homes all over North Staffordshire.

Where had they been to, and who was paying for them?

They had travelled at their own expense to the Westminster Theatre, where *The Forgotten Factor*—Moral Re-Armament's industrial play—drew crowded houses from October to April, all through that terrible winter.

A new incentive

Altogether more than 300 of them saw it during that time. So it was hardly surprising that the cast of *The Forgotten Factor* received a pressing invitation from the National Union of Mineworkers and from colliery officials in North Staffordshire. They interrupted their successful run in London, for a week in the Potteries. More than 7,000 people poured into the Queen's Hall, Burslem, for the five performances.

Soon, from many pits in this area, came first-hand evidence of increased production, better team work between management and labour, a new incentive and the answer to subversive forces in the industry.

At one North Staffordshire pit it was said that the under-manager would rather meet the Devil himself at the coal-face than the Union Branch Secretary.

The Forgotten Factor made such a difference that they are now able to work things out together.

Recently there have been long-drawn-out negotiations about prices on a new coal-face, which always ended in

deadlock. The Branch Secretary says: "We took an unprecedented step for North Staffordshire, and asked Coal Board and management representatives to our monthly union meeting. Discussing the matter on a basis of what's right and not who's right, we reached agreement."

A Union Secretary's wife says that since her husband saw *The Forgotten Factor*, fifteen months ago, their home life has been so much happier that she has fallen in love with him all over again.

Soon enough our miners realised that here was a secret they could and must export. They took the Westminster Theatre one Saturday night, and invited every pit consultative committee in Britain to *The Forgotten Factor*.

The theatre was crowded with miners and their families from all over the coalfields. Since then 150 pits have asked for the play to be brought to their areas. It has played in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Cannock Chase, North Wales and South Wales coalfields, and before industrial audiences in Wolverhampton and Birmingham.

In all these areas North Staffordshire miners have introduced the play, often travelling long distances after their day's work, and returning home the same night to be ready for the next shift at the coal-face.

Coal-face to Congress

When American Congressional Committees visited Europe to make recommendations for Marshall Aid, they specially asked to meet miners from North Staffordshire and other coalfields where Moral Re-Armament is at work. One of our men from the coal-face—Mr. Bill Yates—visited America last Christmas. He created such an impression there that he was recently invited to return by a Committee of Senators and Congressmen to speak at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in California.

Another spoke at a great gathering of miners and factory workers at Wuppertal in the Ruhr, and yet another introduced *L'Élément Oublié*, the French version of *The Forgotten Factor* to the miners of Lille and Lens.

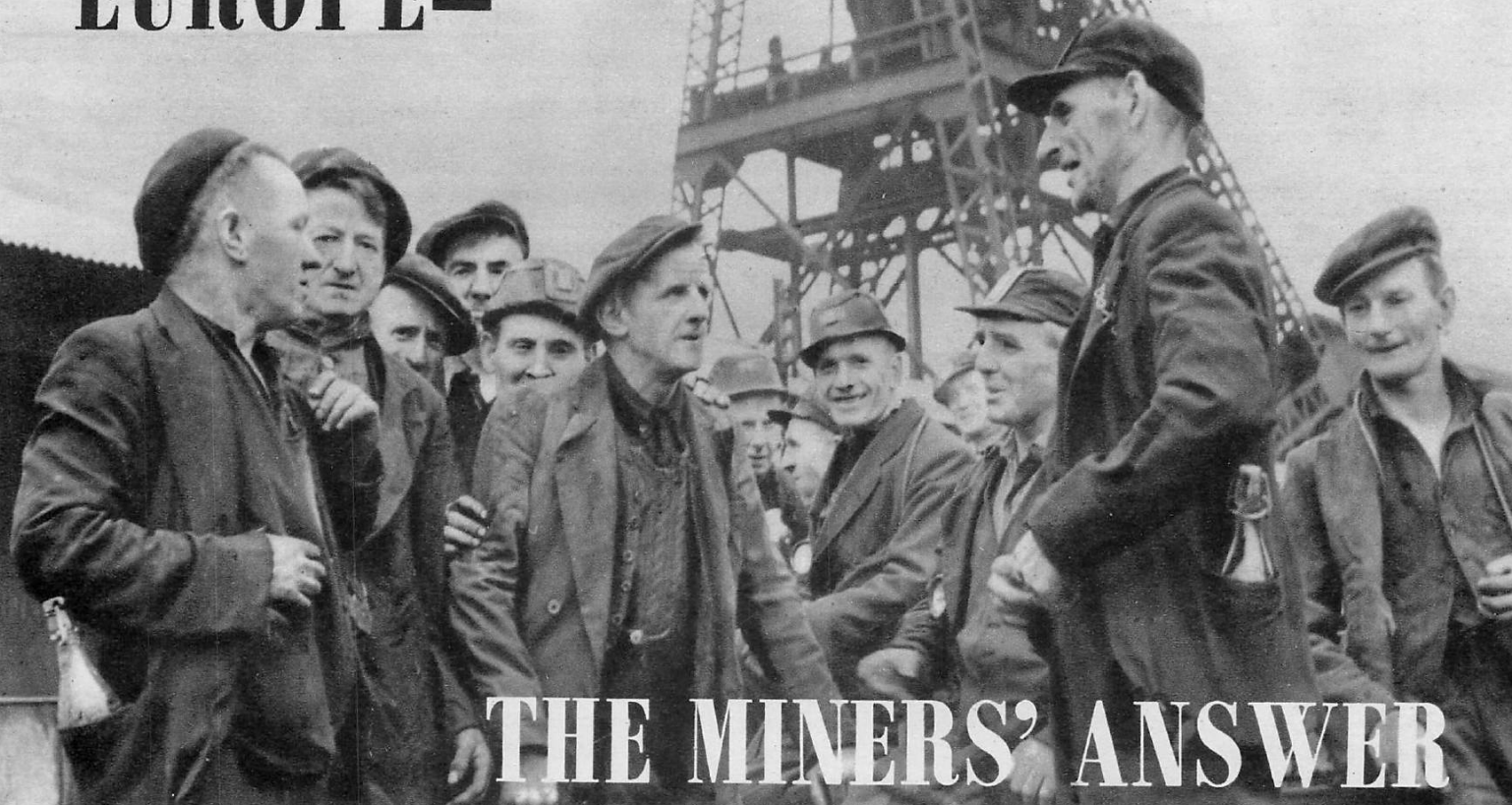
Others have visited Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, and have told Cabinet Ministers, industrialists, and Labour leaders in those countries what is happening in North Staffordshire.

Where does the money come from for all this? You may well ask. Air and sea travel, and even rail travel are expensive these days, and time costs money, too. Some months ago the miners themselves got together and decided to start a Fighting Fund to which anyone could contribute to send their spokesmen wherever the needs of the world and their burning conviction should lead them.

Some have gone without their smokes and drinks, others have sold cherished possessions, and thousands have shared in the privilege of sacrifice for a great cause.

The personnel-manager of a Black country factory summed it up in this way: "The industrial revolution which started here changed the face of the world; the new revolutionary force of *The Forgotten Factor* will change its heart."

EUROPE—



THE MINERS' ANSWER

TO answer the vital question, "What ideology do the miners of Europe want?" a party of miners' leaders from France, Germany and Holland, last month met with British mining officials at an informal conference in the Midlands and in London. The President of the National Union of Mineworkers for the Midlands area, with the President of the North Staffordshire area, the Secretary of the Leicestershire area and the President of the Warwickshire area, organised a mass rally of miners in Stoke-on-Trent to give evidence of an answer at work in the British coalfields . . .

M. Joseph Sauty, Secretary of the C.F.T.C. Miners' Union of 20,000 men in the North of



M. JOSEPH SAUTY
General Secretary
French Miners' Union

France, spoke for the French delegates. "Let us be realistic. The world today is divided into two great schools of thought. We have to choose whether we will follow the great line of Christian civilisation or whether we will take the road of pagan civilisation based on materialism.

"This is the hour for getting together,

the hour for courage to put Moral Re-Armament into action in our personal life, in our family life, in our work, in our trade-union life. If we live the values of absolute honesty and unselfishness we will have learned to live together as men of goodwill in a world of peace."

Herr August Halfbell, Minister of Labour for North Rhine-Westphalia, led the German delegation which included Herr Hans Meis, second Vice-President of the Ruhr Mineworkers' Union of 450,000, Herr Werner Lieber, Director of the Ruhr School of Mining, and Herr Heinrich Malina, President of the Transport Workers' Union of 430,000. Declaring that "the miner right across the world has not failed to respond to the call for coal," Herr Halfbell expressed his conviction that the rest of the people would not fail to do their part. "Now the call is going out from the mineworkers everywhere for Moral Re-Armament," he said. "The great hope we in Germany today put in MRA is that through it the right force will prevail in our nation and between nations."

