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WHO planned the economic crisis of the West ?

Britain is not alone in feeling the cold rising tide of unemployment. Throughout Western Europe, in France, in Holland, for example, unemployment is going up, and country after country feels the danger. Prime Minister de Gasperi announced last week that the output of part of Italy's textile industry has fallen by 25%. Yet economic difficulties in Britain have particularly far-reaching political consequences. In the world ideological struggle the lack of our coal may be more disastrous for the West than our absence from the councils of a federated Europe.

COAL FROM POLAND

An observer who returned from Finland last week reports a conversation with a leading coal-importer, a member of a family distinguished for its role in building Finnish independence. This man said, "The other day we needed 30,000 tons of coal for our heavy industries. We asked for British coal. We were told none was available. We then sent to New York to get American coal. While the ships were waiting to load, my Government had to say, 'We cannot give you the dollars.' Our

industry *had* to have the coal. Where could I go for it? The only place left was Poland."

We hear a great deal about those who urge the miners to cut out Saturday work as a protest against the British budget. But who gains by it? What miner knows that there are men with a long-term strategy, which has nothing to do with the budget or British standards of living, who are using him to force countries like Finland more deeply into the orbit of the Russian economy?

We face two great dangers as a nation: the Conservatives do not understand Labour and we shall only obtain adequate national unity when they do; and secondly, the left-wing leadership does not always understand Communism. This is the weakness of Mr. Bevan's position. There is much truth in his book, and a passion for social justice which we should do well to ponder. Yet he does not fully seem to understand how Communism works. One of the delusions of left-wing leaders is that they, unlike the others, know how to ride the tiger of Communism. Like the young lady of Riga they always come back inside the tiger. If we are to solve the problems of Britain, every class is needed. And we need a leadership, whether left or right, which understands how Communism works and what causes it.

FORCES AT THE N.U.T. CONFERENCE

At the N.U.T. Conference, attended by 2,500 delegates, which has just concluded at Scarborough, the most active force throughout was the very large group of Communists and fellow travellers. One delegate estimated that 50% of the time of the conference was spent on discussing matters initiated directly or indirectly by this group. A favourite tactic was to propose resolutions, or preferably amendments, and then to speak at length on the Party line on numerous issues, completely ignoring the amendment in question. All this was carefully planned from day to day. Special pains were taken to try to get the conference into a hostile

frame of mind before Miss Horsburgh's speech, although she brilliantly carried the day none the less. An anti-American exhibition of children's comic papers was featured, and the names and addresses of those attending were taken down. The Russian delegation, together with the Hungarian, Czech and Polish ones, was feted throughout and was a constant centre of attention. Though not on the scheduled list of speakers, the leader of the Russian delegation was invited to speak and did so at some length on the advances of Soviet education. Many well-intentioned but unsuspecting people were enlisted without their realising it. All this

reflects the widespread campaign being fought to capture education. A dead set is being made at Middlesex at the moment, and other parts of the London area.

MRA teachers in their hundreds are fighting throughout Europe for a new conception of education based on absolute moral standards, which carries with it an ideological awareness urgently needed in the world today. Last week R. C. Mowat, Lecturer in History at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, and M. D. Hallows, Headmaster of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, flew to Sweden at the invitation of the University of

Lund. Invitations to address Lund University are regarded as a high distinction throughout the Continent. 500 students attended a meeting to hear the MRA speakers, who also included the Dean of Copenhagen, Dr. Brodersen. They stayed up till one in the morning plying the speakers with questions. Many had been reading R. C. Mowat's recent book *Climax of History*.

Following this meeting in Sweden, some of the speakers went on to Denmark where a training assembly for 600 from all over the country was held in the educational centre at Haslev.

ACTION IN DOCKS AND FACTORIES

LIMEHOUSE

The present series of meetings in London continues to draw the dockers and other militant workers and their leaders. At Limehouse last week the meeting was opened by Fred Hansen, Branch Chairman of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and the speakers included Dan Hurley, organiser for the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union. A man who has spent 23 years in the Communist Party said after the meeting, "I resigned from the Party last week. I could no longer believe in all that they are doing. I have left the old world. I stand here on the threshold of the new world."

RAINHAM

In Rainham, on 27 March, George Grant, Branch Chairman of the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, took the initiative. Ford Motor Workers from Dagenham and dockers from Tilbury provided the main support and reported on the results they had achieved. Grant flew to Rotterdam immediately afterwards, to address the mass meeting of 2,000 dockers arranged by Carlos Pronk, former Secretary of the Communist Party in Rotterdam, reported in our last issue.

