

AFRICA'S HOUR AND OTHER SPEECHES

AFRICA'S HOUR is the title of an address by Peter Howard to African diplomats, businessmen and students in London. It was chosen as the name of this book because these speeches, made to varied audiences in many nations around the world, were gathered together at the request of men and women in Africa.

RAJMOHAN GANDHI, who has written the Foreword, was a personal friend and colleague of Peter Howard. Three generations of his family have had close links with Africa.

Also by Peter Howard

INNOCENT MEN
FIGHTERS EVER
IDEAS HAVE LEGS
MEN ON TRIAL
THAT MAN FRANK BUCHMAN
THE WORLD REBUILT
AN IDEA TO WIN THE WORLD
FRANK BUCHMAN'S SECRET
BRITAIN AND THE BEAST
DESIGN FOR DEDICATION

With Dr Paul Campbell

REMAKING MEN
AMERICA NEEDS AN IDEOLOGY
A STORY OF EFFECTIVE STATESMANSHIP

Africa's Hour
and other speeches

PETER HOWARD

Foreword by
RAJMOHAN GANDHI

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

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Foreword

“I WAS BORN WHITE. I couldn't help that, could I?”
So Peter Howard began a speech to Mau Mau men in Kenya. Then he apologised for his selfishness and indifference until he met the force of Moral Re-Armament which revolutionized his life. When he had finished speaking the Mau Mau leaders said to him, “If we had dreamed white men could speak and think as we heard you speak today, there would have been no Mau Mau in Kenya.”

He wept. He loved Africa and he loved his own people.

There is a wonderful photograph of Peter Howard and a group of Kenyans caught in unrestrained laughter.

It is not as often as it should be that men of different races, or of the same race, weep for or laugh with one another. Howard lived and died fighting for the entire human race to become one living, loving, laughing human family.

And he was convinced that Africa's part in bequeathing such a world to the future was going to be supreme, timely and decisive.

Howard faced where the white man was wrong in his dealings with Africa, and the cost of it. He also helped Asians, brown men like me, to realise where we were wrong, and the cost of that.

The brown man may have played a needful part in African trade and administration, but when the balance

sheet of his African operation is drawn up, what he has got will certainly exceed what he has given.

We have loved ourselves more, and Africa less. We have tried to make ourselves rich, secure and great, not Africa. As an Indian I ask for Africa's forgiveness.

Change is not easy for Indians. We are quick to see the shortcomings of other races and continents. Our pride is hurt when we are found out, and we work up a lot of self-pity. Through Moral Re-Armament we are learning to laugh at ourselves, and not be shocked when we discover how dishonest, impure and selfish we are, without God.

The white man, with all his knowledge and power, has not been able to cure the division and decadence that plague his society. The brown man, despite his numbers and claim of tradition, has on his continent today a society of corruption, poverty and chaos. Tyranny knocks on his door.

Will the black man help white and brown? His aid is urgently needed.

There is also the yellow man. Every now and then newspapers speak of a fresh bid by Peking to woo Africa with its ideas. The world reacts to China. Some scoff, some praise, some prepare to live under its authority and the terror of its bomb, some long to destroy that authority and that bomb. Few plan how to change China and help her find her true role in the battle for a new world.

Could it be that the black man holds the key that may yet unlock China's tight gates and open up for those 800 million people new vistas of greatness?

Asia, and I believe the same is true of Africa, does not want the American, European or Chinese way of life. Asia wants a revolution that can bring together father and son,

brother and brother, mother and daughter, caste and caste, class and class, race and race, nationality and nationality. She wants a revolution that makes dishonest leaders, and the dishonest led, honest and unselfish.

Asia wants an answer to the man worship and the self worship that leads us to treat some men as gods and other men as dogs.

This revolution is coming. It is on the march. Moral Re-Armament is its name.

A young Harijan leader in Delhi, whose community are still, despite a whole book of laws, treated as outcasts by a number of Indians, said to me the other day, "The voice of God is amazing. It asks you to forgive the man who wants to chop off your head, then it asks you to change him. And the incredible thing is that he does change." This man was speaking not of other castes or races or colours, but of enemies he had in his own Harijan community. And they did change.

