

NEW WORLD NEWS



THE GOOD ROAD
IN GERMANY

PAGE TWO

BATTLE LINE

Message by Dr. REINHOLD MAIER, Minister-President, Wurttemberg-Baden

|||| GERMANY LIVES IN THE CENTRE OF A WORLD STRUGGLE.

Its population is still the greatest in Western Europe, but it stands today without defence, without materials, without the most ordinary means of life, petrified as by a baleful influence, anxiously looking at what happens to the East, attendant upon the decisions of the great powers.

|||| Now these millions are beginning to awaken out of their trance and to open their hearts. The insuperable difficulties of reconstruction are being met and cleared away. Germany has begun to hope again, to work again, to believe again.

|||| The visit of *The Good Road* to Germany is an event of far-reaching significance.

Today Europe faces the question whether the ethics of Christianity are practical and applicable to the needs of daily life. The genius of Dr. F. N. D. Buchman has been to translate Christian ethics into an ideology for democracy. *The Good Road* is one of the new weapons created for this task.

|||| Already many of the leaders of German political life are responding to this ideology of freedom. It offers a new programme for political life.

1. People are more important than things. The German tendency is towards organisation. We are keen to set up machinery—government machinery, party machinery, social machinery, refugee machinery. The machinery works and the machine triumphs, and people go under.

2. Moral Re-Armament is at the same time the great teacher of practical tested democracy. Democracy is not a system of voting, of forming governments, of overthrowing governments. That is only the technical side. Democracy is a quite special attitude of man to man in the state.

3. Moral Re-Armament brings something positive into the war of ideas. We Germans have been tearing ourselves apart in political strife. With great energy we work “against” something. What we must rather do is to be “for” something. The rest will then fall into place.

We Germans must learn to know ourselves. We must work day by day that we do not sink deeper and deeper through our own need and misery into complete despair and nihilism. This is the necessary foundation for world peace.

COVER. *France's heritage of freedom is portrayed in "The Good Road" by Joan of Arc*

INTO GERMANY

BY DUBOIS MORRIS

Stuttgart, Germany

WE are rolling into Germany on what may prove to be one of the great historic adventures of our time. A few hours ago we crossed the border. As we stopped to have our permits examined and passports stamped I asked an ex-G.I. next to me what it felt like to be coming back. He had been wounded in the Battle of the Bulge and later stormed across the Rhine with General Patton's troops.

"Last time we weren't invited," he laughed. "This time the Germans have asked us to come—the entire Cabinet of North Rhine-Westphalia, the Minister Presidents and leaders of Bavaria and Wurttemberg-Baden, and spokesmen from Berlin and other parts of Germany. General Lucius Clay and the British Authorities have authorised the visit. It is an invasion by request."

This force consists of 260 persons from twenty nations—the largest civilian group to enter Germany since the war. They come from Britain, America and Italy, from Finland and Burma, from South Africa, Australia, Canada and India. Among them are the first Japanese to put foot on German soil since war ended. There are men who fought in the Resistance Movements in Norway and Holland; others who suffered in concentration camps; French from Alsace who have been led since childhood to hate and distrust the Germans. And side by side with them sit a former Luftwaffe pilot and an ex-Nazi, now comrades in a fight for freedom that cuts across all previous battlelines.

There are industrialists and tough-muscled workers, lawyers and teachers,



and a bunch of young ex-Servicemen and teen-agers. They are a cross-section of democracy, trained to convey the ideology of freedom. Most of them are in the cast of the Moral Re-Armament revue *The Good Road* which they will present in the various German cities we are to visit.

The party set out a few days ago from the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux-sur-Montreux in Switzerland, which was attended this summer by over 5,000 delegates from fifty countries. Among these delegates were 500 Germans, including thirty-two Cabinet Ministers and Secretaries of State. When Senator Harry Cain of Washington saw the effect of the Conference, and especially of *The Good Road*, on the Germans present, he took immediate action with the United States Authorities.

"As a citizen, as a taxpayer and as

a Senator," he wrote General Clay, "I know of no greater investment to be made at this time than to make these MRA plays available to every German. If this programme cannot re-vitalise and re-inspire a desire in free nations to remain free, I do not know what can."

Last week came a wire from Minister President Karl Arnold and the North Rhine-Westphalian Cabinet asking Dr. Frank Buchman to bring this force to the Ruhr "to spread the message and spirit of Caux in our land and thereby help give our nation new hope and strength." Similar appeals from the Minister Presidents Reinhold Maier of Wurttemberg-Baden and Hans Ehard of Bavaria "warmly and urgently" invited the force to visit their States.

So we set off from Zurich at 7.30 Saturday morning, October 9, in a



Scenes from the Good Road revue. Left: The wheels of industry slow to a standstill. Mistrust has set management and labour at each other's throats. "Watch that man over there. He's trying to double-cross you"

Below: Mr. Anyman says that he has no hopes of industry for the future. "That's too bad, because we're it," this crowd of youth from Europe and America tell him. Here three of them sing to him of the secret they have found. "Sorry is a magic little word"



cavalcade of ten private cars and seven buses provided by arrangement with the Swiss.

Our route to Munich passes through the old cathedral city of Ulm. Above the ruins and rubble, the lacy spire of the tallest church tower in Europe reaches to the sky. As the cavalcade turns under the bomb-scarred gateway, the cathedral bells begin to boom, calling the citizens together. We roll on past the empty shells and shattered walls of once loved and liveable homes. We pull up in the square in front of the cathedral. A crowd has gathered. The flags of the city flutter colourfully. From the Gothic gallery above the main cathedral entrance a chorus of trumpeters sound their welcome.

We are ushered through the crowd into the great nave. The organ throbs. The Lord Mayor extends his greetings. Some of the visitors say a few words. A French girl speaking in German says she wants to bury her hates and build a new world together. The chorus from the revue sing in German :

“Today grow out of tribulation
New hearts, new people :
Everything can be different.”

Many are deeply moved. This is the first contact with the outside world most of these people have had since the war.

The party files into the sunshine and across to the city hall for an official reception and refreshments. Out of their meagre rations the townfolk of Ulm offer us coffee and pastries, and two German children in their Sunday spick-and-span present Dr. Buchman with bouquets of red roses.

As our buses push on to Munich, the streets are lined with waving people—all curiosity and caution gone. In the city of Munich, at less than a week's notice, more than half the group are taken into the homes of local German families. In a city which has been 40 per cent. destroyed by bombs, even the authorities are amazed at the eagerness with which beds are made available. This participation in the home life of Munich proves one of the most effective ways for visitors

and Germans to get to know each other and talk over the application of sound democracy to family and business life.