ACTON

These meetings go hand in hand with the series of training sessions for shop stewards in the London area now in progress.

Leaders of all three railwaymen's unions co-operated in the public meeting of 800 in Acton Town Hall on

5 April. Acton is Britain's most heavily industrialised area south of Coventry, and at one time had the largest branch of the Communist Party in the country. Speakers at the meeting included Joseph Sparks, MP, Socialist Member for Acton; Jim Haworth, Treasurer of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association and Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee of the Labour Party; Arthur Tyler, Vice-President of the Acton Labour Party and Vice-President of the Acton Trades Council; Sydney Hoskins, Secretary of the London District Committee of the N.U.R.; Councillor Alf Bryan, Chairman of the N.U.R. Joint Works Committee, Neasden Branch; and a delegation from Fords, Dagenham.

Joseph Sparks is one of the group of Members of Parliament of both parties who have attended conferences at Caux. They recognise, he said, the importance of the "great world movement which is gathering strength and influence from day to day. It is a great world ideology which seems to bring Christianity down from the clouds into the hearts and the minds of all men and women whatever their station of life might be."

Jim Haworth said that the missing factor in political thought was that change began with the individual. Politicians invariably emphasised other people's mistakes.

One of the great difficulties the railways were facing, Haworth said, was how to get either side interested in the problems of the rest of the industry. The contribution of Moral Re-Armament was that people did not start by asking "what are my problems" but by asking "what are his problems or our problems."

WORLD ASSEMBLY AT MACKINAC

The invitations are now being issued to the World Assembly which will take place from 29 May—10 June at Mackinac Island, Michigan. It will be attended by leaders of many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. This Assembly, writes our New York correspondent, "will focus a world trend towards an ideology with an effective answer." The invitation sum-

marises recent achievements of Moral Re-Armament in international relations, in industries in key areas of Europe and America, in the Far East, and in answering Communism and penetrating the Iron Curtain. It states that at the forthcoming Assembly "a basis of world unity will be demonstrated and the evidence of an answer in the life of nations will be made available for all."

The following notes have been sent to us by a diplomat in the Middle East who has a wide experience of the countries concerned :

One of the dominant forces at work today is nationalism, accompanied by a passion for independence, mistrust of the West, longing for neutrality between the two world blocs, and the desire to strengthen the links with Asian and especially with all Moslem nations.

Egypt is the centre of Moslem Orthodoxy. Cairo is the biggest city in Africa with a population of 2,000,000. Its University Mosque of Al Azhar is the most famous institution of its kind in existence. Egypt possesses one of the most productive agricultures in the world. Cotton, the most important crop, comes next to oil as the biggest factor in Middle East economics. Yet there is not enough food or land for the population, many of whom live just above the border line of starvation. It is the classic example of an overpopulated country.

The economic problem, aggravated by corruption in some quarters, has created a situation where internal stresses and strains are very great and where fanaticism and Communism find fertile ground. Much depends on the personality of H.M. King Farouk, who has a very great influence.

Further West, in **Libya**, statehood has been satisfactorily attained. But the very fact of this independence has caused nationalistic discontent in the whole of French North West Africa, and especially in **Tunis**. **Syria** has recently had her fourth military coup d'état in three years. The experiment of modern democracy has not succeeded well in this new and intensely nationalistic state which has too often been the cockpit of the great powers. Its present dictator, Adib Shishakli, shows a desire to make his country strong and independent of foreigners, and a regard for the interests of the Fellahin, to whom he is distributing large areas of land.

Jordan is an economically unworkable state maintained in existence by the British tax payers. King Abdullah who ruled it from its inception in 1921 until his assassination in Jerusalem last summer, was unpopular in Arab nationalistic circles, because of his alliance with Britain, his dreams of the expansion of his kingdom and his relatively friendly policy towards Israel. Antipathy to him brought King Farouk and King Ibn Saud together. His successor King Talal has renounced the expansionist dreams of his father and made friends with King Ibn Saud, but is not on such close terms as was his father with the Regent of Iraq.

Both the adding of the west bank of the Jordan to the kingdom and the personality of the new king have resulted in a more democratic constitution.

The **Lebanon** is a divided country, 51% Christian

and 49% Moslem. The Christians look West and the Moslems towards the Arab League. Everything in the country is a delicate balance of power between the various sects.

Iraq is not so extremely nationalistic as most of the other Arab states and has had a relatively stable government in recent years. The new oil agreement signed with the Iraq Petroleum Company will mean a greatly increased revenue and the possibility of much economic development. Unlike Egypt, Iraq is underpopulated.