I have a Nigerian friend. He has chosen to sacrifice his life for world revolution. He has been working in Britain to change the British. But he has not forgotten his own country and continent. He comes from the South but, inspired by one of the leaders of the Hausa people from the North, the conviction came to him that he must have the film *Freedom* available in the Hausa language. He searched for the Hausa men he needed, found them, befriended them and won them over, not only to help with the film, but to share in the fight for a hate-free Africa.

The result has been the creation of a potent and moving weapon, *Freedom* in Hausa, which is destined to build bridges and save lives.

If Hausa and Ibo need unity, so do Pakistani and Indian, Chinese and Russian, Greek and Turk, British and French, and White and Negro in America. Will Africa produce answers in her different countries that will teach unity to other continents?

Peter Howard, master of words, was above all a servant of God. And he was the comrade of any man anywhere who fought for a hate-free, fear-free and greed-free world. He wrote and uttered his stirring words in the belief and knowledge that African men and women, and Asians, Europeans, Americans, all, would rise up as he rose, and establish a society that went way beyond Communism and anti-Communism, racialism and revenge.

“What colour is God’s skin?” asked Peter Howard, and himself answered, “Black, white, brown, yellow and red.” Africa, which has suffered under white imperialism and brown self-seeking, can yet be the pioneer continent in creating a world where men and women of all colours live as sons and daughters of an Almighty God.

RAJMOHAN GANDHI

New Delhi, April 1968

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Africa's Hour

*An address to African diplomats, businessmen and students in the
Caxton Hall, Westminster, August 1963*

GOD IS COLOUR BLIND and character conscious. Man is character blind and colour conscious. We must reverse that.

We need a revolution on God's earth to change the social, political and economic outlook for every man, woman and child. Africa can and will play a conquering part in creating the right revolution.

Old England has failed. Modern America is failing. And the massive lack of unity between China and the Soviet Union won't unite the world.

Why shouldn't in our lifetime Africa create a system where human beings care enough so that every living person has enough to eat, a decent home and an opportunity to live as men?

Africa is going to be the mother of tomorrow's world. The world is waiting with an eager heart and hungry mind to listen to the voice of the new Africa. It must be a voice so revolutionary that China, Russia, America, Europe, black men, brown men, yellow men, white men say with one accord, "That is the way God's earth is meant to live."

Africa needs to show the world that it is not the colour of a man's skin but the character in a man's heart that

counts. Africa has, if she chooses, the God-appointed destiny of uniting the entire world on the level of character. Africa, the continent of character, the character of brotherhood that lies hidden under the hates, greeds, fears and bitterness of every human heart.

I am for a revolution big enough to lift all men beyond the need of bloodshed into the realm of partnership and of peace. If that could come to pass we might see an Africa where everybody cares enough and everybody shares enough so everybody has enough. We might see an African freedom so generous and true that Moscow, Washington, London, Paris and Peking say, "We all need what Africa has brought to birth in her continent."

Many of you come to Britain to study law, family life, political standards and fair play. All these things are sadly tarnished today in Britain. But all these things have an everlasting value. Do not use the compromise of white men as an excuse for compromise in the new free countries of Africa. Do not reject white imperialism because you dislike it and yet accept white perversion, corruption and seduction because they are convenient to you.

This is Africa's hour. What Africa decides to live today the world may decide to live tomorrow. The continent, which we white men once called dark, may lead all men into the sunshine of a new and greater civilisation, where governments guided by God govern nations made up of men and women who love each other as sons and daughters of God.

An Idea on the March

*An address to the MRA Assembly of Nations in Vigyan Bhavan,
New Delhi, chaired by Rajmohan Gandhi, December 1963*

THERE IS AN AFRICAN PROVERB, "He who wakes me in the middle of the night to go on a long journey, I will thank only when I am far, far on my way". Rajmohan Gandhi is awakening a continent to go on a long journey. Its destination is revolution—a revolution so radical and rapid that reactionaries and Communists alike say, "This is too big for us to resist. It is what the hearts of all men hunger for. It is what we ourselves desire."