The Netherlands delegation included Mr. J. H. A. Hennekens, President of the Catholic Mine Officials' Union, who is also Vice-President of the Catholic Mining Federation. He had just arrived back from America, where he had been entertained at a con-

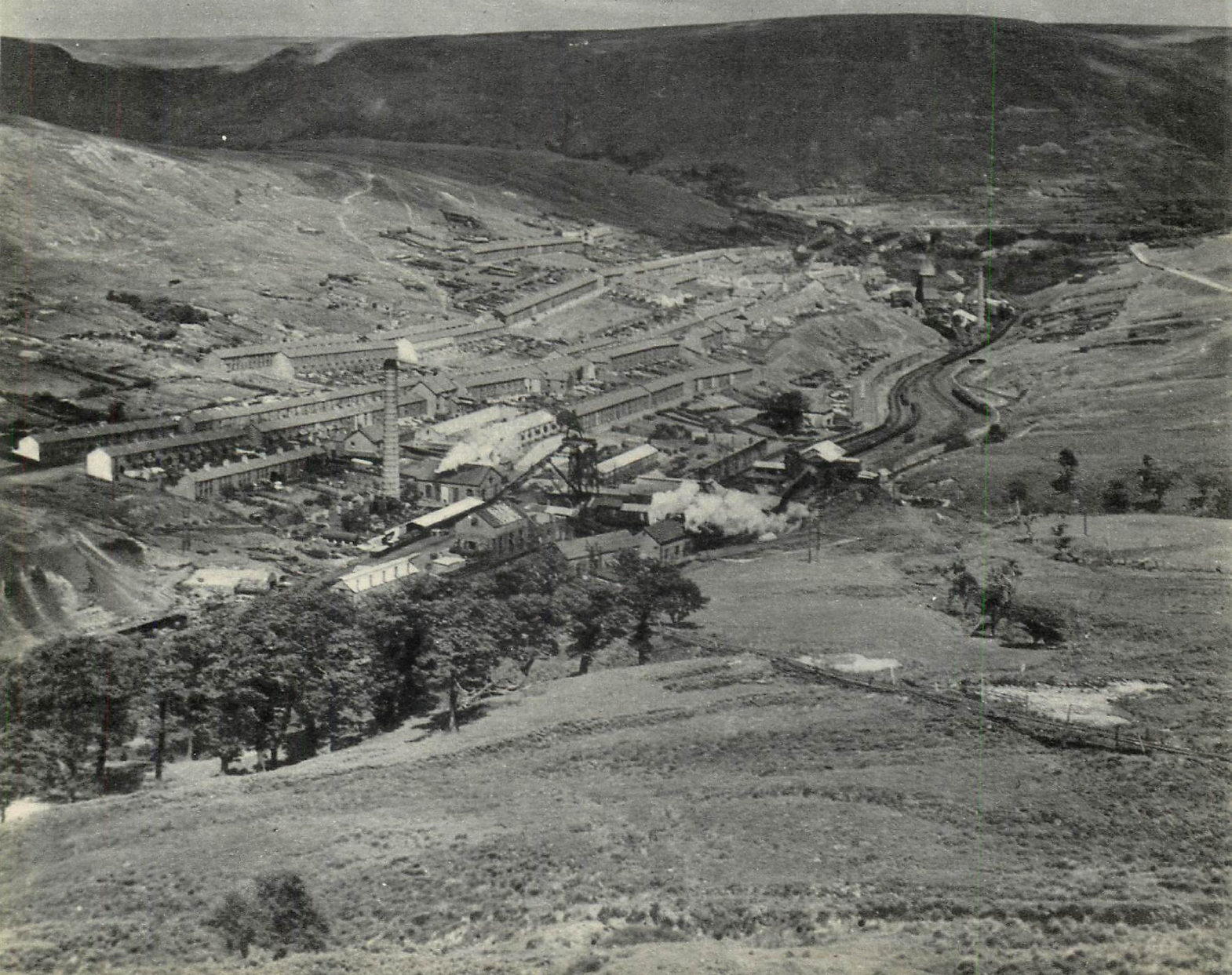
gressional reception a few days before, while Marshall Aid was still being furiously debated. "Coal is the key to industry for the Netherlands," he had told them. "Many difficulties in the industry looked hopeless until they were dealt with by special committees in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament. I am convinced that Moral Re-Armament will prove to be a mighty instrument for introducing Christian principles. We intend to follow this good road in our industry."

Mr. Arthur Baddeley, President of the N.U.M. for the Midlands Area, representing 55,000 miners, emphasised the importance of dealing with the human factor in the whole field of industry. "This is the basis on which every conference ought to begin," he said. "There are problems in the mines and in the nation which cannot be settled on a materialistic basis at all. If we can get the men and women of every country with changed hearts, then the problems confronting us can be solved."



AUGUST HALBFELL
Minister of Labour
N. Rhine-Westphalia

THE RHONDDA SPEAKS



By T. LONGVILLE BOWEN

Editor of "Rhondda Leader"

AS you look down the mining valleys of South Wales, something catches at your throat. Long lines of slag appear like scars on the fresh green of the hillsides. The broad sweep of the valleys and the soft trickle of the mountain streams remind you of Cumberland and Yorkshire. Then a giant power plant looms in sight and a hundred factory buildings blot out the landscape for a mile and a half.

These valleys are the place where mighty movements have been born and nurtured. Their people know what suffering and struggles mean—and revolution. And today they are responding to a new revolutionary idea. In Tonypany, Treorchy, Aberdare and Merthyr Tydfil, over 30,000 have come to see a play that presents democracy's ideology, *The Forgotten Factor*.

What is it that has drawn them? There, in the villages which have sprung up in fifty years to be great centres of power and production, many long to apply for themselves an answer to the problems industrial development has brought. And in this play they see the working out of an inspired idea for their own lives and the future of industry.

In Aberdare and Merthyr the invitation was issued by the Area Consultative Committee of the Coal Board. In addition the Consultative Committees of more than seventy-five pits have seen it in the valleys and in Cardiff.

"EVERY MINER IN THE VALLEYS SHOULD SEE THIS PLAY," was the *Rhondda Leader's* headline when *The Forgotten Factor* went to Treorchy. Said the *Aberdare Leader's* headline: "here is a dramatic intervention in our lives which we could not ignore." Long before the show was due to begin a 200-yard long queue formed outside the theatre. It is a play that should be seen by every miner in the valley.

The Rhondda, where the miners' fight for a minimum wage was first launched, was the first valley visited. What do its people think? In the *Rhondda Leader*, leading citizens gave their views.

Mr. Will John, M.P. for Rhondda West, is a much-loved figure in the Rhondda. When the miners' marched to Pontypridd and encountered Churchill's Hussars in 1911, he was there. Later he was tried and sent to gaol. He was always a fighter, but he fought without hate.

Will John played a prominent part in arranging this visit. On its return he said: "The fact of an encore for a play in the Rhondda signifies that the Rhondda thinks it has a distinct message for the people

VALLEY OF HOPE by Jack Jones, C.B.E.

Author of "Rhondda Roundabout," "Unfinished Journey."

MANY speakers have in times past referred to the South Wales coalfield as "the spearhead of the British revolutionary movement." Now, in 1948, something far more revolutionary than any "ism" has hit the Rhondda Valley. Moral Re-Armament has started the revolution of the spirit of the community.

The Rhondda may now give an inspiring lead to Britain and the world, for the Welsh, the most ancient and distinctive of the peoples of the United Kingdom, have it in them to carry and keep alight the torch of the spirit which will unite mankind.

Neither wars nor industrial strife can separate the people of the Rhondda from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus. They have strayed off the good road and have listened to many a false saviour, as other peoples the world over have, to their sorrow. Now the transcending ideology of Moral Re-Armament is making the people of the Rhondda Valley members one of another, and mine-managers and miners who for years have not, in their bitterness one toward the other, spoken to each other are now making friends and are trying to live together for the sake of what is right.

Family life, communal life and industrial relationships in the Rhondda Valley are now all the sweeter. The radiance from the faces of the Mackinac Chorus is now reflected in the faces of thousands of Rhondda people who have looked so grim and bitter for many a year.

