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THE BATTLE OF IDEAS IN WESTERN EUROPE

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NEWS IN BRIEF

GENERAL Eisenhower's progress report on NATO shows how much still needs to be done if the democracies are to achieve military security. He also speaks of wider issues. "We are at grips," he says, "with an ideological force which has joined with the imperialistic ambitions of a group controlling all life and resources found between the Elbe and the China Sea."

Mr. Hamilton Kerr, M.P. (Cambridge), stressed the same point in the House of Commons (*Hansard*, 2 April): "What is the use of putting 25 or 30 or 40 divisions into the field in Western Europe if the battle of ideas is being lost behind the lines, in the factories,

in the farms and in the dockyards? We need to concentrate far more effectively on the war of ideas."

In the war of ideas, the initiative does not have to be left to the military and political leaders. It can be grasped by anyone. It is not a question of opposing Communism. What must be tackled is the cause of Communism. Men who have begun to do this are behind many of the moves to stabilise the economy of the Western nations, to bring about European integration, reconcile racial conflict in Africa, and provide a bridge between East and West. The gathering momentum of their action is a hopeful sign in an otherwise dark picture this Easter.

INDUSTRIAL INITIATIVE IN FINLAND

For a hundred years the initiative in the European labour movement has been in the hands of the Marxists. This is no longer the case. In France, Germany, Italy, Holland and Scandinavia, initiative is passing more and more to the men trained in Moral Re-Armament. Some account of this has already been given in previous issues.

In Finland industrialists and trade unions have jointly promoted the production of a film, *The Answer*, to deal with the crisis in industry. Its theme is the change of attitude in industrial management necessary to support the democratic leadership of the sound trade unionists.

Directed brilliantly by Viljo Lampela, *The Answer* has been made by a cast of industrialists, trade union workers, technicians and students. Scenes were taken in the factories and homes of the men themselves. They worked at top speed, under great difficulties. On one occasion they filmed for 32 hours at a stretch. At times they worked at a temperature far below zero. The director spent twelve nights without sleep while the film was being cut. The 90 years old Finnish composer, Jan Sibelius, gave special music for the film.

In a week of political crisis, *The Answer* was given its

première (20 March) before a distinguished group of 800 industrial, political and trade union leaders. It has since been playing to capacity houses in Helsinki and six other cities. The production unit was entertained, with guests from overseas, at an official reception in the Government Guest House, arranged by the Minister of the Interior. They were also received by the Speaker of the Parliament, and the Secretary of the T.U.C. Afterwards the cast was invited to a reception by the Industrial Association of Finland where plans were discussed to bring the film to the attention of factory workers throughout the country. Mr. Orko, Director of the Finnish Film Company, the "Mr. Rank" of Finland, predicts a lasting demand for the film and has planned its commercial distribution in his cinemas. Critics and distributors have commented on its technical excellence as well as the importance of the idea it portrays for industrial Finland.

Its general release coincides with the publication of Peter Howard's book *The World Rebuilt* in Finnish. A first copy was presented by the star of the film to the wife of the President of Finland, Mrs. Paasikivi, at the première in Helsinki.

Communism is a serious issue in Holland. Its influence is particularly felt in Amsterdam, in the steel works and the docks. More than 50% of the shop stewards in Holland's main aircraft factory are Communist, and in one department of 1,300, 700 follow the party line. In Amsterdam 25% of the population voted Communist last year. In the docks, 70%—80% are Communist.

DOCKERS' LEADERS IN ROTTERDAM

Two areas in which the Communist advance has recently been reversed are the port of Rotterdam and the Royal Dutch Blast Furnaces in Velsen. In Rotterdam Carlos Pronk, formerly secretary of the Rotterdam Communist Party, has been working for Moral Re-Armament since coming to Caux two years ago. On 1 April, Pronk, supported by van den Broek, director of the Hilversum shortwave radio, arranged a meeting of over 2,000 in Rotterdam which has caused wide interest.

From this platform, dockers' leaders from Amsterdam, Rotterdam and London, with Victor Laure, veteran seamen's leader from Marseilles, invited their colleagues

from all over the world to Caux this summer. The man who organised the Communist Party for the dockers in Haarlem and Ymuiden said that the dockers must make the four standards of MRA the lifeline of Holland.