Saudi Arabia is held together by the personality of King Ibn Saud. Modern civilisation has scarcely touched the majority of its inhabitants and no one can prophesy what will happen on the King's death.

All the Arab countries feel great bitterness towards **Israel**, especially for driving out an estimated three-quarters of a million Arabs from Palestine.

The Arab economic blockade and the exceptional rate of Jewish immigration have created a desperate economic situation. In two years the original population of 500,000 has increased by a further million. Imports are nine times as valuable as exports. For three months there has been no meat on the ration. In the Black Market meat is £3 a kilo. and butter £8 a kilo. No one except children can obtain milk. Internally there is a deep cleavage between the party of the Prime Minister, Hafam, which favours the West, and the important Hafai party which is in sympathy with Communism.

Turkey has achieved a remarkable success as a modern state, even carrying through in 1950 the transformation from a dictatorship to democracy with a complete change of government by democratic means. Today it is strong, prosperous and united. It refused to help in Middle East defence until granted membership of N.A.T.O. because in its eyes this set the seal on its nationhood as a western democracy.

Persia today is an example of an ancient civilisation faced by the challenge of a new civilisation. There is a full flood of reactions against the West. Up till the oil crisis Persia had never spoken with its own voice. The future of the country is a matter of grave doubt. The dangers of Communism seem more acute here and in Egypt than elsewhere in the Middle East today.

Underlining the political instability of the Middle East are the difficulties of adjusting Moslem thought to the complexities of modern civilisation.

Islam has so far proved able to resist the force of Communism within the states of the Middle East. But in some of them the economic misery of the mass of the people and the spiritual bankruptcy of some of their

leaders is so great that it is by no means certain that this resistance could be maintained if war broke out.

There is a rift today between the Ulama, the acknowledged and traditional leaders of Moslem thought, and the Westernised Arab. The two are divided in almost every department of social and intellectual activity. Nevertheless, Islam is still a living and vital religion appealing to the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions, setting them a standard by which to live.

Moral Re-Armament is welcomed in the Middle East as a bridgebuilder between classes and religions. Because those in the West who accept its standards acknowledge their own faults, it can do much to bridge the gulf between East and West. It can help to bridge the gap between the orthodox leaders of Islam and the

leaders of modern thought in every nation of the Middle East. If this gap is not bridged the ideology of materialism and class war may in the end overcome the resistance which Islam has hitherto shown to it.

Many Middle East leaders have attended MRA Assemblies at Caux, especially from Egypt, Turkey and Iran. The Foreign Minister of Egypt took part in the New Year Assembly at Caux this year. The present Foreign Minister, Hassouna Pasha, has also been to Caux. So has the head of the Trade Unions of Iran. The Secretary General of the Arab League sent his personal representative to the New Year Assembly.

Moral Re-Armament may well prove the means whereby the great spiritual and physical forces of the Moslem world can co-operate with the Christian West.

WILL LOCKE

We deeply regret to announce the death of Will Locke, who passed away peacefully in hospital on 18 April, a few days after a sudden heart attack.

Will Locke was Lord Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne when he first met Moral Re-Armament in 1936. He was a rugged Labour fighter of the old school, a miner, who gave a quarter of a century to serving in the civic life of Newcastle. His wife, Catherine Locke, was a City Councillor at the same time.

Will Locke was a fearless fighter. The first time he spoke publicly on an Oxford Group platform was to 7,000 in the Albert Hall on 7 July, 1936. He said then, out of deep conviction, "The depressed areas are a continual nightmare, one of the great world problems. When lives are changed the problem of the depressed areas will be solved."

He struck up a deep friendship with Frank Buchman from the first, and when his civic duties came to an end

he and his wife gave all their time to Moral Re-Armament in many countries.

They had been married 57 years when he died. During their term of office as Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress they entertained the Duke and Duchess of York at a City Dinner. One of their most treasured possessions was the warm personal telegram from the King and Queen on their golden wedding day, recalling their earlier association.

Will Locke was a man of simple faith and unshakable conviction, and his fearless pioneering for MRA convinced many in the Labour and Trade Union movements, in this and many other countries, that he had found the true road for them to follow to a new social order.

Frank Buchman cabled to Catherine Locke: "The Lord Mayor of Newcastle dared to give his all for Christ's cause. Your Will was one of God's noblemen, your loyal life partner, and a great soldier of Christ."