I find myself the guest of an old titled family who now share their house with fourteen other persons. My host has just that day bartered an old coat for a pair of trousers. His wife knits socks for her elderly father with wool acquired in exchange for some pieces of china. They ask me to share their simple meals—potatoes and cheese for supper, black bread and ersatz coffee for breakfast. Their circumstances are not unlike thousands of others. But their generous-hearted hospitality indicates that our reception into their families symbolises their re-entry into the family of nations.

For the first time since the currency reform, I am told, there are queues outside a Munich theatre, as the crowds try to get tickets for the performances in the Gärtnerplatz Theatre. Just re-built, it is one of Germany's finest and has been put at our disposal by Bavarian State officials.



Europe's heritage is portrayed for Mr. Anyman. Above: St. Francis recalls Italy to the task of building a united Christendom again. Right: The audience in Munich's Opera House. Catholic Bishop Neuhäusler of Bavaria thanks the cast at the conclusion of the performance





15,000 passers-by have stopped to look at this exhibition in Munich's Odeonplatz

The first-night audience, according to local newspaper men, is the most distinguished and representative gathered together in Munich since the war. The crowd stands in cheering approval as Minister President Ehard speaks from his box. "That's the way it should be," he says of what he has seen on the stage. "That's the way it could be; and that's the way it must be."

From his place in the audience, Ehard's political opponent, former Minister President Wilhelm Högnner, rises to add, "We must place our political differences behind us and work out the future of Germany together in this spirit." The audience crowds on to the stage to meet and talk with the cast. It is nearly midnight before the last ones leave.

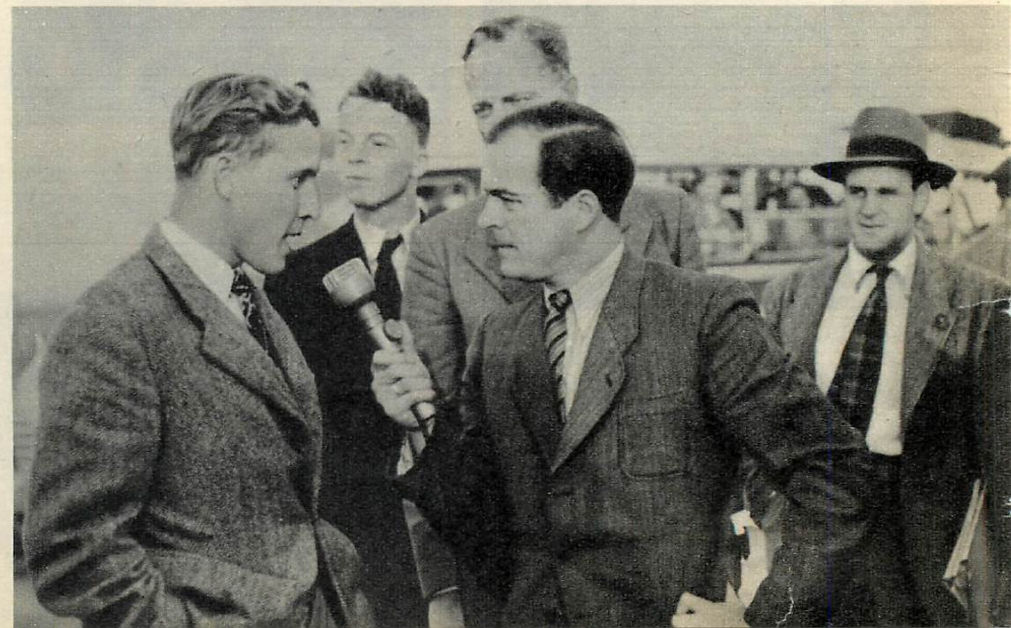
The following performances get the same reception. Catholic Bishop Neuhäusler of Bavaria speaks after the matinee and State Secretary Dieter Sattler that night. German newsreels shoot scenes from the show while the radio records the entire performance for later broadcasts. An American correspondent at the Press Club tells me he made a point of going from top-gallery to ground floor asking all types of Germans—intellectuals, workers and others—what they thought of it.

"They were all enthusiastic," he said. Even though the play is in English with only a final song in German, the ideas

and the spirit get across. "This is the first time the Germans have been shown the essence of true democracy," he concludes. "And it's what they want." A German news agency reporter confirms the same reaction among his colleagues in the Munich press.

So also the meetings with Lorenz Hagen, who heads 870,000 workers in the Bavarian trades unions and whose entire executive board came to the show. The official reception by Lord Mayor Wimmer in the picturesque old Rathaus, the press conferences and private conversations all evidence the readiness of this nation for an inspired ideology to give life to the democratic framework set up by the

The Good Road cast is interviewed by Radio Stuttgart, one of Europe's most powerful stations, which broadcasts a regular twice-weekly programme on Moral Re-Armament



political, economic and military efforts of so many earnest, able men both within and without the country.

Everywhere we find the German leaders who had attended the Caux Assembly had grasped the meaning of inspired democracy and are applying it in their situations. There is a new teamwork in Parliament and in the unions. The word "Caux" has come to represent for Germany a new way of life.

The symbol of that new ideology of freedom has stood these days in Munich's Odeonplatz—directly in front of the Feld-Herrnhalle where a bronze plaque used to mark the death spot of the sixteen Nazis killed in the first Hitler Putsch of November 9, 1923. There, where every German used to have to give the Nazi salute as he passed, at least 15,000 people have stopped to look at a striking photo exhibition, picturing the people and ideas which must provide "the answer to every 'ism'—even materialism."

Across the top of one of the panels run these words:

"A NEW GERMANY—

Not through the dictatorship of a man, a bureaucracy or a class

Not through force, regulations or money

But through men with a big idea—inspired democracy."

As we move on to our next stop, Stuttgart, a copy of the local paper reaches us. The editor of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* tells his readers of our approaching visit.

"Now go and listen to these people," he advises. "They have found an answer to the fear of war and to party strife. They have found 'The Good Road' which leads out of the materialistic world."

EUROPEAN BRIDGE BUILDERS

FRANZ JUNGHANS

ON a visit to the Caux Assembly I met a Frenchman for the first time since the war. The traditional enemies of my country, whom I have hated for years, welcomed me with a German song, "Es Muss Alles Anders Werden." Then I saw *The Forgotten Factor* in French. My friend Armand de Malherbe played a leading part and I hated him although I did not know him. Not a very good beginning.

One evening the thought occurred to me to arrange for the French and Germans to meet together. Armand de Malherbe spoke at that meeting, and everything he said about having no trust in or love for the Germans, I could have said of the French. I remarked how exactly like me he thinks; so we got together to find the solution to this prejudice and hate.