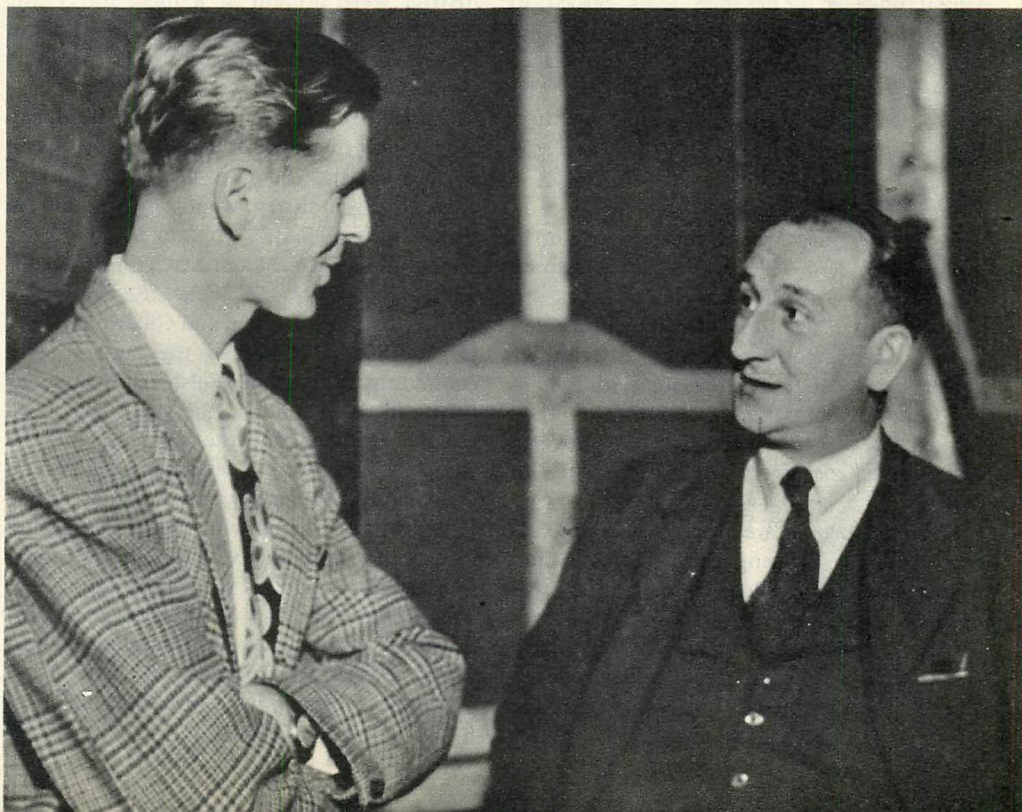
The people of the Valley of coal and song are deeply grateful to a great American, Dr. Frank Buchman, the founder and the unfailing inspiration of worldwide Moral Re-Armament. People great and small, countries ancient and modern, all races, creeds and colours now have in Moral Re-Armament an ideology in which there is no guile and on which they can all agree. May God grant the world the sight to perceive this. Then every valley will be exalted.

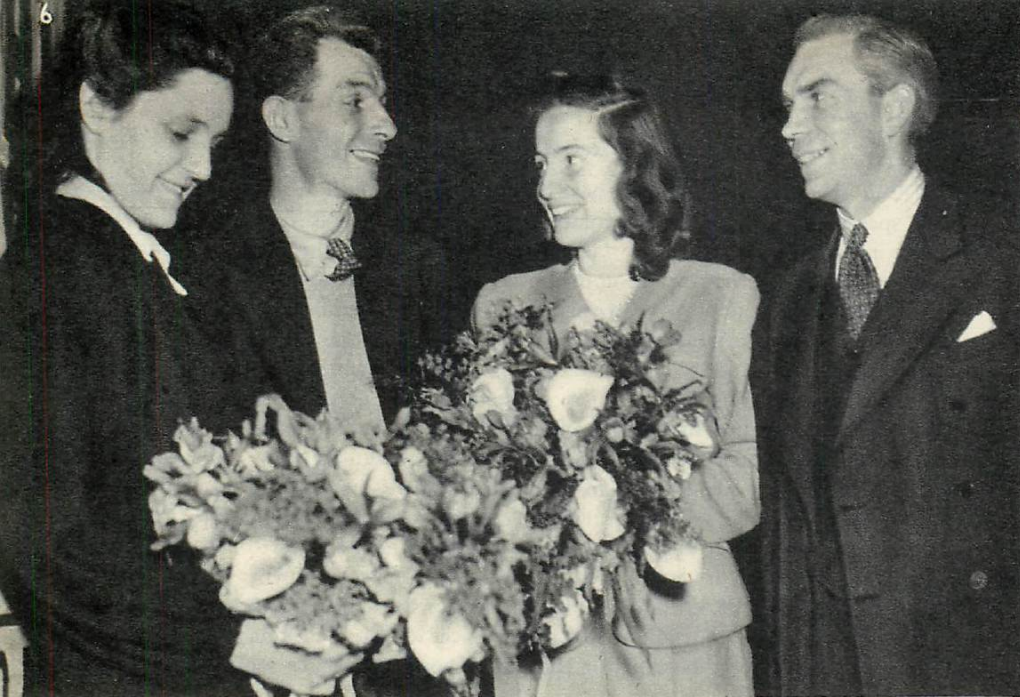
of the valleys, and especially, as I felt, for employer and employees.

"The experience of the past demonstrates the need for change both in policy and procedure in the relationships of man to man. The second visit of *The Forgotten Factor* is not merely for entertainment, but

brings a message, especially as I see it, to the youth of the valleys. The problems of the future will have to be solved by the youth. If they are armed with these moral and spiritual weapons, we need not be apprehensive about the welfare of our country and the world."

Mr. W. D. Jones, General Secretary, Association of Colliery Management, S. Western Division, (right) talks with one of the principals of "The Forgotten Factor" backstage after the play





A Rhondda citizen presented flowers to the cast in Tonypanyd. "If only you can give the unity you have among yourselves to the thousands outside," he said, as he met them afterwards

Typical of what is happening in the valleys is the story of a pit where fourteen miners had been asked to return overpayment of fifteen shillings in their pay packets. At first they refused to do so. The manager then said he would withdraw the concession whereby 100 night-shift men were to be allowed to work on Friday afternoon. The manager's decision meant that 100 men would only receive four days' pay instead of six as they would lose their bonus as well.

After discussion the leader of the fourteen men said: "Let us settle this not on who's right but what's right." "You must have seen *The Forgotten Factor*," said one of the Union officials. The men then agreed to repay the money in two instalments after their holidays. For his part the manager allowed the Friday afternoon shift to be worked as usual, and the 100 men got their bonus.

What teamwork brings

In another pit, through the initiative of an official who had seen the play, a dispute which previously had caused a walk-out was settled with no loss of production.

In a large clothing factory a trimmer apologised to his bench mate with whom he did not get along. Next day as they worked together in a new spirit of teamwork, their output rose from twenty-four suits to forty.

Naturally people are interested when this sort of thing is happening. Labour and management alike find a new basis for discussion.

Mr. W. D. Jones, Secretary of the British Association of Colliery Management, emphasised this as he introduced the play at the

Empire Theatre in Tonypanyd. "One feature of this campaign must be driven home to each and every one of us. For many years there has been a keen sense of frustration between management and labour in the industry. Under nationalisation, since January 1947, the spirit between labour and management has not been as progressive as it might have been. This play will help by bringing a new spirit to both sides."

Mr. Ben Harcombe speaks from quite a different standpoint. He is Secretary of the Rhondda Borough Labour Party. "During the last visit of the cast here," he said, "trade union and Labour officials of this district were present at a most interesting meeting to hear from pioneers of the Labour movement how this new spirit is spreading throughout the country.

"Strife in industry will yet disappear. In my view the spirit of *The Forgotten Factor* permeating the thoughts and actions of all engaged in industry would greatly aid in bringing this about."

High praise came from Mr. Gomer Evans, Vice-President of the Welsh Federation of Music, Arts and Drama, and Chairman of the Drama Section. He led the audiences in community singing of Welsh national songs. "Life in the Rhondda," he says, "has been greatly enriched by the presence of the company presenting *The Forgotten Factor* in Tonypanyd, Treorchy, and Aberdare. The Valley will be stirred with their message and in no time the Welsh valleys will be leading a crusade throughout the whole world that will present life in a new aspect, with individuals and nations in complete understanding, from which peace will ensue.

"It has been a joy to meet the members

of this great pilgrimage. Minds have been quickened and hearts changed. As a devotee of drama for over half a century, I have no hesitation in stating emphatically that it is the most powerful play I have ever witnessed. The lesson it conveys is one that has revived the great message of 2,000 years ago.

"The presentation of the play is magnificent—its production perfect, and the acting is inspired and inspiring.

"It is more than a play—it is the Truth."