STEELWORKERS' SUPPORT

In Velsen, 350 blast furnace workers and steelworkers took part in a meeting on 2 April. The Communist block in the blast furnaces has been reduced from 55% to 42% since the works council chairman and a number of the trade union leaders were at Caux last year. These men have proved that negotiations on Moral Re-Armament principles are much more effective than threats of strike action, and they have won much support.

Mr. Aart Burghout, a Communist for fifteen years and a steel-worker in the Blast Furnaces, said: "On this basis we now fight for better conditions for the workers. It is the answer for everyone—not in a year or two, but now. The workers have always been revolutionary and they are revolutionary in Moral Re-Armament—because this revolution is for both sides of industry."

FRENCH INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

In France, the industrial advance is centred in Paris and the industrial North. Paris is divided into five main areas for regular weekly ideological training meetings—centring on different factories and industries. Meetings also take place frequently in the homes of the workers. At one of these, in the home of a mechanic in a motor works, a man rose at the end and said, "I am a militant Communist. Until this evening I have never seen a peaceful solution to the world's problems as an alternative to Communism. You must carry this work forward at the utmost speed."

A member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party commented on this work in the factories, "I know all about the work of Moral Re-Armament in the Paris area, and the gaps it has made in our ranks. It has been very clever and intelligent."

Workers from Paris recently went to the port of Rouen to give training to a cross-section of dockers, textile workers, employers and professional men.

EMPLOYERS' MEETINGS

At the same time weekly meetings of employers are taking place in Paris. These meetings are also attended by leading men from the trade unions and the services. The head of the Jute Industry of France, M. Robert Carmichael, chaired a meeting of 400 industrialists

and business men in Paris some days ago, with speakers from Parliament, industry and labour.

IN THE NORTH

Following the recent series of mass meetings in the North, the national secretary of one of the trade unions said, "Never in my twenty-five years' fight have I seen a force grow so rapidly as MRA in this country."

The *Voix du Nord* (Lille) has announced an extraordinary meeting of the Foremen's Union to consider the most effective way for the foremen to co-operate in Moral Re-Armament.

In a mining town in the Pas de Calais, an area 95% Communist, a group of MRA workers was invited to meet the local Communist cell the other evening. About 40 came. At intervals, different Party leaders came in to see how it was going and removed some of the "weaker brethren." The speech of the evening was made by Jeanine Nascimento, whose father was a leading Communist, known to many present, and was shot by the Gestapo. She is now working full-time with MRA. Afterwards the Party Secretary took supplies of leaflets for the next MRA mass meeting, and asked for two more speakers for their next cell meeting.

Employers in the North are making a profound

impression by their change of attitude. Seventeen were on the platform at a recent meeting. The secretary of the textile workers in an artificial silk plant said, after a meeting of trade union leaders, "I never thought I would live to hear an employer speak like that. He was

completely honest about everything." There is a growing confidence between workers' leaders and employers which is at last bridging the gulf which exists between them in France, and which has hitherto blocked the road to national recovery.

THE FORGOTTEN FACTOR IN BRITAIN

The Forgotten Factor, according to our reports, is transforming the ideological situation in areas where it has been playing. The *Daily Worker* commented on its visit to the steel areas in South Wales. In recent months the task force with the play has concentrated on key areas in the steel, docks and coal industries. *The Forgotten Factor* has played to 26,000 in ten weeks in Rotherham, St. Helens, Liverpool, Bristol, Briton Ferry and Newport, Mon. It goes to Sheffield at the end of April.

The showings in Bristol were attended by large numbers from the docks and aircraft industries, including executives and shop steward conveners of the Bristol Aircraft Company. The chairman of the Regional Board of Industry presided at a luncheon on 24 March for leaders of industry in the South West. The chairman of the Bristol Dock Labour Board, dock employers and unofficial and official dockers' leaders, stayed after the play to discuss its implications for the port industries. During their visit members of the cast and chorus spoke at the Dockers' Club which sent a contribution towards the expenses of the visit.