A great deal depends on education. What might not happen if in German schools youth were taught to give instead of to fear? For years our children have been taught to sing, "We'll march to conquer France." What if we were taught to make neighbourly love a reality? A new relationship could grow up between our two countries.

Two convictions emerged from our conversation. I realised that I didn't know how the French lived. The exchange of students is an urgent necessity. We must learn about French history and culture.

I realised, too, how much the unfavourable conditions in Germany have divided us. First there is the difference in the rations for the civilian population and the occupation forces. Then there is the question of the dismantling of factories. And finally, the German prisoners of war employed in France despite the shortage of manpower in our own country.

Facing these differences honestly has freed me of bitterness, and we are now very good friends. The fear and hatred which have divided our countries for a hundred years have made it impossible to create any positive relationship between us. But a new ideology can bridge the differences of faith, confession, party and nationality. With that, we have a greater power which will help us to build creatively. I have found this ideology in Caux and I want to take it to Germany.

One of the most urgent problems facing Europe today is the ancient bitterness and hatred between France and Germany. The authors of this article fought against each other in the last war. Count Armand de Malherbe was in the French resistance movement and later a liaison officer with the U.S. Army. Franz Junghans was a fighter pilot from 1938 to 1947, and spent three and a half years as a prisoner of war in U.S.A. and England

Not only to help my sorely wounded country but to ensure that Germany and France never again take arms against each other.

ARMAND de MALHERBE

BEING twice condemned to be shot by the Nazis was not the beginning of my hatred for the German nation. It was rather the whole course of my upbringing. Yet in my mind I was convinced that friendship between our countries was essential. This remained just an intellectual idea until I recognised the sin of my own feelings towards the German nation. It became a reality when I began to make friends with certain specific people and asked God for a deep love for them. Then a miracle happened—and I can now greet German men and women as my family and friends.

For generations the children of France have been brought up in an atmosphere of hatred which they have caught either from their parents or the books they have read or the general prejudice that exists against Germany. This has been further aggravated just now by the fact that no official relations exist between our countries. We have an army of occupation in Germany, but it fails to solve the problem because it does not live out the democratic ideology.

One of the things that would do most to promote new understanding and trust would be a change in the moral attitude between the men and the women of our two countries. When the attitude of the French soldier changes towards the German woman and vice versa, a new respect for the German home will be born.

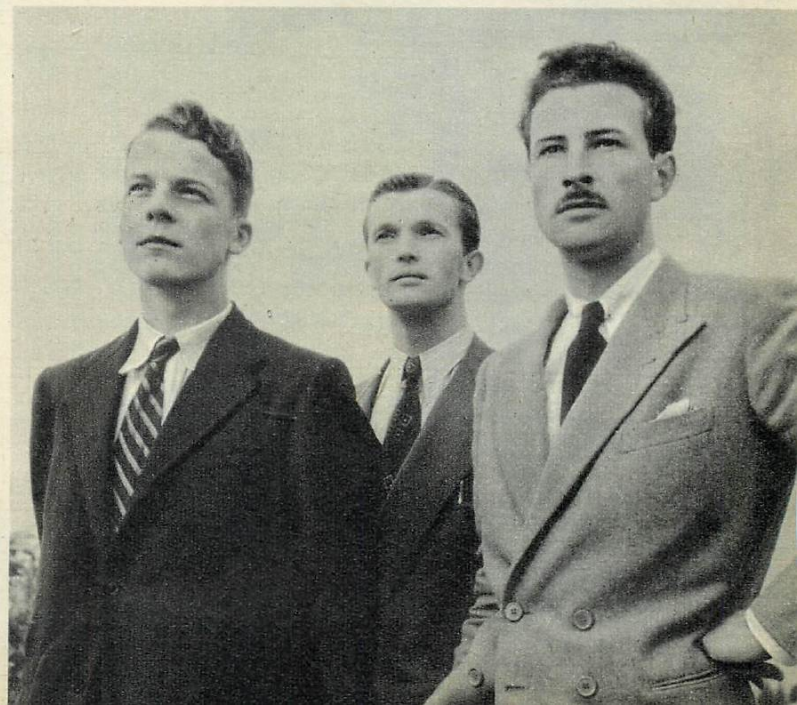
A change of attitude must come, too, among the industrialists who are responsible for the dismantling of German industrial equipment. And finally, our attitude towards the German workers who are employed in France today must change. They are under constant pressure from Communist propaganda. If they are given the opportunity of getting to know France and the French, their return to Germany will cement good-will between our peoples.

I think of Germany as responsible for starting the last two wars of aggression: but we too have our share of the moral responsibility. We need to remember that France fought wars of aggression against her neighbours for 300 years. True understanding cannot be built on the intellectual plane alone. We need to find together a uniting ideology. If this does not happen Europe must face the fact that a further catastrophe is inevitable. But I am convinced personally, from what I have already seen, that the ideology of Moral Re-Armament can save the situation and create bonds of understanding between all the nations.

RECONCILIATION

Junghans

de Malherbe



FROM EUROPE'S COALFIELDS



JULES CATOIRE,
FRANCE

MATHIEU THOMASSEN, BELGIUM. The Belgian coalfields were represented by M. Mathieu Thomassen, President of the Free Union of Mineworkers. He plans to send forty delegates to the 1949 conference at Caux.