The aim of that revolution is social and economic justice, where the work of the world and its wealth are shared by all and selfishly squandered by none. Its aim is peace where men no longer prepare for war as they talk pious platitudes to the press or at conference tables and breakfast tables, but where they pay the price of peace by a change of heart and motive, personally and nationally.

Its aim is a world where all barriers are down, of colour, class, race, prejudice or nationality. We have got to end forever the old imperialisms, whether they be white, black or Red, and establish the new imperialism of the living God in every cabinet, in every industry, in every home everywhere. So mankind grows to maturity and learns to live everywhere united as sons of God, honest, pure, unselfish

and loving as His sons can be, free because their freedom is based on moral and spiritual obedience to the inner voice.

THREE MAIN AIMS of India's policy are non-alignment, integration and Socialism. Moral Re-Armament has much in common with India's policy in these three aims.

We are non-aligned, in the sense that we offer to Communist and non-Communist worlds alike the logical next step in their development. It is the new character in men, from lack of which some parts of Western civilisation are failing and without which the Communist world, despite its massive social and economic achievements, is dividing and may also fail.

I want to tell you about an animal in the West. There was once in the West a rabbit—a very pious and sincere rabbit, who bravely declared its non-alignment with a vulture and a wolf, though it was possibly more non-aligned towards the wolf than the vulture because it thought it could run faster than the wolf. The difficulty was that neither wolf nor vulture were non-aligned towards the rabbit. Fortunately at the moment wolf and vulture are too busy with each other to destroy the rabbit with fang or claw.

In Moral Re-Armament we have non-alignment with a backbone, not a mere wishbone, because we fight to change wolves, vultures, rabbits, bears, eagles—whatever animal posture men and nations adopt today. And it is winning its way forward everywhere.

We are integrated in the true sense of that word. Integration is a matter of muscle as well as of mere emotion. There is no true integration without a change of heart. So long as any of us in our hearts, with suspicion, superiority or hate,

separate ourselves from another caste, class, colour or individual, we are the enemies of integration and cannot effectively criticise the filthy paraphernalia of racial prejudice that still exists elsewhere.

Socialism, according to some leaders of India, is indefinable. There seems to me some risk in advocating indefinable policies. And I do not know whether we dare claim to be purely socialist. But I will define our outlook. I will tell you how we live and you must decide.

We all care enough and share enough so all of us have enough. We pray on our knees for our needs to be met, and use what we are given only for the purposes of our revolution. We none of us take a rupee of salary for this work. We have never received one cent from the American State Department, nor one rouble from the Russians. Nor do any mysterious American capitalists or Russian commissars finance us. I believe both of these nations, all nations, should contribute at Government level to MRA. But if ever they do, it will not alter our goal of revolution for both Communist and capitalist societies one mite. We are not to be bribed, bought or bullied.

Our work is financed in India and elsewhere by the sacrifice of millions who believe in it. We may see the day in society when men care enough to serve with the best interests of their community, gladly and passionately with a whole heart, with the skill of their hands and the sweat of their bodies in return for the meeting of their normal and reasonable needs. That may or may not be Socialism. It is certainly MRA. It is how we live.

ONE FINAL WORD about peace. Everybody wants it. Few

either live peace or pay the price of peace. Men who talk of peace and non-alignment, but who privately plan and advocate violence—who spread hatred against another caste, or against the Socialists, or the Communists, or the capitalists, or the Americans or the Russians—or even the British, are no true apostles of non-alignment, no true disciples of peace, no true friends of India. In an atomic age, they are moral and spiritual dwarfs and morons.

Violence never remains long a servant. It always becomes the master of those who use it. And men who plan violence against others cannot complain if others start to plan it against them. Violence, like peace, is indivisible.

It is my firm belief that neither peace, non-alignment, integration, nor Socialism, in the sense in which I have defined it, can be achieved without Moral Re-Armament. Moral Re-Armament is the arm without which the true aims and aspirations of the masses of this suffering, amazing, magnificent nation may fail.