The *Neath Guardian* carried four articles on the visit of the play to Briton Ferry, South Wales steel town. The Deputy Mayor said, "This hall has not been so full for twenty years." The play has since been given to crowded audiences in Newport.

THE PROBLEM OF REDUNDANCY

In Northern Ireland as in Lancashire, where 60,000 people are working a reduced week, industry is passing through a crisis due to the cut-back in orders and general recession in trade. A trade union organiser for the textile industry of Northern Ireland, Miss Saidie Patterson of Belfast, reported to a meeting of industrialists in London on the initiative being taken to deal with problems of redundancy.

An employer informed her recently that he would have to dismiss eighty employees immediately. Miss Patterson talked it over with him, and then appealed to the workers to see if they could share the work more equally. Many girls operating four machines volunteered to work three, and others operating three agreed to work two. As a result only ten had to be stood off. Married women, whose husbands were earning sufficient wages to support their families, volunteered to make up this number. In

this way 70 people were kept at work through the unselfish action of their fellow workers, and the co-operation of management.

A short time ago, a factory had to meet a large order from America. The management without consulting the trade union leaders, announced overtime work for the whole staff. The workers refused. The employer rang Miss Patterson for advice. She pointed out that his attitude had been dictatorial, at the same time admitting that the workers' attitude was also unreasonable in view of the job to be done. The director called in deputation of the shop stewards. Within twenty minutes the issue was settled. The workers accepted the principle of overtime as it was clearly necessary to fulfil the orders. Afterwards, for the first time, the director and workers' representatives had tea in the factory canteen together.

"IF WE FIGHT TOGETHER"

Professional men are also taking the initiative. On 27 March doctors in the Stoke-on-Trent area organised a dinner for seventy professional industrial and business leaders.

Among the speakers from the Services, industry and professions, reports the Stoke-on-Trent *Times and Recorder*, was Professor S. C. F. Smout, sub-Dean of the Medical School at Birmingham University. Professor Smout said :

"What progress are we making to learn from the lessons of the past ? What progress are we making in our efforts to substitute wisdom for folly ? We have, somehow or other, to rebuild the world. We have to re-populate the world with a different type of individual. It is a colossal task. You say that it is impossible, that you cannot change human nature ? If you cannot, I am absolutely certain that this world is doomed. But fortunately you can change human nature. The history of Christianity through the ages proves that conclusively.

"I am here tonight because I believe that Moral Re-Armament is the only thing which will bring sanity to this broken world. Moral Re-Armament is Christianity on the march. The object of this gathering is to enlist men of strength and character, men of good will, to unite and march with us. For if we fight together, in God's good name, this sick, broken world may yet be saved."

Ceylon—The untimely death of the Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, overshadows the country. His son, who succeeds him, is a popular choice. Some months ago he was a signatory to the invitation by Ceylon's government and industrial leaders to Dr. Frank Buchman to visit the country.

Canada—The parity of the Canadian dollar symbolises the industrial maturing of the Dominion. The exploitation of great mineral and oil deposits is part of an immense post-war expansion. Another development is the 175 million dollar hydro-electric project at Niagara Falls. This project is also becoming a pattern of industrial relations. John Dibblee, Personnel Manager of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, has united all the 17 unions engaged on it into a single bargaining unit. Some of his associates feared that Labour would use their combined force as a weapon against Management. But he has found that "trustworthiness begets trust", and the whole arrangement has simplified negotiations, speeded contract and agreements, and built up morale. Recently Dibblee and Harvey, head of this Council of the Unions, were joint hosts at a dinner in honour of Peter Howard, author of *The World Rebuilt*. Harvey paid tribute to Dibblee, and expressed his gratitude for the part MRA is playing in building a new quality of industrial teamwork.

Belgium—An observer writes of the advance of Communism in the docks of Antwerp, now the largest port in Europe. It is estimated that there are 2,000 Party members among the dockers. They have infiltrated key points, such as the control of lock gates. Similar infiltration has taken place at key control points (signals and rail points for instance) in the railway yards. This information is interesting in the light of the mass meeting for dockers in Rotterdam reported in this issue.