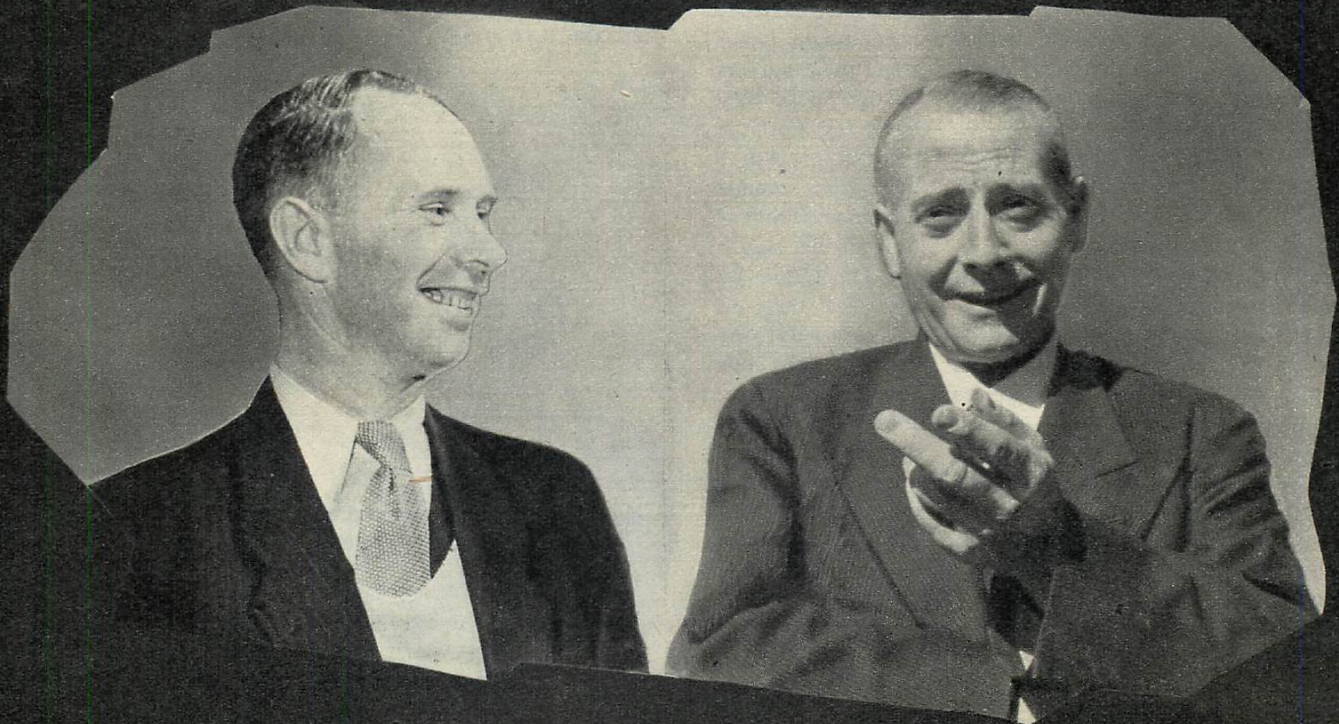
THEY came from the Ruhr and the Rhondda, from France, Holland and Belgium and many parts of Britain—Coal Board Directors, management and miners' leaders. As they met, the British coal industry was struggling desperately to reach its production target; 300,000 French miners were about to strike; and Europe continued to spend precious dollars on essential supplies of American coal.

These men met in conference at the invitation of M. Jules Catoire, M.P., Vice-Chairman of the Northern French Coal Board; Franz Meis, Vice-President of the Ruhr Mineworkers; Mr. Horace E. Holmes, M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Fuel and Power in Britain; Mr. Tom Beacham, Area Production Manager for the Rhondda valley, South Wales, and a committee of mining leaders from France, Germany and Great Britain.

In their invitation, the Committee stated: "Coal has an urgent and decisive part to play in the task of reconstruction, both by contributing the basic material of industry and by demonstrating the teamwork and inspired leadership which are the basic need of effective democracy."

Delegates presented to the conference evidence from the coal-face of new incentive, revolutionary teamwork and increased production. They discussed in informal groups the creation and development of sound leadership at all levels.

A new approach to the problems of industry, in an ideological age where coalfields are battlefields, is manifestly necessary. M. Sabatier, Deputy Director of the Coal Products division of the French Northern Coal Board, commented on this conference: "Moral Re-Armament answers the basic social problems of the French mining industry. Industrially it presents the clearest ideology I have ever seen."



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ives from the coalfields of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany
 end Aage Bruun, director of the Karl Norstrand coal importing company
 t, stressing the urgent need for the mines of Western Europe to export
 strial philosophy as well as coal. M. Vigier (seated third from right),
 ive director of the Coal Board in Northern France, said : "The essential
 French coalfield is the human factor. I am convinced that the road being
 y Moral Re-Armament is the key to success. Its spirit of industrial team-
 -produce results." With him at the Assembly were M. Yve Bertrand,
 irector, and M. Sabatier, Deputy Director of the Coal Products division of
 National Coal Board, and M. Charles Treguer, Douai area, Management
 ve of the Council of Administration of the Coal Board of Northern France.



TERSTELL, GERMANY. German delegates was Herr
 trade union official from the
 battle for a classless society,"
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 oundation of moral values."
 e delegation was led by Herr
 ber, Director of the Ruhr
 Mining (conference picture,
 from right with arms folded).

DAI TUDOR, SOUTH WALES. Mr.
 Dai Tudor, President of the Merthyr
 Tydfil Trades and Labour Council,
 South Wales, comes from a valley of
 poverty and bitterness. "That is the
 outcome of the class struggle," he says,
 "miners fighting the coal owners. We
 need to learn teamwork and co-operation.
 They will break down any barriers and
 give the workers of the world the great
 life they long for." Over a hundred min-
 ing representatives came from Britain.

HONG KONG ADVENTURE

BY MARY MEEKINGS



“WE’RE not dead yet,” said a voice in her ear. Those were the first words that Dr. Katie Woo heard as she came to, and struggled shakily to her feet. It was the day after Hong Kong’s surrender to the Japanese, and all bombardment was supposed to have stopped. She and the doctor of the First Aid Post, after eighteen days spent underground, were climbing up to the roof of her school. The only building undamaged by the bombing, it stood a landmark high above the rubble and ruins around. But before they could reach the top they heard the familiar drone of Japanese planes and down whistled the bomb whose blast knocked them both unconscious.

This is one of the memories stamped vividly on the mind of Dr. Katie Woo, M.B.E., one of Hong Kong’s first women J.P.s, and headmistress of its biggest school, where with 800 boys and 700 girls she is successfully experimenting with co-education. But, what with her soft deep voice, pretty, well-groomed hands, and warm way of always being so glad to see you, she wears her scholarship graciously.

The story of her school is an adventure story. It begins when she was fourteen years old, when the English lady at the Sunday School, who watched with respect little Katie’s handling of the difficult boys, proclaimed her a born teacher. That was the spark that started her off; and because

in China in 1912 there was no higher education for women, she went to England to train. She returned to Hong Kong expecting to get a job as a teacher and found herself already appointed Principal of a school. If life has often treated Miss Woo with such unexpected generosity, it has certainly picked a lady who would respond.

Then one day she listened to a story which changed the whole course of her life. It was a short and simple tale about a headmistress who was troubled by stealing in the school, and it was told to her by Dr. Frank Buchman. He described how this headmistress invited him to visit her, and before a gathering of the staff, asked his advice on how to deal with the thefts. He

sat in silence for a minute and then asked: "When did you steal last?" The staff, staggered at this approach to their principal, had been even more surprised to hear her admit that when she had been the age of the girl under suspicion, she too had stolen. Later on, when she interviewed the girl, she began her talk by saying that she herself had taken things from her mother. Disarmed, the child poured out her own story. The thefts stopped, never to recur.

The experiment that worked

The story stuck in Miss Woo's mind. Not that she had stolen, but there were all those rules she had laid down for her pupils and her staff—had she laid them down for herself? And anyway she had learned only too well that more than rules was needed to create responsibility and character. She had longed to give the Chinese girls, then treated as dolls, a real equipment and training for life. And during her stay in England she had realised that though China worshipped ethics, she needed even more the power that would bring those ethics to life. That story gave her a clue to the way that power might come.