Breaking Down the Iron Curtain

George Vaughan, Chairman of the Parc and Dare Miners' Lodge, one of the largest in South Wales, said: "A very impressive play, its theme demonstrated what could be achieved by its adoption. We've heard talk of the 'Iron Curtain,' but *The Forgotten Factor*, taught us the way to break down the 'Iron Curtain' within ourselves. I have no doubt that the workers, management and the whole country will benefit considerably by an infusion of this new tonic."

Many of these men have fought all their lives for nationalisation and been disappointed to find that the human problems still exist.

"The secret of the success of nationalisation is in the theme of *The Forgotten Factor*," was the way Mr. Gwilym Griffith, Secretary of the Naval Lodge, described this show. "Production target figures could be easily reached if the understanding that the play shows between labour and management were applied—and this is the responsibility of each and every individual.

"In the past both sides have always said where the other was wrong, and we got nowhere. *The Forgotten Factor* has taught us that the answer to that is the principle 'not who's right but what's right.'"

A haulage engine driver underground at the Cambrian Colliery, Mr. Herbert Jones, voiced the feeling of many miners. "Your coming here was no accident," he told the cast. "It has stirred us out of the apathy we have felt since the war. This play, with its message of startling simplicity, has impressed us. Our people are gripped by a strong conviction. Some of us would like to form an association to carry on these ideas and give them to the country."

Speaking at the farewell party for the cast in Treorchy, Mr. Tom Beacham, Production Director for the Rhondda's twenty pits, said: "This week will be long remembered in the Rhondda and will bear rich fruit in the years to come. Already it is affecting relationships in my own office."

With him spoke Mr. A. Meredith, Vice-Chairman of the Parc and Dare Lodge: "There has been a lot of change in the pit as a result of the play," he said. "Questions have been settled this week which I believed would never be settled."

TRANSATLANTIC UNION

THE solidarity of English-speaking peoples gives us hope. How can we foster it? Will Marshall Aid increase it or diminish it? That is still in the balance.

A remarkable breakfast party in Washington recently made an historic contribution to Anglo-American relationships. One of the guests of honour was the man who has been Private Secretary to three British Kings, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. Another was a British miner.

Other guests included leaders from China, Japan, Austria and Germany, who had attended the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly in California. Dr. Chen Li Fu, Vice-President of the Chinese Legislative Yuan, was sent by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Lord Hardinge's words at the breakfast, which Representative Hinshaw described as "the most remarkable occasion in my ten years in Washington," moved his audience deeply as he said :

"There are many mischievous people in the world today, trying to bring about a rift between your country and mine, and to break up the close friendship of the war years. This

must never be allowed to happen, for if our two countries, who have so much in common, cannot set an example of co-operation, then indeed is the peace of the world in danger.

"I know that our people are intensely grateful for the helping hand which you are at this moment stretching out to us, but I dare not think that there is much that we can still give to America.

"The heart of my country is as sound now as it was in 1940, when so little stood between us and world catastrophe. It is true that strains and stresses have come upon us with the aftermath of war, and what we need most is to regain our lost unity.

"In striving for this goal we may look with hope and confidence to the spirit of Moral Re-Armament."

Mr. William Yates, the miner, president of his branch of the National Union of Mine-workers at the Victoria Colliery, Stoke-on-Trent, had flown over specially for the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Riverside, California. Describing the situation in the British coalfields, he said : "When the Labour Party and nationalisation of the mines came in, the

human problems still remained. Since applying the spirit of Moral Re-Armament our pit has achieved a record output of coal."

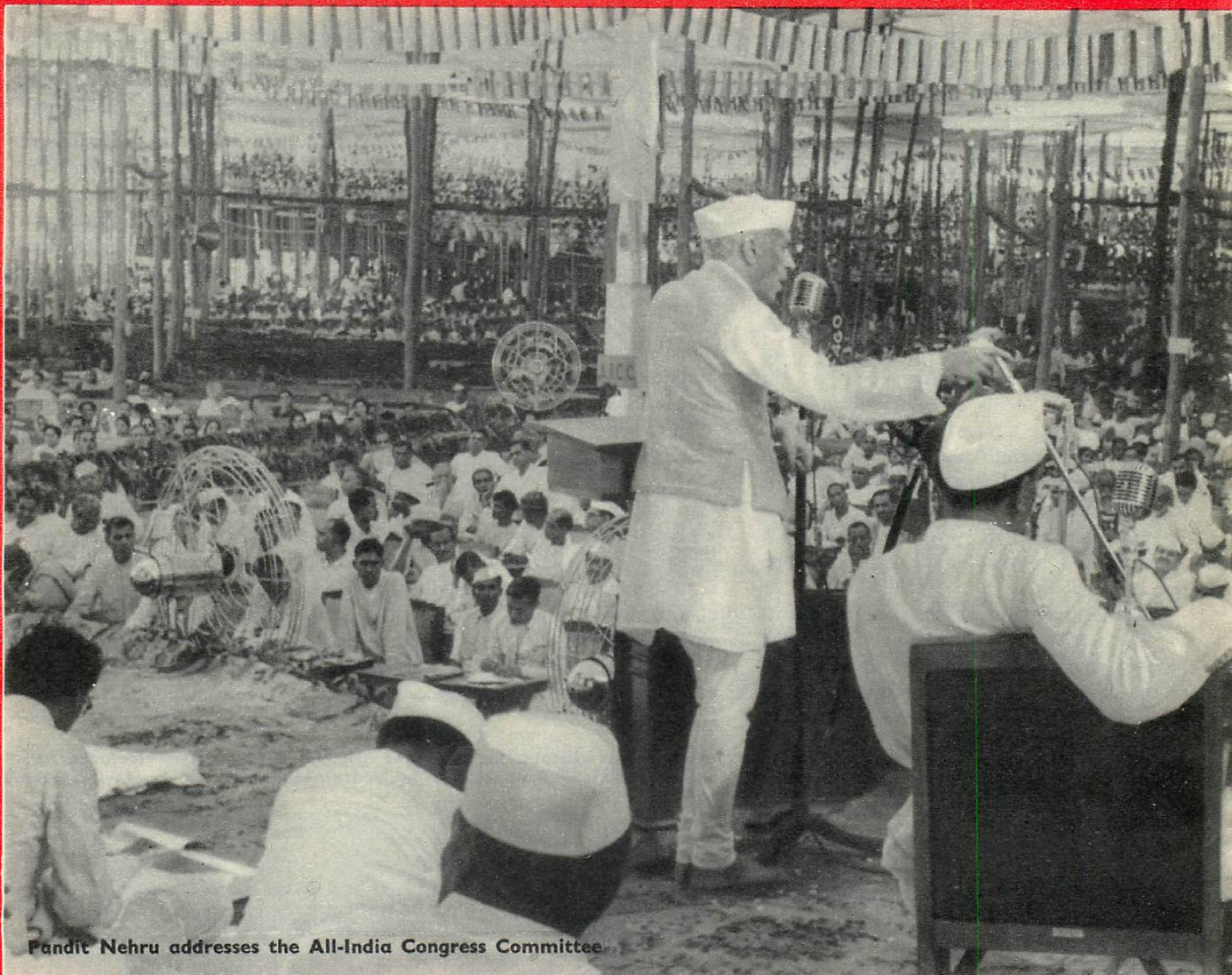
Shortly after this breakfast the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Representative Martin, received the delegates from twenty-four nations. After hearing what they had to say, he commented : "Moral Re-Armament is probably doing more than any other thing I know to bring people of all different countries together, and create that international understanding that will bring world peace."

Senator Arthur Vandenburg, who had been detained by a night-long sitting of the Senate, of which he is temporary President, sent this message : "Please extend my heartiest greetings to your distinguished visitors from abroad; their visit and your great Moral Re-Armament World Assembly symbolise the tremendous service to peace and recovery which international fellowship and the spirit of hearty co-operation can render. The hearts and souls and consciences of men are incomparably the greatest forces that can be mobilised for a better world."

Speaker Martin, House of Representatives, receives overseas visitors. Left to right : Dr. Chen Li Fu; Dr. Horlacher, President Bavarian Parliament; Signor Calosso; Mr. Horinouchi, former Japanese Ambassador in Washington, and U Ba Lwin, Burmese headmaster



A YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE



Pandit Nehru addresses the All-India Congress Committee.

BY LIONEL JARDINE, C.I.E.