America—The President of National Airlines, Mr. G. T. Baker (see our last issue) states, in a front page

article in *The Miami Herald*: "We need a force that re-directs the course you, I, and our nation pursue all the time, and especially at a time of crisis . . . changing the climate of America, settling strikes, uniting homes, healing divisions and ending class warfare. I know from personal experience the power of honest apology to solve industrial deadlock and to help create an atmosphere of trust which, multiplied throughout the nation, would add billions to our productivity."

Jamaica—Following the enquiry, reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, on the distribution of relief to the victims of the hurricane last August, a new Administrative Secretary has been appointed to the Hurricane Housing Organisation. He is Mr. Louis Byles, Town Clerk of St. Annes, for many years leader of MRA in Jamaica. He was selected by the Colonial Secretary and the Governor, a correspondent writes, "because the Government could rely on his honesty and trustworthiness."

Africa—A conference of African leaders, representing the European, African, Hindu and Moslem communities, ended in Nairobi on 24 March. On 26 March, a task force left Nairobi to attend the first MRA Assembly in Nigeria, over Easter.

Switzerland—M. Philippe Mottu, one of the founders of Caux, said in an address to London business men recently, "On the continent we have been influenced by great philosophers. Descartes brought order into the disordered thinking of Europe. Hegel gave us dialectics, taken up by Marx, to analyse the development of society in a changing world. Today, Frank Buchman is restoring moral order to the thinking of Europe. He has given us a new, profound and simple method of analysis: the four moral standards of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. His philosophy may be looked back to by future historians as the distinctive contribution of the twentieth century."

Basic Reading in MRA

- REMAKING THE WORLD, by Frank Buchman
- THE WORLD REBUILT, by Peter Howard
- THE MESSAGE OF FRANK BUCHMAN, by R. C. Mowat
- IDEAS HAVE LEGS, by Peter Howard
- ONE FIGHT MORE, by Alan Thornhill
- THE WORLD THAT WORKS, by George West, Bishop of Rangoon

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- WE WILL REBUILD THE WORLD, by Carlos Pronk
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- LIFE-LINES OF THE WORLD, by Dockers' Leaders
- REVOLUTION ON THE MARCH IN FRANCE, by Maurice Mercier
- FRANK BUCHMAN AND THE WORKERS, by William Jaeger
- THE REVOLUTION FOR OUR TIME, by Hans Bjerkholt
- THIS IS WHERE ALL FIGHTERS BELONG, by Karl Albrecht

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Japan

The Japanese Peace Treaty has now been ratified by the United States Congress. A correspondent in Tokyo writes this report of "a country on the threshold of freedom", as Japan moves towards independence and grapples with the varied problems of domestic and foreign policy which confront her.

JAPAN'S cherry blossoms will burst forth this spring on a country standing on the threshold of freedom after six and a half years of occupation. What is stirring in the hearts and minds of the eighty-three million Japanese, behind the national scene of reconstruction, expanding industry and a brand new democratic constitution? What course will this new member of the family of free nations pursue in world affairs? Within twenty-four hours in Tokyo you will hear a vigorously expressed conviction that Japan will soon shed the trappings of democracy and return to her feudalistic ways of the past, an equally firm opinion that she is on the road to responsible democratic nationhood, and a third voice will echo the prophets of disaster, foreseeing an unhappy fate for Japan, caught in the world ideological struggle.

A land of contrasts

Japan has often been described as a land of contrasts. That was never more true than today. Geographically, she is part of Asia, and yet as an island she is apart from the rest of the continent, just as Britain has always been apart from the rest of Europe. Racially, her emotions lie with the East rather than with the West, yet circumstances have forced her into closer contact with the United States than with any other country. Economically, her natural markets are in China and South-East Asia, but for ideological reasons these are either closed or only partially open. Her culture, which has always stemmed from China, is now under the impact of the West. Politically, her constitution is the most advanced democratic framework in the world, while in practice democracy is strange and only partially understood. Her people have a martial history and

spirit, yet military power is foresworn as a national weapon under the new constitution. So the list could go on, and the contrasts are as apparent in everyday life; the Cadillac and the oxcart on the street, the bustle of Western mass industrialisation and the slow pace of Oriental deliberation and indirectness, the punctuality of transportation and the unpunctuality of meetings, electric light and power everywhere, modern sanitation almost nowhere.