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

These six books, published at 19/-, are made available to our readers at the special price of

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*Lecturer in History at the Royal Naval College,
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How MRA is Financed

Moral Re-Armament is a global revolution of thought and action, for everyone of every race, class or colour. As a revolution it has from the first been financed in revolutionary ways, by those who believe in it enough to invest in it. It has been sustained and expanded not out of surplus but out of sacrifice, the sacrifice of convinced people.

Often investment in MRA has led to or sprung from a change in people's thinking about money. We are growingly accustomed to investing in armaments. The country is agreed that they must take priority of the national income. We grumble and pay. Those who invest in MRA have gone further in their thinking. They realise that in addition to the strong arm of military defence, the free nations urgently need superiority in the battle of ideas. This is priority for survival. General Eisenhower said recently, "Unrelenting propaganda talks, subversion, force and the threat of force can only be met by work, selflessness, constancy and sacrifice." A victory in this battle of ideas is also the final answer to the causes of the cold war. In such a period of peril, it is far-seeing statesmanship to make provision for a force which is effectively laying the foundation and raising the fabric of a new society.

Those who invest in this, see dividends far out of proportion to the sum they invest, dividends which can be charted in production graphs or recorded in the intangibles of new unity, new incentive, new leadership and new happiness.

A WORLD-WIDE ACTION

During the last year funds given in this country have helped to make possible world assemblies which drew together 15,000 people from ninety countries. They have helped send, often at the request of cabinet ministers and other framers of national policy, spokesmen and task forces from Britain to the United States, the Far East, Australia and New Zealand, South, East, Central, West and North Africa, and most countries of Europe.

They have maintained a centre in London for training and planning at which 120 of the whole-time staff of MRA work daily, and through which thousands a month pass from all over the world. At this centre, and at other centres in Britain which are similarly maintained, a large force of younger men and women from fifteen nations are in constant training for the expansion of the work in their own countries.

It is from these centres that the campaign throughout this country is architected, which in the last four months alone has drawn 40,000 people to the industrial drama *The Forgotten Factor*. It is from these centres that hundreds of public meetings yearly are planned and that night after night hundreds of workers go out to their campaigns of visiting throughout the docks, the mines, the factories, the transport depots, the civic councils, the schools, and all the other varied spheres where MRA has taken root and grows.

In Britain Moral Re-Armament is incorporated under the name The Oxford Group as a charitable association under the Board of Trade and is recognised by the Inland Revenue for tax exemption purposes. Its accounts are audited annually by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., and its financial affairs are under the direction of a Council of Management. MRA is similarly incorporated in several of the Commonwealth countries, in the United States of America, and in a number of countries in Europe.

HOW GIFTS ARE MADE

Gifts are made to the work under three main heads :

1. Regular gifts, covenanted under a deed applying for seven years or longer and therefore enabling MRA to claim back the tax already paid by the donor ;
2. Ordinary gifts made from time to time ;
3. Gifts made under will.

1. COVENANTED GIFTS

At present some 330 people covenant gifts to MRA, which total a net sum of about £9,524 yearly. Tax to the amount of £8,616 yearly is repayable, at current tax rates, and as these gifts are promised for a seven year period they form the beginning of a stable central fund towards the cost of the work undertaken in Britain and from Britain.

These covenants come from a varied cross-section of society. Few come as yet from wealthy people. 12% of them are given by teachers ; 23% by doctors and other professional men and women ; 6% by members of the Forces ; 27% by business men ; 13% by housewives. Among those who give in this way are an atomic scientist, a professional county cricketer, a bricklayer, a plumber, an author, a political agent, the head of an Oxford College, a professor of agriculture, an architect, a peer, a railway worker, a chemist, a retired Customs officer, an RAF padre, doctors, dentists, accountants, civil servants, commercial travellers. One Board of Directors have arranged to covenant a regular percentage of their yearly profits.

Gifts made under covenant almost double their value provided they are made out of income that has borne tax at the standard rate. For example, a teacher covenants a pound a month, or twelve pounds a year, as many do. MRA reclaims the tax paid on this sum, which is a little under eleven pounds. The gift thus totals almost twenty-three pounds a year. Such gifts are the most economical way of financing a swiftly expanding work. Under a deed, a covenant automatically ceases if the owner dies.

2. NON-COVENANTED GIFTS

Such gifts have been a romance of sacrifice, vision and inspiration. At the moment when the MRA industrial drama, *The Forgotten Factor*, was being launched into the heart of industrial Britain, a professional man, deeply concerned with industry, gave a quarter of his capital. His dividends have been tangible. He and others like him have seen disputes averted that would have cost industry tens or even hundreds of millions of pounds, and the workers' families hundreds of thousands of pay packets.