The world expects India to give legs to the idea she believes in. People talk much of corruption in India. I see one brave man has been on hunger strike against it. And 35,000 people promise honesty in the future. The test of their intention is how much money those 35,000 bring to the man who has been on hunger strike, or restore to the Government for their dishonesty in the past. Unless that is done, the idea means little or nothing. It has no legs.

We expect the true ideas of India on legs to go marching across continents and oceans, over the mountains and valleys, from human heart to human heart—East, West, North, South to the ends of the earth and the shores of the final ocean.

The march of those ideas on legs, the march of Rajmohan Gandhi and his friends, must and will continue until the world shakes with its truth, until humanity finds again sanity, social justice and a peace that really lasts.

Beyond Communism to Revolution

Professor Nakatani, Professor of Modern Japanese Literature, described this address at Waseda University, Tokyo, in April 1963, as "one of the greatest this university has ever heard."

Waseda has 35,000 students and has produced much of Japan's past and present political leadership. Nehru, Sukarno, Adenauer and Robert Kennedy have spoken there. It was from Waseda that the students organised riots that kept President Eisenhower out of Japan in 1960. From the same university came the right wing students who carried out the public assassination of the leader of the Socialist Party in 1961.

LIKE THE LIFTMAN, I have had my ups and downs in life. But few things have given me greater pleasure than your invitation to speak to you here today. I count it a high honour.

In 1926 a friend of mine was invited by Karl Radek to Moscow. Radek was a writer, an intellectual, at that time in favour with Stalin. Later he was given the bullet because his brain would not obey the whims of the Party. He showed my friend two hundred Chinese students working at a university. My friend was not impressed. Radek said to him, "Remember my words. In twenty years they will be running

China." It seemed impossible. Radek was two years out in his guess.

I want to say to you very seriously this afternoon I am talking to those who in twenty years or less, if they so decide, will be leading Japan and the whole of Asia in a new direction. It means putting revolution before career, private plans, and personal fears or hates. It means the acceptance of a goal for your nation and a theme of history bigger than Communism, capitalism, militarism or intellectualism. It is the hope of a remade world.

Three facts face us today:

The Atom Bomb. Man has learnt the secret of suicide before he has mastered the art of unity. Unless he finds an answer he will destroy himself with the problems he has created.

Massive social and economic injustice. At a time when there is enough in the world for everybody's need, greed is still the master. Millions go hungry and homeless while too many have too much.

The breakdown of tradition and morality. All the old values are challenged. It is thought clever to be impure, modern to be violent and old-fashioned to be honest. Individuals behave just like animals and they seem astonished when the international scene darkens and disintegrates.

WE MUST HAVE world revolution if we are to avoid world destruction. But it has got to be a revolution big enough and swift enough to do the job. Stalin was a revolutionary. During the war he used to give small luncheon parties in the Kremlin. A friend of mine, an ambassador from an Asian land, was one of his favourite guests. In 1944, in the presence

of his luncheon guests, Stalin attacked America and Britain with great steel and violence. Afterwards my friend the ambassador said to him, "Why do you do it? You are at war with a dangerous enemy. The life of your country is in the balance. Why do you attack your allies?" Stalin looked at him with pity. Then he said, "You understand so little. The only threat to world Communism is a strong Germany. After the war, America and Britain may be soft with Germany. We are determined the Germans shall never, never, never rise again as a nation. That is why I attack America and Britain."

And that is why, since the end of the war, both Japan and Germany have been told by the West to keep small, keep quiet, keep out of the game. It was not just defeat in battle that we inflicted upon Japan. We came to Japan as occupation armies and deliberately destroyed your traditions. I do not say all those traditions were good. But certainly they were not all bad. We taught you to sneer at patriotism and told you love of Emperor and of country were out of date. We brought our metallic Western materialism and thrust it down your throats. We said you had made so many mistakes in the past that you could and should play no part in the leadership of the future.

It was deliberate and it was damnably wrong.

Japan is too great a nation to allow herself to be blackmailed by the past into a refusal to play her rightful part in architecting the future.