It is only natural that in this situation there is much confusion and much disagreement about the great issues, foreign and domestic, which face Japan as she becomes a free and independent nation once more. What are those issues? Overshadowing everything else is the Peace Treaty itself and the Security Agreement which goes along with it. The significance of these pacts to the Japanese is that they bind Japan to the policies of the United States and the Western democracies—if not in theory, at least in practice. When the Japanese government accepted the fact that an "overall treaty," including the U.S.S.R. and Communist China was an impossibility, and when further it agreed to reliance on America for its military security in the next few years, it committed Japan to throwing in her lot on the side of the democratic nations in the world ideological struggle.

Foreign policy—conflicting attitudes

While public opinion polls indicate that most people are in general agreement with the government's foreign policy, several groups are voicing their strong opposition for various reasons. In the first place, there are many people who would like to see Japan adopt an attitude similar to that of India—an attempted neutrality in the war of ideas. However

unrealistic this wish may be, it is natural in a land which has suffered bitterly in the recent war and whose people, even more than most, long for peace. Renunciation of armed force has even been written into the new constitution, and the greater part of the intelligentsia appear to be most critical of the Peace Treaty and the Security Pact on the grounds that they endanger Japan's neutrality and infringe the Pacifist clauses of the constitution. Many youth and women's groups naturally have an emotional opposition to what they consider may cause hostilities since they bear the heaviest burden if war comes.

Opposition comes from a very different reason in the case of some businessmen. The effect of a "pro-Western" policy is to seal off Communist China, the largest and the natural market for Japanese exports and source of many raw materials. Those businessmen, industrialists and financiers who are suffering severely from the loss of the China market are putting what pressure they can on the government to open trade, whatever the ideological implications may be.

A large part of Japan's six million organised workers are also committed, through the national executives of their unions, to opposition to the foreign policy. This is for yet another reason. Marxism is the only philosophy which has been systematically indoctrinated in the ranks of labour, and most trained Marxists who have a voice in union policies are suspicious of America and often feel closer to Moscow than to Washington. Many labour leaders also oppose the foreign policy of the government because it is conservative and is considered 'pro-management' in domestic affairs. This is even more true of the two Socialist parties and also of the newly formed Progressive Party which together form the bulk of the political opposition.

Although the Communist Party is now smaller in numbers and its activities are severely restricted, its anti-Peace Treaty and pact propaganda is very powerful. Its shrewdly conceived 'peace offensive,' 'trade offensive,' 'wages offensive,' and its pervasive anti-American and anti-West European sentiment have a potent effect on the groups mentioned above. As a

result many of these latter, while supposedly anti-Communist, unconsciously further the Communists' main aim to sever the people of Japan from their relations with the West.

Domestic economic problems

Their task is made the easier because of the difficult domestic situation Japan faces. The peace treaty removes many of the sheltering conditions of occupation. From now on much protection of foreign trade is withdrawn; countries like the Philippines and Indonesia are demanding a full measure of reparations; some raw materials can no longer be obtained at favourable prices. In business there is a serious lack of capital, there is growing unemployment, steady inflation, recurrent waves of industrial unrest, since wages are relatively low. Taxes are high and going higher, with a new substantial item for national security appearing for the first time in the budget.

What is needed ?

It is not surprising that in this explosive situation Moral Re-Armament should encounter the widest response. For it holds promise of an answer to so many problems at home and abroad. The newspaper articles, radio talks and public speeches which appear so often in Japan about MRA emphasize particular contributions which it can make. **The first is to safeguard the political and economic gains made during the occupation, by supplying the moral and spiritual dynamic without which democracy collapses. The second is to develop a new type of leadership which can unite the nation above party, class and factional interest. The third is to create an atmosphere of trust and integrity in which Japan can rebuild her relationships with other countries.**

Home life and democracy

If the basis of sound national life is sound home life, Japan has begun her experiment in democracy on minimum foundations. And if you asked those Japanese who know MRA what its greatest significance has been to date in their country they would probably refer to the revolutionary change in home life which it is bringing. Caring and honesty and teamwork

between parents and between parents and children is becoming a reality in ever growing numbers of homes in all walks of life. Satisfying family life is having its impact on industrial and community and even political problems. A director of the National Railways, who has for the first time won the affection of his children, is now stepping out into statesmanlike leadership in public life. A leader of a textile union, who has begun to unite his family, has set the pace for his industry in a constructive teamwork with management. A national police official, honest for the first time with his wife, is bringing moral fibre into the lives of scores of his men, on whose shoulders lies the internal security of Japan.