For more than thirty years the author of this article served in the East. He was a Minister in the State, an Administrator in the North-West Frontier Province, and British Representative at the State of Baroda. He has just returned from a visit to the new India and Pakistan Dominions, where exceptional opportunities of meeting the national leaders

SO this was the new India. We looked around the monster bamboo amphitheatre. It was a sea of white shirts and Gandhi caps. The men of independent India were gathering for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. This was the first assembly of the political party in power since the end of the British Raj. For those used to an India in which mass discipline was often lax and time was no object,

this meeting was a huge surprise. This gigantic structure with its front of bamboo supports and roof of cotton cloth, seating 50,000 people, had been built in nine days. An army of smart uniformed volunteers ushered the colossal crowd to their seats. Girls in saris of green and white—the national colours—served water to the thirsty multitude and provided hand-fans against the sweltering mid-afternoon heat. Batteries of

lamps were focused on the stage ready to give light for the movie shots. Electric fans hummed. Amplifiers were tuned in for the speeches. This was ancient India, modernised, streamlined, free.

There was a hush and then a stir. The great mass rose. I looked at my watch. It was 2.30 p.m.—dead on the advertised time. Nehru, respectfully and affectionately called Panditji, had arrived with his retinue.



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"Two minutes for the photographers," and spotlights came on, cameras clicked, movies whirred. Then silence. The elderly, kind-faced Rajendra Prasad, President of Congress, came to the microphone.

How must these national leaders have felt as they stood there in front of that great meeting, a symbol of victory in their life-long struggle for freedom? Did they think of the years they had spent in gaol for the national cause, the comfortable, perhaps brilliant, careers they had sacrificed, their constant efforts to rouse the spirit of their people? Did they thrill at the thought of this new Dominion now free to shape her own destiny, moving towards some great future for which they would now inspire this gathering to strive and fight? Or were the overwhelming problems before the country weighing them down, shutting out vision of the future?

Unity for what?

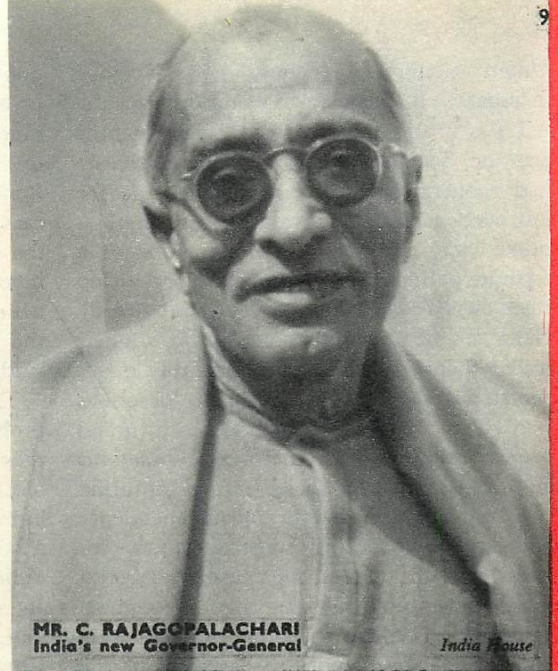
Rajendra Prasad—between long bouts of coughing—spoke gravely of India's great difficulties. He told with shame of the massacres which had taken place on the partition of the country. He referred to the immense task of rehabilitating over six million refugees, of finding the right people to take the places of the millions of Moslems who left their jobs to flee to Pakistan. He appealed to all to stand solid behind the Congress Government in this hour of the nation's need.

He sat down and the short white-clad figure of the Prime Minister, Nehru, came forward. He looked grey and tired. Leaning on the desk before him he began his one-hour speech. He told us what weighed most constantly on his heart—the great loss the nation had sustained. He had no longer that wise, fatherly adviser to whom to go when a decision had to be made. And our eyes lifted to the huge garlanded picture of Gandhi which hung behind the speaker's dais. Like Rajendra Prasad, he talked of the communal violence that had happened since the partition, and urged the nation to follow the principle of non-violence and the great moral virtues taught by their late leader. National unity—that was the theme of every Congress leader's speech. The determination to get rid of the British Government had been the great force which had united India. Congress had been the instrument which

had achieved that end. Having achieved it, what next?

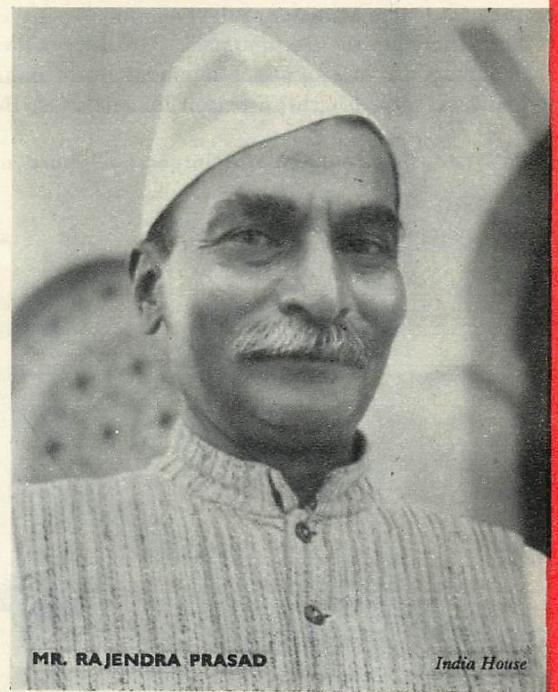
The students had been the spearhead of the national struggle. Now, I was told by many, they have subsided into political apathy—apart from those who have been captured by the Socialists or Communists.

The Trade Union Movement, still in its infancy, is deeply divided. There are three separate organisations. The All-India Trade Union Congress is the oldest system of Unions in the country. It had already been dominated by the Communists during the period when the Congress leaders were in gaol for their opposition to the war effort. So a year ago the Congress Labour leaders felt themselves compelled to create the new Indian National Trade



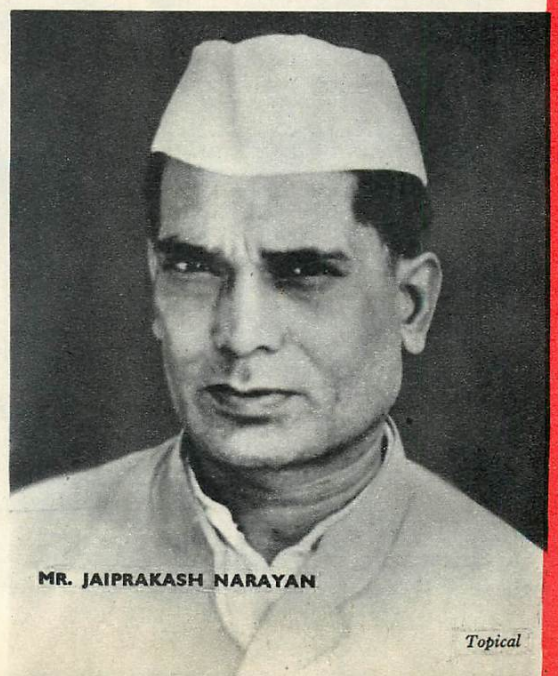
MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
India's new Governor-General

India House



MR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

India House



MR. JAIPRAKASH NARAYAN

Topical

Union Congress. Today, with 800,000 members, it claims to outnumber the A.I.T.U.C. by 300,000. But a few months ago the Socialists, who for fourteen years had cooperated loyally in the struggle for independence as a left-wing inside Congress, broke away and went into opposition as a separate political party. They are organising their own Trade Union system, and already claim a membership of 300,000. Their leader, Jaiprakash Narayan, outwardly quiet, sometimes fiery, always brilliant, describes himself as a Marxist who believes in moral values and democratic methods. Under his able leadership the Socialists are capturing the students who fought for independence and are now seeking something new for which to fight. One of the country's greatest industrialists told us that in his opinion, Jaiprakash is the most important man in India after Pandit Nehru. Many think he will be the next Prime Minister of the Dominion.

Then there are the Communists. Most of their leaders are in gaol at the moment. But in India, to serve a term in prison for one's

political convictions is the shortest cut to prestige—and popularity. And there is much in India to provide fuel for the flames of class warfare. Down the main streets of Bombay run slick powerful post-war American cars, arrogantly blowing their horns. But in the side streets the very poor cower together in conditions which have to be seen to be believed. And to the debt-ridden villagers the Communist slogan of “no rent to the landlords” sounds perilously sweet.

The Congress leaders are tackling their problems with heroic determination. What they have achieved is enough to amaze the most optimistic outsider. They managed to limit the outbreak of communal violence to a comparatively small area. They are providing vigorously for the millions of refugees. In an incredibly short space of time they have put through a scheme for merging the Native States into the Indian Union. They have arranged an industrial truce between Government, Capital and Labour which has minimised the possibility of strikes.