And so she got to know Dr. Buchman and his friends better, and discovered the secret of their simple and effective Christianity. At the core of it all was the belief that to bring any change to the world the place to start with was one's self, and that clear and accurate direction for living could come from the mind of God to the mind of man. She experimented with it herself. She found that it worked. And the management of her school became even more of an adventure, a bold enterprise in faith sometimes astonishing in its simplicity, because instead of being a burden of organisation heavy on her shoulders, it became a matter of getting orders in the big things and the little; in such practical matters, for instance, as the new school buildings or the new swimming pool.

For new school buildings were needed. The number of pupils rose from fifty to four hundred. In her words, "just as a child grows so big she needs a new dress, so we needed school buildings." The question was, how to get them? She decided to ask the Colonial Secretary for a site of 20,000 square feet. Her friends told her it was hopeless, land was scarce and she could expect nothing but a refusal. They were amazed to see her return from the interview with a promise of the site, and a gift of 50,000 dollars towards the cost if she managed to raise 100,000 herself.

So she chose ten men and went to each to ask for a pledge of 10,000 dollars. When she told the Colonial Secretary she had succeeded, he was incredulous. In the China of the twenties it was unheard-of for a woman to go to a man on a business matter. When he was convinced, however, that she had succeeded, he not only gave her the 50,000 dollars but doubled the size of the site.

Another battle she fought and won was for a swimming pool for her girls. Her Governing Committee objected to the idea on the grounds that it was indecent for the girls to expose their limbs. So Miss Woo suggested a pool under cover to avoid such exposure. The school stands on a hill and a covered pool could be built under the ground level. She won her point; for her success is due to the quiet strength of her conviction and not to pushing or grabbing. She is a modest person who wanted to refuse the M.B.E. when it came to her in 1926 as a recognition of her services to the colony and to education. Only when they told her it would honour China and her school did she give in: she was the first Chinese woman ever to receive the decoration.

Then came war with Japan. Through the first eighteen days of shelling and bombing and all the long months of the occupation, she never left the school. The underground swimming pool came into its own and sheltered and saved many lives. They used to say that Katie Woo was the only one in the huge building who was not afraid, "Yes," she says, "I was at peace during those days of bombing because I felt that the whole building and management of my school had been under God's guidance from the start, and He would not desert me then."

Hidden in swimming pool

But the shelling was easy compared to the war of nerves that followed with the occupation. Katie was examined, watched, interrogated. She lost 45 lb. in weight. Her worst fear was for the forty girls she had hidden in the swimming pool. Every other day, Japanese officers would come and ask her for girls, and she would take them on a tour of the top storeys of the building, show them the deserted rooms, the damage caused by flying shrapnel, and plead that the school was uninhabitable. It was a miracle that never once did they ask her where she herself lived or suspect the existence of those storeys below ground level. Finally she managed to get the girls away to stay with friends.

Often it seemed as if she could stand it no longer, as if she must snap under the strain. Only her faith gave her strength to go on, kept her mouth shut when she wanted to lose her temper with the Japanese, told her what to do when squeezed into tight corners. Yet in some strange way she often came off best. To her distress, her school was re-opened later in the occupation, and was used to teach the children Japanese. She longed to find a way to stop this. One day they ordered her to broadcast. She refused. The Chairman who asked her scolded her like a child before the Committee of Principals, so that she left the room red with humiliation. Later the authorities talked to her for three hours to persuade her to change her mind. Then what she had not dared to hope for happened: she was told that because of her unpatriotic behaviour her school was to be closed.

Shortly before the liberation of Hong Kong she decided to offer her school for the use of the civic authorities. To make this possible, the Japanese repaired the greater part of the war damage. On V-J day she received the school back again in almost as good order as before the war. In the desolated city it stood as if unscathed from the beginning.

War of nerves

Miss Woo's war of nerves was yesterday. For many of us in Europe ours is today, framed from threatening headlines, disquieting events, and a standard of living shrinking to a minimum.

But the strength that carried her through is for us too. At first glance it may look too simple for our complex, sophisticated Western World. God can speak? Take away fear and bring peace? Tell us what to do when we have lost our bearings? Materialists may tell you the idea is foreign and even foolish.

People told Marconi wireless was a foolish idea. They laughed at the Wright brothers when they strung together the first flimsy aeroplane. But in spite of this, the radio and the aeroplane have revolutionised our world, made distance meaningless, pulled continents together.

People with the courage and daring to experiment as Miss Woo has done have a chance to bring about an even greater revolution—a stable world where men can trust each other and where their children can live in peace.

長校貞素胡

CAN DEMOCRACY UNITE

AN OVER-ARCHING IDEOLOGY

Address by A.R.K. MACKENZIE, Member of British Delegation to the United Nations

IS it possible to find an ideology on which men of good will everywhere can unite? That is the most urgent question facing us today, and many statesmen despair of ever finding the answer.

Some people have been ideologically awake for a very long time. Others are just coming out of the chrysalis stage. Their eyes are just beginning to open. So many people have thought that we should concentrate on solving the economic problems of the world. They have said ideological issues were irrelevant, but history is proving the falsity of their views. You can analyse every major problem facing us today in the economic, political and military fields, and in every instance you will find that there are ideological factors to be reckoned with. Statesmen must face the fact that we cannot shape history without an adequate ideology. And we cannot answer a false ideology with no ideology. We cannot save our own countries by spotlighting the faults in any other country, East or West. Our salvation lies in finding an over-arching ideology on which men of the East and West, the North and the South, can unite.

Everyone believes in democracy, they say, these days. Yet many leaders who claim to speak for the democracies have not thought out what are the characteristics of democracy's ideology which can unite the world. There was once an Englishman who was hitch-hiking across America. It was down in the far South and he was very hot. He met an American who was also trying to get a ride across the country. Together they tried to get rides in the cars by giving the hitch-hikers' sign.

Do you call this democracy?

As the cars swept by without stopping, the Englishman got more and more disagreeable. He turned to the American and said: "You call this country of yours a democracy, and look at all these people in their cars—none of them will stop and give us a lift." The American looked at him and said: "Say, buddy, you think this is a democracy! Why, if this was a democracy, we would be in those cars on the road, and we would not stop!" That is just about how clear some people are as to what democracy is.