Industry and Government

In industry, where class war is the dominant philosophy among the unions and materialism is the usual philosophy among management, MRA is coming to stand for a new way, neither capitalism nor Marxism, but a partnership to meet the economic needs of the nation and to demonstrate a virile democratic force. Some of the key industries have begun to provide demonstrations, notably the heavy electrical manufacturers and textiles. As a result of the evidence produced in them in a few months great interest has been aroused in other industries and among national trade unions.

In government departments, at present afflicted by a wave of scandals, similar to those spotlighted in Washington, public servants, personally committed to absolute moral standards, are creating a new ethical atmosphere. This is especially true in the departments of Telecommunications and National Railways where cells of MRA men and women are infiltrating the organisations and producing new standards of public service which have gained notice in the press.

A new type of leadership

The developing of a new type of national leadership, the second main contribution MRA is making, is now more than a dream. It is slowly coming into being. It started with the visits of 200 leaders in the fields of politics, industry and labour to MRA World Assemblies in Europe and America since 1948. Many of

these men and women are generating confidence and creating unity by the quality of their living. The cleavages between management and labour, between national groups, between political parties, are deep in Japan. It takes considerable courage to follow a policy of "what's right, not who's right" when it involves cutting across these divisions. But it is beginning to happen, in the Diet, in industry, in local government.

MRA is also providing the common meeting ground for men who normally would not even know each other, let alone plan together. Recently two high ranking Americans in public life visiting Japan, asked to meet a cross-section of leaders of divergent opinion on some of the issues referred to earlier. Through MRA such a group was brought together—Socialists, Conservatives, leaders of finance, business, press, labour. Though their views were divergent, the Japanese dealt with every issue in a constructive way and stayed on together long after the American visitors left, to discuss how to bring greater ideological understanding of these issues to the public. MRA is providing a framework of regular training for such leadership, where men and women learn how to multiply the moral and spiritual capacities developed in their own lives to the thousands for whom they are responsible. There they are studying how to relate the principles of revolutionary personal change to national situations and bring an answer.

Relations with other countries

The third contribution of MRA is the creation of a healthy atmosphere in which relations between Japan and other countries can be rebuilt. Many among the MRA delegations to Europe and America performed an outstanding service in healing the bitterness and changing mistrust left by Japanese acts during the war. The earlier delegations were the first to meet on an equal footing with other nations at these assemblies. Their straight-forward humility and spontaneous acceptance of responsibility for the past made a deep impression. Their representatives were asked to speak before both Houses of Congress—a unique honour. European Cabinets and Parliaments have warmed to them. So have the rank and file of

workers. The Japanese Government and the occupation authorities have recognised the value of these contacts by permitting larger numbers to go to these conferences than to any other and by allowing some to travel, whose previous ideological loyalties were questionable. The Prime Minister has sent government representatives to the two most recent world assemblies.

At the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference the Japanese delegates were able through MRA to meet informally with delegates from other countries whom otherwise they could not have met. With this in mind Mr. Ichimada, Governor of the Bank of Japan, has proposed publicly that a Moral Re-Armament World Assembly be held in Japan as the most suitable occasion for the opening of the doors of a free Japan to the nations of East and West.

In an invitation last January to Dr. Frank Buchman to bring a task force to Japan, leaders of government, industry and labour wrote, "We feel keenly the necessity for developing an overarching ideology which can unite Japan with other nations in a great constructive programme of world rebuilding." It is significant that similar invitations to Dr. Buchman have been sent by the leaders of five other Asian countries. **Here, in the common acceptance of an overarching ideology lies a way to unity between countries at the moment deeply divided among themselves and with the West.**

It is no less significant that in these countries where anti-American and anti-Western feeling is being fostered for ideological ends, leaders should appeal to Frank Buchman for help in developing a universal ideology.

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