But the material problems which confront

them are the legacy of a long and unhappy past. They have not been solved during a century and a half of British rule. They cannot be solved overnight. With the best will in the world it will take at least a generation to raise the standard of living to a point at which everyone has reasonably comfortable conditions and glaring inequalities are removed. On the material level an answer to the forces which feed on class bitterness will certainly not be brought in time. And material problems are intensified by widespread corruption.

Gandhi's dreams

The leaders of the new India are alive to the need. “India needs a moral revolution,” said a great Indian labour leader to me the other day. Rajendra Prasad calls for “moral rehabilitation” as the necessary preliminary to national recovery. During recent months both Jaiprakash Narayan and Hariharnath Shastri, President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, have pleaded passionately for moral values in speeches which in certain passages read almost word for word alike. Last year's Congress President, J. B. Kripalani, went even further. Gandhi's vision, he declared, was for a morally regenerate India. “With Gandhiji,” he said, “the removal of foreign rule was the condition precedent to moral and social reform. He had diagnosed the chief cause of India's slavery and degradation. It was the weakening of the national character.”

The first part of Gandhi's programme has been fulfilled. The British have gone. The second part remains to be accomplished. But Gandhi is dead. Many think that his death has left a moral vacuum. That vacuum cannot remain unfilled. Either India must find—and find quickly—some great uniting moral purpose which will drive out corruption and overcome the divisive forces which are rearing their heads. Or she will be captured by one of the competing materialist ideologies which threaten to engulf the world.

It is much more than the future of India that is at stake. On her immediate leadership may depend the future of a thousand million people in the Far East.

For the task of spiritual leadership India has in her tradition and character two great assets. First is the rooted conviction that materialism is not the real answer, that true greatness is to be measured in terms of moral and spiritual stature. Second is a capacity for sacrifice which time and again has disarmed material might and swept aside material obstacles. If these two qualities can once more find expression in the life of every Indian, then there is hope. Harnessed to the vision of a regenerate India they can ensure for her a destiny which will outmatch the most ambitious dreams of her leaders.

India's new Governor-General inspects a guard of honour on his arrival at New Delhi



I.N.P.

T H E B A N D I T S C A M E



KYOTO, ancient capital of Japan, and Maibara are two of the main stops on the railway that runs the length of the country. Over this distance of about a hundred miles, on the main line and some of the branch lines, organised gangsterism had become a problem to the Japanese and to the occupation forces. Groups of young men were holding up people on crowded trains in broad daylight. When police or train officials tried to interfere, they were beaten up by the young hoodlums. And terrified bystanders even saw children robbed on their way to school. The officials were at their wits' end.

Along this stretch of track near Lake Biwa—Japan's most beautiful lake—stands the small town of Omi Hachiman. Here there lives a man who is called by the Japanese: "The Voice by the Lake," Mr. Hitotsuyanagi. This man had been elected head of a civic improvement group—a society with a good name, but few accomplishments.

The railway officials asked him if he could help them. The answer was: "Yes, of course, I'll help you. I know just the thing that will work. But you must make me one promise. You must promise not to try other methods, such as calling in the police, until I've had a chance to try my way." They promised.

"Now, can you tell me who their leaders are?" "Yes, we know of six or seven gangs that are operating and they all come from the segregated Eta villages." The Eta are a people who from ancient times have been a caste of butchers and tanners. They

have been much despised and although segregation is today illegal, it still persists because of popular prejudice. Such conditions obviously provide a fertile field for subversive activity of every sort.

"Which gang is the worst of the lot?" "Oh, it is the one that comes from — village. You'll have to be careful or you may be in danger yourself." "Don't worry about that. Give me their names and I'll do what I can."

And so Mr. Hitotsuyanagi, with his wife, began to plan their strategy. First, they called in the civic group and told them what they were up against and said that they wanted the society's help in one thing. They wanted plenty of good, sweet cakes to serve at tea to these gangsters. Sweet cakes are now a rare and expensive item in Japan.

Then Mr. Hitotsuyanagi wrote politely to the leaders of the gang which he had been told was the worst, inviting them to come to tea on the following Sunday afternoon. He waited to see what would happen.

On Sunday morning there was a knock at the door. There stood a stranger who seemed to be in an unpleasant mood. He informed the Hitotsuyanagis that the leader could not come.

In their pleasantest manner the Hitotsuyanagis invited the bandit to come in.

T O T E A

BY ROWLAND HARKER

He seemed surprised and a little confused, but he stepped inside, looking around as though he expected a policeman to step out from behind a door at any moment.

Mr. Hitotsuyanagi said: "I have a great problem and I want your help." The stranger was now really surprised. But still he feared a trap. Mr. Hitotsuyanagi continued: "It has been reported that there is corruption among the police and I need your help in clearing up this matter." Evidently, then, his host was not working with the police, and the stranger relaxed a little. Next, Hitotsuyanagi appealed to him to persuade his friends to help in constructive efforts for the peace and prosperity of the entire prefecture, so that it might rid itself of a bad reputation and become known as a model community. He went on: "Obviously, I can't do this myself, but I have heard that you and your friends are an energetic group of people, that you are not afraid, and that you might like to help us."

Now the stranger began to be interested. "If you will help me in this," Mr. Hitotsuyanagi continued, "I'll make you a promise. I have long been wanting to do something to stop the social discrimination that your villages suffer. If you will help me now, I promise you that I will spend the rest of my life, if necessary, doing whatever I can to help you."

Mr. Hitotsuyanagi had won his man. The stranger had become a friend. Lunch time came, and he was asked to stay for the meal. Since he had the good sense to watch the hostess and imitate her, he ate like a gentleman.

About the time they were finishing there was a great commotion outside. Mr. Hitotsuyanagi and his new friend went to the door. Here were the other young men who had been invited to tea. They had arrived to find out what had happened to their emissary. Evidently he had fallen into a trap.

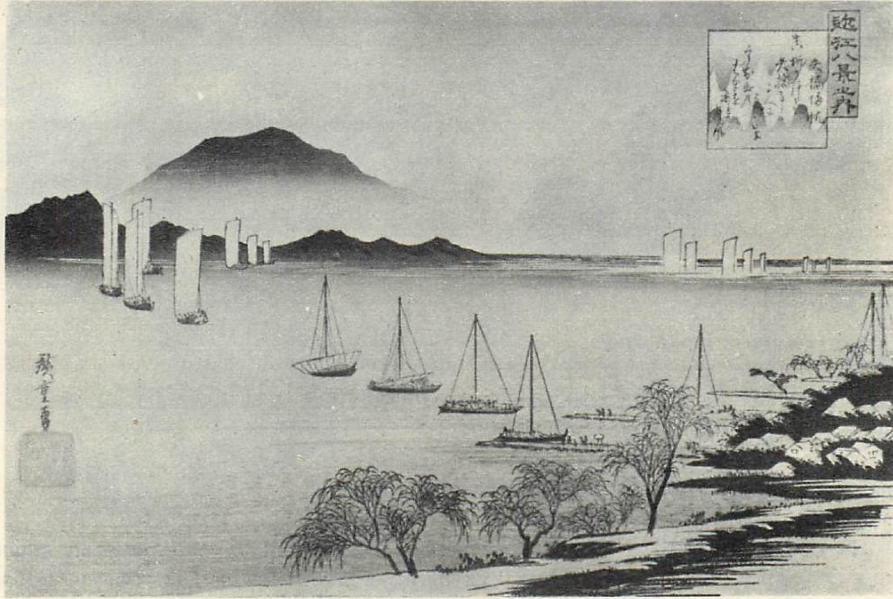
But here was their man standing with Mr. Hitotsuyanagi and smiling happily. In a moment the confusion was quieted and the leader spoke. He told the gang that everything was all right and that Mr. Hitotsuyanagi was his friend. Mr. Hitotsuyanagi invited them all to come in. They were still suspicious, but seeing their leader go in, they all followed. Now was the time for

tea and the sweet cakes. Mr. Hitotsuyanagi told his story again. Suspicion relaxed and finally gave place to interest.

The leader of the gang began to bring four or five young men at a time from his village to call and to make friends. "I find that every one of them goes back a different man from what he was when he came," he said.

Every Sunday for seven weeks the Hitotsuyanagis had groups from different village gangs come to tea. By the end of the first month banditry on the local trains had disappeared.

A plan was made for special efforts during the summer to extend the clean-up to a



By permission Victoria & Albert Museum

HIROSHIGE 1796-1858

wider area. Three men at a time were to ride the more distant trains and keep the peace. Mr. Hitotsuyanagi would get passes for them. The men would wear armbands showing that they were officially appointed to do this work. All the members of the group would work for peace and order.