I suppose if you asked the man in the street what are the marks of this over-arching ideology of democracy, he might say first of all: "Well, I have heard that democracy means free speech, freedom of religion and free elections." These are old and vital beliefs, but I wonder if they are an adequate definition of the ideology we are looking for. When freedom of religion was first established as an important principle, it had quite a different meaning from what it has today. Freedom of religion was felt to be important because everyone was so keen to seek God's will that he had to be free to do it in his own way. But today freedom of religion means free to be religious if you want to. If you don't want it, it doesn't matter. I wonder how long a country can survive separated from its spiritual roots. However important they may be, these principles do not of them-

selves alone give us a precise enough definition of democracy.

The essential point about democracy is that it has a moral ideology. I doubt very much whether it is possible to unite the world on the basis of an economic or a political ideology at the moment. We need an ideology based on absolute moral standards, to apply to every nation, every class and every race—absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love. This will result in sound homes, teamwork in industry and national unity.

The art of the impossible

These give us the extra criteria for which we are looking. These will help us to judge whether a person believes in world-wide democracy. If he is living out a sound home life, building team-work in industry and national unity, then his words about democracy ring true.

A distinguished statesman once said that politics is the art of the possible. Moral Re-Armament is the art of making the impossible possible. There are forgotten factors which must be brought to bear again on our major international problems. The first is that human nature can be changed. Many people have grown sceptical about that. I don't wonder, because there is a lot of unchanged human nature going around these days. But at the World Assemblies for Moral Re-Armament we have seen, not as a theory, but as a fact, that human nature is and can be different—evidence on two legs, of how capitalists and labour leaders unite and people of many nations work together.

The other forgotten factor is that God has a plan. Statesmen can ill afford to neglect that great truth. Out of these basic forgotten truths that live again we have seen here the development of a modern, superior ideology. Coal production is rising through a new spirit in men. Germany is finding hope for the future. Unity is being born between French and Germans, between capital and labour, between America and Europe. That is evidence that no man can ignore. We have had the privilege of seeing a new approach to world problems, with hopes of lasting solutions. If human nature can be changed and men can find together the over-arching plan of God, that paves the way to the biggest revolution that the world has ever known.


Beginning of a revolution

Finally, if this ideology is a moral ideology, it means that you have to start with yourself. If it were an economic ideology, you could read it all up in a book. But if it is a moral ideology, you cannot do that. You cannot spread a moral dynamic that you do not have in your own life. That was the biggest challenge Moral Re-Armament brought to me. It told me to stop waiting for the other country to change; to stop waiting for the other fellow to change; to begin with myself. Suppose everyone did that. Some people are beginning. On that basis we can usher in a revolution that can change the world and unite people the world over behind the one ideology that can give us peace.

THE WORLD?


A NATION PIONEERS

Address by PROFESSOR MAX HUBER of Switzerland

 This address by the Honorary President of the International Red Cross and former President of the International Court at the Hague was made at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at the time of the visit of the President of the Swiss Confederation, Dr. Enrico Celio; the President of the Federal Assembly, Dr. Albert Picot; the Chancellor of the Swiss Confederation, Dr. Oscar Leimgruber; and the Permanent Secretary of the Federal Assembly, Frederic Geissbuhler. "We are proud to have the European centre of this movement in Switzerland, as it enables our country to be the one to radiate to the world the ideology which can save it from the disaster which threatens it," Dr. Leimgruber told the Assembly.

SWITZERLAND celebrates the centenary of her federal constitution this year. Like the individual constitutions of the twenty-five cantons, it is the expression of a true democratic idea. The smallness of the country has made it possible for the people to participate in its government and the conduct of its public affairs to an unusual extent.

For 700 years every state document has been prefaced with the words: "In the name of Almighty God." In my opinion these words are not only the expression of a tradition but they are the key to the right understanding and application of the constitution.

 Professor Huber, right, greets the President of the Swiss Confederation, Dr. Enrico Celio, on his arrival at the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly in Switzerland



Earliest charter of Swiss Confederation, signed at Grutli, 1291

During these years Switzerland has been in a miraculous way preserved by God. "This God has done for us: What have we done for Him?"

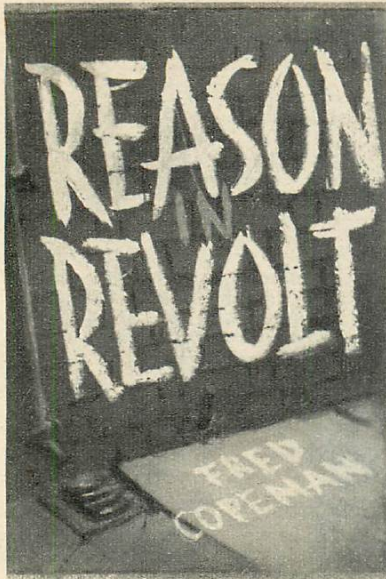
We need to be humble and grateful for the blessings He has given us. We have not until now lived up to the ideal expressed in our constitution. Once we put at the head of it the name of God Almighty, we are obliged to feel responsible before Him, not only as individuals, but as a nation. This responsibility means the acceptance of God's will in the conduct of our affairs. Not a fearful and grudging obedience of the laws, but a joyful acceptance of God's will as a token of our gratitude for His mercy.

Moral Re-Armament sets out to do this in personal life and to make the guidance of God the basis, too, of national and international policy. Indeed, to act in this way is our duty, not only as individual Christians but as citizens who truly accept the spirit of our constitution.

We have, therefore, a great deal to learn from the spirit and the experience of people in Moral Re-Armament. We will play our part, too, by framing our policy in the widest sense, our social policy as it most closely affects each one of us, on the great principles of Moral Re-Armament. Then we will be able—and, perhaps, the experience we have gained, not without some bloody battles for our democratic constitution, will help us—to pass on something worthwhile to others.

But apart from this we should help this enterprise which enjoys the hospitality we extend to it so willingly, in every possible way. We should endeavour to promote it among our people and in our state departments. Neutrality, which is a centuries old tradition with us, and one to which our people tenaciously adhere, prevents us from taking arms in the maintenance of peace, or resorting to military force or political pressure. We should, therefore, make even greater efforts in a fight for peace which relies on moral and spiritual means. That is the mission of Moral Re-Armament.

The words which preface our Federal constitution and which are found, too, in the preamble to all our Federal treaties, "In the name of God Almighty," must, if not in written words, at all events in spirit, stand at the outset of all national and international agreements or institutions.



ON a cold Scottish morning 15,000 men stood waiting, tense and silent, on the forward decks of a long line of men-of-war, while the sun rose slowly, like an orange ball, out of the mouth of Cromarty Firth. They were the men of the Royal Navy's Home Fleet and they waited, massed in groups, for an expected signal.

Occasionally an officer's crisp voice rapped out an order. Not a man moved to obey. Bugles sounded the familiar "all men fall in on quarter deck" and "divisions"; the silent service remained silent and made no move. The tension grew. All eyes were strained on the big ships up the line.