They have seen figures of increased production, drastic reduction in the overhead costs of bitterness and fear, and the raising up of a force of men from labour and management in hundreds of factories, railway yards, docks and mines throughout Britain. They have seen a harvest of happy home-life, which strengthens the fabric of our country, and a new type of British export, for which there is a constant and expanding world demand. For these MRA-trained men have carried their uniting, freeing ideology to the ends of the earth, and helped to put our diminishing democratic world on the offensive in the war of ideas. Their first aim is a policy not of *who's* right but *what's* right and the realising of the true function of industry as the great supplier of the needs of humanity.

On many of these gifts the stamp of sacrifice is written. A gift arrived from an old man of almost 80, who had just found a deep experience of change last year. It represented what he saved by giving up drink and tobacco. In one large factory cards have been printed by one of the shop stewards at his own expense and a collection is taken at every MRA factory meeting and the amounts entered on each man's card. A business man recently sold the best of his pictures that he loved most and gave the proceeds. In the recent *Forgotten Factor* campaign one young man sold his insurance policy to launch the play in an industrial city. A girl in an electrical factory got a 10/- weekly rise at Christmas. She immediately gave it. One engineering firm has sent a cheque for £1,000 for the last three years.

Gifts in Kind

Others in industry have used their industrial products to make provision. Five years ago an oil manufacturer said, after seeing *The Forgotten Factor*, "I will meet all your oil needs for your cars." He has done so. His gift is worth £200 a year. Twenty cars have already been given to the work or lent for a period of six months. It is gifts like these that make possible the advance in the docks and mines throughout Britain. A farmer is laying out some of his land so that he can send gifts of vegetables to feed all those who work at the headquarters at Hay's Mews in London. String at the Hay's Mews offices is supplied free by manufacturers. All these gifts, and many more like them, reduce running costs and include a growing number of people in the privilege of provision for the work.

3. WILLS

Two of the British whole-time staff of MRA who gave their lives in the war, one at Alamein, another on the crossing to Normandy, left their possessions to the work to which they had already consecrated everything they had. Other people have since left bequests, through which the main objects they pursued in their lifetime are carried on and extended after their deaths, a noble legacy of remade lives. These gifts have often come at the time when the needs were greatest.

For those who wish to plan their estate so that all possible estate duty is saved by making gifts before death, MRA, having charitable status, may receive gifts up to within one year of death without the gift being involved in death duty. The usual period is five years before death.

In addition to these gifts of money, the whole-time world force of nearly 1,200 men and women, backed by thousands of others in every vocation, give their services

without salary. Some 400 of this whole-time staff are now at work in Britain. Some have been building up the world force of MRA for 20 years or more. Many of them could have drawn large salaries for other work. Many have families. Most have invested not only their time but also any financial resources they may have possessed. They have pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour". But they need to be clothed and housed and fed. Their work demands constant travel, now a mounting cost, at home and overseas, and their numbers need to be continuously expanded as demand and response alike grow.

A NEW ECONOMY.

Vast sums are spent to-day on artificial remedies purporting to produce peace or productivity or security. Men pay to fight the wrong thing. MRA demands of all the higher price of change. It answers the fundamental problem of human nature on which so many well-meant schemes are wrecked. It releases a new economics of giving. Its basis is that when everyone cares enough, and everyone shares enough, everyone will have enough. There is enough for everyone's need but not for their greed. This change in people does two things : it saves the needless costs in which unchanged human nature so constantly involves itself, the cost of conflict, self-will and division of all kinds ; and it makes money that is spent go further. Much is achieved with little, because all are out to give. As an old stage hand in a theatre where *The Forgotten Factor* was shown last month said to one of the stage crew in the MRA force, "You are doing for nothing what I have always been paid to do. Why is it ?" And another stage hand gave 25s. of his wages to one of the cast at the end of the week. A Welsh miner who had seen *The Forgotten Factor* and who was working underground, said, "Every time I swing my pick I think of that play."

The total yearly budget of MRA in Great Britain is less than the amount the nation is forced to spend on a single hour of our re-armament programme. It represents less than one-thousandth part of what a recent dock strike was estimated to have cost the country. Those who invest in MRA do so because it symbolizes the new economy in which the resources of the world are used for the good of all under God's control.

*Forms of Covenant and a form of bequest together with
any further information that may be required are available from
The Secretary, Moral Re-Armament, 4 Hay's Mews, Berkeley Square, London, W.1.*

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