Mr. Hitotsuyanagi then went to the railway officials, told them what had happened, and obtained the passes and armbands. He distributed them and waited to see the results.

They were like magic. Overnight, as if there had never been any, the robberies and violence disappeared over this whole section of track. For the first time in months people could ride from Kyoto to Maibara and on the branch lines, too, in safety.

All last summer these volunteers worked keeping order on the trains. By the end of the summer the railway officials felt it was time to give public thanks to these men. So a serious formal ceremony was held in the usual Japanese style, with certificates of thanks and many speeches. High prefectural officials were present in person to express their gratitude to these former gangsters.

Now it was time to start on the rest of the programme—the Eta discrimination.

About this time the village of which the first gangsters' community was a segregated part, asked Mr. Hitotsuyanagi to come and lecture on "Democracy and Christianity." He said that he would, if the meeting were held in the auditorium of the school in the Eta area. After some hesitation this was finally agreed to.

A village-wide meeting was to be held in the Eta's school auditorium! It was the first time such a thing had happened. Now the old gangs had a new job. People would come from all the rest of the village and from many other places too, to the Eta section, so it plainly had to be cleaned up. Every house, every street, every gutter, every ditch was swept and scrubbed. Their houses might be poor, but they were clean and the streets were cleaner than those in the rest of the village.

The effect of that meeting was far-reaching; but a still bigger one was held in the autumn, when the Culture Society, which had been formed by the ex-gangsters, was formally amalgamated with a young men's organisation of the adjoining village.

This time people from all around attended. Greetings poured in from many places. Telegrams came from National Government officials. The head of the new Upper House of the Japanese Diet, himself a member of the segregated community, sent a telegram. The deputy governor of the prefecture and the prefectural chief of police came in person. It was an historic occasion.

And finally Mr. Hitotsuyanagi spoke of the secret behind it all, answering the unspoken questions in the minds of his audience. What had inspired that first invitation to tea which had set the snowball rolling? It was such a simple, ordinary gesture, yet no one else had thought of making it. Quietly Mr. Hitotsuyanagi gave the answer. "God has a solution to the problems of every man and every nation," he said. "He can tell each of us the way to straighten them out just as plainly as he has told us here in these last months."

Here, then, was the secret. A simple secret? Certainly. But one which, if the world had the courage to accept and the faith to apply it, might usher in a new age of order and peace.

STATESMAN'S PART

Address by A. R. K. MACKENZIE, British delegate to the United

Nations, at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, Riverside

WE are now coming to the end of a tremendous week. And the questions in my mind are "What next?" and "How do we maintain and multiply the spirit that we have seen here?"

It's been a great encouragement to know there is a world force already in being, bringing an answer to millions in many nations. Think of the wealth of evidence that we have seen in these last days. Where else could you get such a range of human experience? People from every walk of life, from a multitude of parties, from a score and more of countries.

The significance of this Assembly is that it has provided ideas that have bridged the gulf between left and right, between French and German, between Chinese and Japanese, between industrialists and labour leaders, between America and Europe, between east and west, between Catholic and Protestant and other faiths. It has provided, I believe, the new approach to world problems that holds promise of lasting solutions.

What next?

And what next?

I think of another Assembly of this kind and of one man who was there. He was a statesman. At the end of that Assembly, he thought: "What can I do to spread this spirit in my nation?" He decided to do four things:

(1) He decided to inform the leadership of his nation about what he had seen. Before he went to his home, he dictated a report and had it cabled to his nation's capital.

(2) He said: "I will see that the literature giving the philosophy of Moral Re-Armament is translated and made available in my own country."

(3) He said: "I will advise my Government to initiate a programme for training carefully selected young people from all professions in the work of Moral Re-Armament." He submitted to his Government a detailed programme of how these men and women might be picked out. They might come for training in a centre like this or Caux, and then give one year without pay to implement these ideas in the life of their nation.

(4) He began to think out new policies for his nation. And the interesting thing was that they meant sacrifice for his own class. That is what made the newspapermen,

including American newspapermen, open their eyes and wonder. They asked: "What has happened to General Ho? He is a changed man. He has new ideas about the government and the policies of his country."

What happens to a man when he takes pioneering leadership to bring this spirit to

CAUX

MILLIONS in Europe are hungry for a constructive answer to totalitarianism. National leaders from all over the world will be meeting during the next two months at a World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland (see cover picture).

At this training centre last year, 5,000 representatives from fifty-three countries planned for ideological preparedness for their nations.

The address by Mr. A. R. K. Mackenzie, printed on this page, was given before delegates from twenty-four countries at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Riverside, California. It outlines the steps which the statesman can take to bring Renaissance to his country.

his nation? Some people would say that it would not be a politic thing to do—it would not be good for his career. What happened to General Ho Ying-chin? We read in the papers that he had been offered the Prime Ministership of his nation. There are times when national leaders think more of their own re-election than of their nation's salvation, and then find that they are not even re-elected. And there are other times when men put their nation's salvation before their own careers and find that they have moved into a position of highest responsibility.

And if you ask how Moral Re-Armament spreads, that is it. Through men and women who put their nation before themselves. And God honours it.

That is what one man did. As for what you are going to do, I do not know the answer, but I know that there is one sure way you can find out.

There is a story told about a student who

wrote on his examination paper: "God knows the answers. I don't. Merry Christmas!" He returned after the Christmas holiday and found on his paper: "God gets one hundred per cent. You get nothing. Happy New Year!"

What is the biggest thing that you can do in these coming months? God knows the answer. The question is, are you willing to listen and obey? And that takes me on to the answer to that second question: "How can we maintain and multiply the spirit of Riverside wherever we may be this coming twelve months?" It is the guidance of God. It is change. It is teamwork.

God has a plan. God will speak to men who are prepared to listen and obey. That may be a hoax. On the other hand, it may not. It may be true; and if it is true, then, as Frank Buchman has said, "The only sane people in an insane world are the people who listen to God."

Secret of teamwork

If we, in our individual lives, in our families, and in our public lives, are willing to perform that experiment daily, I believe more can happen than we dare hope. One of the things that can happen will be change. I see no hope for the world through any organisation without a basic change in human nature. So many people are sceptical.

I do not think anyone can live through these days without realising that today in the world there is an overwhelming mass of evidence that human nature can change through the Grace of God. Only our pride and our selfishness can block that.

From change we will move on to the secret of teamwork. I do not believe that we can do this thing as individual units. As General de Benouville said, we have to stick together in these coming days. But it is so easy to think: "I will work with them up to a certain point, but then I will keep a little reserve." That is what undercuts the whole effectiveness of our living.

I believe in these twelve months ahead we are going to fight as one in our nations and in the overarching world front that we have begun to see materialise here. And I think that we will prove that the future goes to those who are willing to listen to God and who have the courage to obey.

S O U T H A F R I C A



S. A. House.

Johannesburg

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

STEPHEN FOOT

What are the significant trends in the life of South Africa today? Do recent events there affect her future as part of the British Commonwealth? The author of this article has recently returned from the Union after a six-months' tour of the country, and a close study of its industrial and political life. Shell Oil's youngest manager overseas and later housemaster of an English public school, his published works include "Life Began Yesterday," and "Three Lives and Now."

ON the morning of the day before the South African elections I called at the home of a cabinet minister, one of the leading members of the United Party, expecting to find him in a last-minute whirl of activity. He was just going off to play cricket!

Two days later, on the evening when the results were to be announced, I was staying with an Afrikaans family, all ardent Nationalists. At dinner I asked whether they were going to sit up to hear the results. "No. We'll see them in the paper tomorrow," my host replied. "There won't be much change, though we hope to reduce the Government's majority by about a dozen."

In the early hours of the morning I woke up and found my friends sitting round the radio, in much the same state of excitement as members of the Labour Party were in when the result of the 1945 General Election in England was made known. In South Africa, as in England, the sweeping turnover of seats came as a complete surprise to both sides.

A surprise for the Press

The Press of the world was equally taken by surprise, and it was clear from their comments that they were not up to date. Much

of what was written was clearly coloured by old memories of things said in the heat of racial conflict many years before. The comment of an English newspaperman in the Transvaal, whose paper is the most influential in South Africa, was much nearer the truth.

"Of course, there are some wild men in the Nationalist party," he told me. "So there are in General Smuts' party. It is not a bad thing for a democracy to have a change of Government occasionally. The responsibilities of government have a wonderfully sobering effect in developing statesmen instead of partisans. I'm glad there has been a change."

Dr. Malan's first act as Prime Minister



Dr. Malan, South Africa's new Prime Minister, and family

illustrated the point. He placed his official aeroplane at the disposal of General Smuts for his trip to England, and stated that the Government would bear the cost. A week or two later Dr. Malan announced that the Nationalist Party would not contest the by-election in Pretoria in which General Smuts hoped to regain the seat he lost at Standerton.