And then it happened. A faint cheer from beyond the harbour mouth, far out to sea. And then up the Firth from ship to ship the cheers were taken up. Quickly it swelled in a mighty wave of sound till 15,000 men were roaring triumphantly together. For many minutes it continued. The whole Fleet was out on strike; the Mutiny of Invergordon of 1931 had begun.

One of the leaders of the strike committee was Able Seaman Fred Copeman, a rugged 14-stoner, well known throughout the Fleet as a heavyweight boxer. Born in a workhouse and brought up in an orphanage he had never known a father, and had lost his mother at the age of eight. Was it the memory of those early years—the grim, gloomy corridors of the workhouse where his mother, a little old woman, frail and stone-deaf, seemed to be endlessly scrubbing, the frequent pauper funerals and the atmosphere of poverty and hopelessness—

that gave him his jutting jaw, ready fists, and hatred of all injustice and inequality? The opening chapters of Copeman's autobiography* are simple and undramatic. But they take the reader inside the mind of a rebel against society.

At Invergordon Copeman burst suddenly upon the consciousness of a nation. But those earlier years of struggle had prepared him for the chance he was offered there to embark on the next stage of his life, the whirl of revolutionary politics.

The Communists did not fail to notice those who had taken a lead at Invergordon, and it was not long before he found himself a member of the Party.

All for the Party

On leaving the Service, Copeman was soon prominent in the struggles of the unemployed in London's East End. He led demonstrations and hunger marches, stormed the London County Hall and saw the inside of several prisons before crossing to Spain to enlist in the ranks of the International Brigade.

His daring leadership soon brought him to the fore, and at the age of twenty-nine he succeeded Tom Wintringham and Jock Cunningham as Commander of the British battalion of the Brigade.

During the Civil War, the methods of the Communist politicians were already causing Copeman to doubt, but on his return to Britain he was pressed to join the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He clashed often with the Political Bureau, and in a bid to restore his waning loyalty he was sent to Moscow for a re-injection of enthusiasm.

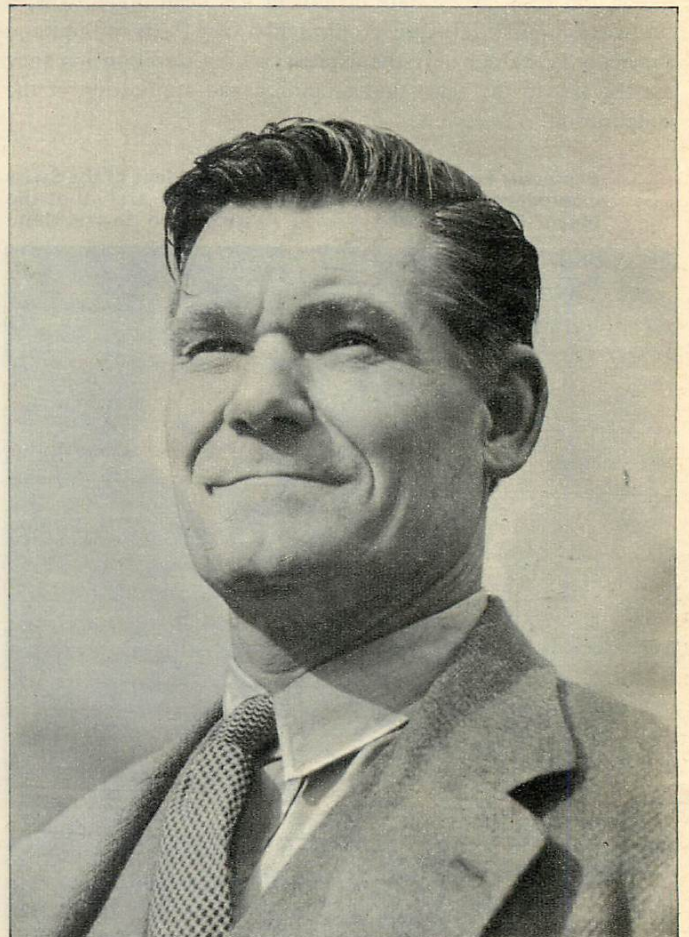
He was fêted: he attended a secret session of the Comintern: he sat behind locked doors with Gottwald, now Czech Prime Minister; Tito of Yugoslavia; Dimitroff of Bulgaria, and other well known figures. But the serum did not take. He

returned to London disillusioned, and in the spring of 1939 broke with Harry Pollitt and his colleagues at the Party Headquarters in King Street. Soon afterwards, he joined the Labour Party and began to take a lead in the Trade Union movement.

What has Copeman to say which justifies another *exposé* of Communist ruthlessness and intrigue? One calls to mind *I Chose Freedom*, Trotsky's *Stalin*, and *Soviet Spies*, each brilliant in its own way. But *Reason in Revolt* is far more than an *exposé*. The reader must decide for himself whether the final chapters justify the author's claim to have found the *answer* to Communism. His account of a faith and a force to arm democracy in its life-and-death struggle with an alien ideology is at all events provoking. And if Copeman is right it is of major importance for an understanding of events today.

Copeman's writing is plain and in places rough and jerky. And often strangely moving. The story he has to tell is stronger, more breath-taking than fiction. It will earn him many friends and some enemies in high places. It is a book that cannot be ignored.

GEOFFREY GAIN



*Blandford Press, 8/6

U TIN TUT

PROFESSOR LEN ALLEN

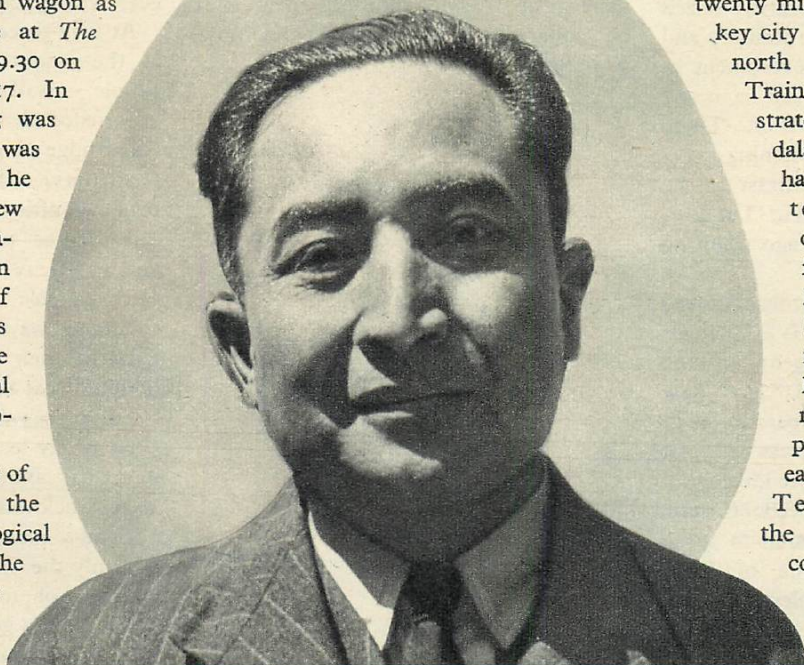
RANGOON UNIVERSITY

U TIN TUT, former Foreign Minister of Burma, was buried on September 28 with full military honours. He was killed by a hand-grenade or bomb which blew up inside his heavily guarded station wagon as he drove from his office at *The New Times of Burma* at 9.30 on the night of September 17. In the explosion his left leg was shattered and his jaw was broken. "Take me home," he said to his driver. But a few minutes later he lost consciousness, never to regain it again. A small sliver of steel had punctured his skull behind the ear. He died in the Rangoon General Hospital at 7.37 p.m., September 18.

Behind these grim details of the death of one man lies the story of the titanic ideological battle for Asia, involving the destiny of a billion people in the East and another billion in the West.

Pick up the day-to-day account of the struggle at any point. Indonesia, Malaya, China, Korea. The Philippines, India, Burma. The pattern of Communist penetration is everywhere becoming more distinct.

In March 1948, when the armed Communist rebellion broke out in Burma, scarcely three months after the achievement of independence, U Tin Tut courageously wrote in his outstanding weekly paper, *The Burmese Review*: "Independent Burma was born into no easy world. There is already in the world a bitter war of ideas, and a war of ideas is often the precursor to a war of arms . . . The real war of ideas is between that conception of personal liberty, of free democracy and constitutional redress, and the conception of an autocratic state overriding the people, and one-party rule attained and maintained by force and bloodshed. This is the choice not only before Burma, but before the whole world . . . There is no place for the hesitant, the uncertain and the lukewarm,



for he who is not on the side of law and order is against it."

Those were fighting words. U Tin Tut has paid for them with his life. His enemies have silenced him. But his country still faces the choice which he so fearlessly put to them. Which way will they go? What are the indications today?

There are four ways to measure the progress of the Communist battle for the control of Burma, or any other country, for that matter. Military, Political, Economic, and Ideological. All four have to be seen in relation to each other. Military reports may show that the Communists, at any given stage, are losing ground, but actually they may be gaining strength.

The situation in Burma, for example, is constantly shifting from a military point of view. During August and September, Rangoon itself was seriously cut off from the rest of the country by Communists or other insurgents. A strict

curfew was imposed. In spite of this, there were two large-scale night raids in the Rangoon area by bandit insurrectionists. Aircraft were used to strafe or bomb insurgents, sometimes within twenty miles of the capital. Prome, a key city on the Irrawaddy 170 miles north of Rangoon, had fallen. Trains from Rangoon to the strategic centres of Bassein, Mandalay, and Moulmein were halted. However, during September the Government offensive has considerably improved matters. Prome has been liberated. Other insurgent strongholds have fallen. There is a feeling here now in Burma that the military crisis may have passed, especially with the easing of the tension in the Tenasserim area, where the Karens temporarily seized control in September.

From a political point of view also the Government appears to have gained strength. A new Cabinet appointed by Premier Thakin Nu on September 14 has increased the strength of the dominant Socialist Party. At the date of writing, the popularly elected Provisional Parliament is in session, handling the current legislative and business affairs of the nation. The Government enjoys an overwhelming majority on all issues that arise on the floor. Insurgent Members of Parliament are either in hiding or in jail. Elections under the new constitution have been scheduled for April 1949. If these elections are held, this will be the first sounding of public opinion on the ideological issue since Burma became independent.

At the moment, both from a military and a political point of view, the Government appears to be more than holding its own. What about the economic situation?

Here, the drain of six months of civil war is beginning to show. The Government faces a budget deficit of an estimated 100 million rupees for the next fiscal year. The maintenance of law and order now

consumes over one-fourth of the national budget. No accurate estimates of the damage to the current rice crop, on which Burma largely depends for foreign exchange, are available. A sharp decline in revenues has been noted as a result of the upheaval. Many Rangoon merchants report that business has long been at a standstill. Added to all this are the costs of widespread damage to railways, bridges, highways, and telegraphic communications, as well as the looting of local Government treasuries in places where the insurgents have temporarily seized power. Thus, in spite of the military and political strength of the Government at present, there is little optimism from any quarter on the economic situation. There is some talk of inflation threatening.

All of this is in sharp contrast to the balanced budget which U Tin Tut presented to Parliament a year ago when he was Minister of Finance.

Most serious of all is the highly confused ideological situation. And it is at just this point where the real tragedy of the murders of General Aung San and now U Tin Tut becomes most apparent. Both these men spoke with the clear voice of moral decisiveness on the basic ideological issue. They have been silenced. Certain editors also have recently dared to speak clearly on this issue. One of them received an anonymous telephone call threatening him with death.

And then there are the many other voices, wavering, confused, fearful.

Even now, at the date of writing, there are rumours that once again appeasement is to be tried. The situation is highly unpredictable. It grows more so.

On the ideological aspect of the struggle in Burma, General Aung San's death marked a decisive turning point. The effects of his death were not fully apparent till the insurrection of 1948, several months later. U Tin Tut's death now marks another turning point in the ideological struggle. The full effects may be apparent only months from now, in 1949.

At the Rangoon airport, while waiting for Mrs. Tin Tut on her return from London for her husband's funeral, one person was heard to say: "We shall miss U Tin Tut. He inspired us frontier people with confidence. When he visited us along with U Aung San, we believed what he said. We trusted him. More than that, he has spoken well for our country abroad. His brilliance, his knowledge of the world, has helped other nations to look on us as their equals. He has made this country to be respected everywhere. Now he is gone."

At fifty-three, U Tin Tut was stricken at the height of his usefulness to his people. With years of training and experience at an English public school, Cambridge University, in the Indian Civil Service, and in a variety of public responsibilities, he combined in himself a rare degree of wisdom, statesmanship, and a capacity for prodigiously hard work. His enemies have damned him in a thousand ways. And many have been faint in their praise. But no one ever doubted that he loved Burma.

So passes one of Burma's greatest present-day leaders. A financier, scholar, journalist and statesman. And not the least, a beloved husband and father. And a friend to many. Among them he counted not only the minorities of Burma, but the eminent of many countries.

Tin Tut is gone. But the battle for the soul of his country goes on. He gave his life on the side of moral ideology against the forces of godless materialism.

Burma also will choose between these two. That's the story behind the news here today. And it's the story of this mighty continent, whose decision will determine the destiny of mankind.