During my six-months' visit to South Africa I was lucky enough to have opportunities of meeting many of the leaders of the country. These included politicians of all four parties, representatives of industry, including not only presidents of chambers of commerce, but also secretaries of trade unions and leaders of education, the churches and the press. What is more, we met most often in homes and on terms of friendship that were conducive to "off the record" talks.

What of the future ?

Certainly I got a very good idea of the problems that the country is facing. They are formidable. Chief in the minds of everyone, though not always in their talk, is the problem of less than 3,000,000 whites in the midst of nearly 9,000,000 blacks and coloured. How is that problem to be solved? One thing certain is that no policy based on fear or sentimentality will give the answer. That might bring postponement of the crisis, but not solution. And closely related to this question is the industrial development of the country. South Africa has an expanding

economy, with rapidly-growing new industries that depend for their future on ample supplies of labour built up on a basis of good relationships.

Coal, gold and diamonds

The mining industry has its own special problems, not least among them a split in the trade union which is responsible for the immense labour force working in the gold, coal, diamond and asbestos mines. I was fortunate enough to meet leaders of both sides in this dispute which is fundamentally racial, not industrial. It is part of the conflict between the Afrikander and the English, that led to bloodshed less than ten years ago. An event like the General Election showed that in certain sections of the population bitterness on this account is not far below the surface.

Yet there are encouraging signs, particularly among the younger generation, that there is a new spirit of appreciation and understanding between the two main sections of the white population. More than 60 per cent. of those who volunteered to fight in the South African Army in the last war came from the Afrikaans-speaking part of the population; there is tremendous keenness to learn Afrikaans among the young settlers who have come out since the war; more and more of the English are beginning to think of South Africa as their home and themselves as South Africans.

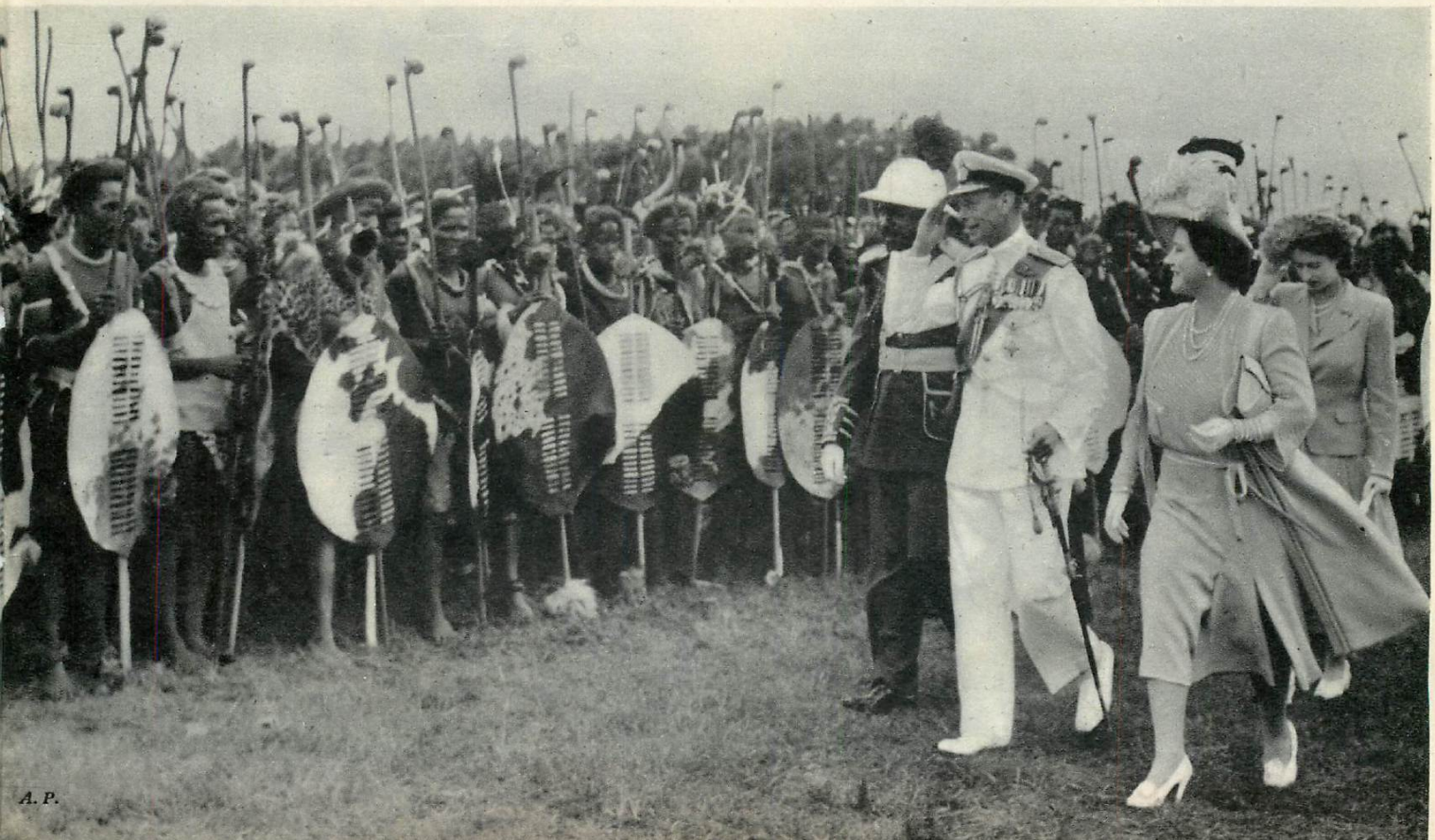
Both sides agree that the visit of the King and Queen last year was of the greatest value.



Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal Republic. His words were quoted by the King when His Majesty visited South Africa

Their strong sense of home and family went straight to the heart of the Platteland. Many of my Nationalist friends commented on the King's speech in Pretoria, in which he said : " Now, after travelling many hundreds of miles we have got to Pretoria. Here we stand on soil hallowed by the memory of many famous South Africans. Here, as elsewhere in South Africa, feats of courage were accomplished that will for ever be remembered by Boer and Briton alike. And it was here, in the

Natives loudly acclaimed the Royal Family when they visited the Union last year. Below, Swazi warriors greet them with knobkerries



Transvaal, that the name of that great patriot, President Kruger, first became inscribed in the annals of this Dominion. May his immortal words, which I paraphrase in English: 'Take from the past all that is good and beautiful. Shape your ideal therewith and build your future in this ideal,' ever remain the watchword of young Africans."

A significant Conference

One of the things I was most interested to learn was of the continuing influence of Dr. Buchman's visit to the country nearly twenty years ago. One member of the Cabinet told me that the Oxford Group were the only people who had completely bridged the division between Afrikanders and English, and created teamwork on the deepest level. Interesting evidence of this, not only as to what had been done in the past, but of how the same work is continuing today, was given at a conference held in the Transvaal in June, to mark the tenth year of Moral Re-Armament. It was the weekend after the results of the

election had been announced, a time when the partisan spirit had been whipped up to its highest pitch. There were at the conference men from the extreme of both sides, who found there a uniting factor that transformed their attitude to each other.

Two men who came from the same district and spoke together were typical. The first, an Englishman, said that his comment, when he heard the result of the election, was "Hell's bells! We're sunk." When his wife spoke to him about a piece of land they had been thinking of buying, his reply had been: "Don't drivel, woman, we're going to Alaska. Anywhere to get away from this country." His companion, an extreme Nationalist, said: "I came as a spy to find out if MRA threatened Nationalism. I go back as a messenger that MRA is the highest form of Nationalism because it makes God the leader of the nation." The Englishman said: "I see that we who are now in the Opposition, can be a back-stop for the Government. If they miss any balls, we must catch them."

The Englishman has started learning

Afrikaans and the Nationalist is helping him. The Nationalist says the Englishman is helping him to get a wider outlook on world affairs.

A change of heart

An old farmer, who sat like a statue throughout the conference, got up at the last meeting and said in Afrikaans: "There was a time when I would willingly have shot every Englishman. All I can say is that since I have been here I have been shot in the heart myself." A University student from an English family told us how, at the age of ten, he had caught the bitterness of a former General Election, and how the one just finished had brought it all back to him again. He came to the conference in a mood of black hatred which had nearly mastered him. The care and understanding of another University student, an Afrikander, had helped him to change. A miracle had happened and his life's aim now was that the two races should build South Africa together.

A Bomvaan elder



Topical