Even today Western nations try to force policies on to Asian countries like Korea and Malaya. It is part comedy, part tragedy that the West, out of which in my lifetime have come two world wars, Fascism, Hitlerism and the economic

and social inequalities that gave Marx the basis of his philosophy for world Communism, should still try to tell the whole of humanity how to live.

Japan is not meant to be like America or like Russia. Japan is Japan. She can, she must and she will leave the past behind and, with the rest of us, have the privilege and burden of building a new and sane civilisation from the ruins of the old.

But let us get back to Stalin. In 1946 my friend the Asian ambassador went to see him for the last time. He said to him, "Will there be another war?" Stalin thought about it. Then he said, "No, if things go on as they are, Communism will win the world without a war."

My friend said, "Will there be peace?" Stalin smiled that grey, cold smile of his. He said, "There will be no peace."

The leaders of the allied powers, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill had met at Yalta. Stalin wanted to win a world. Roosevelt and Churchill wanted to win a war. Those are two different aims. Russia had an ideology. America and Britain had not and have not, any ideology.

At Yalta Churchill said little. Roosevelt was a sick man. He was surrounded by men like Alger Hiss, who later turned out to be a committed Communist. And do not forget that though Hiss is now discredited, the same elements in America which dictated the policies that led to the victory of Communism in China are dictating policies in Washington today.

At Yalta, America and Britain agreed to hand over one hundred million Eastern Europeans to Communist rule at the end of the war. France was not consulted. Germany was

not consulted. That decision is having strong effects on European policies today.

A FEW WEEKS AGO in Bonn, Chancellor Adenauer asked me to go and see him. We spoke of the breakdown of the plans for the Common Market on which for two years European statesmen had based their policy. France refused to allow Britain to enter the Market. The reasons are political, not economic.

France had strong ties of tradition and blood with Eastern Europe. She feels that Britain and America, which yesterday had handed over Eastern Europe to Russia, might tomorrow hand over Western Europe to Communism.

France watches American military policy of, first conventional war, then the use of tactical atomic weapons if things go badly, then finally the use of thermo-nuclear power if defeat seems likely. She wants to know on whose territories the conventional war will be fought and who will decide when and if America's full strength will be deployed. She remembers that a few weeks ago Mr MacNamara, US Secretary of State for Defence, stated America would not risk the burning of her cities for the freedom of lands far away.

At Nassau the British Prime Minister agreed with Mr Kennedy that Polaris missiles would be available for Britain and France in Europe. Britain is able to make nuclear warheads for these missiles. France is not. Germany, under the 1954 treaty, is forbidden to make atomic weapons of any kind. France does not trust Britain to use that power to defend any other country except Britain. France wants atomic weapons of her own, to use if Russia marches West.

I do not defend these policies. I am passionately keen to see a truly united Europe with Britain at the heart of it. But it is important to understand those policies if we are going to take decisions that are relevant in the crisis confronting humanity.

NOT LONG AGO at an embassy party I met one of the leading Russian diplomats. He mistook me for a British diplomat. He asked if I knew any of the delegates at the Geneva disarmament conference. I said, "Yes." Then the Russian told me with force, "We in the Soviets have one great advantage over you in the Western world. We have a strong ideology out to change the world. You have a very weak ideology." I said to the Russian, "Do we have an ideology at all?" He roared with laughter. He said, "No. You have none. You do not know where you want the world to go." Well, by God, it's true.

Then I had a bit of bad luck. The Ethiopian Ambassador, who knew me, came up. He asked after Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament. As soon as he left, the Russian turned on me and said, "Moral Re-Armament? You are against us." I said I would not put it that way at all.

He asked what our attitude was.

I told him that we knew the world had got to have a revolution if it was to be saved from war. I respected the sincerity of millions of Communists. But I thought their ideas were old fashioned. He asked me why. I said that the theory of the class struggle, carried to its logical conclusion, must result in atomic war between vast power groups. Communism had never grown up philosophically to match the new situation created by the advance of nuclear power.

Mao Tse-tung said last year to Communist leaders in Peking that war was not only inevitable but necessary for the triumph of world Communism and told them he was willing to lose three hundred million lives to achieve that end. He did not mean Chinese lives.

The Russian said to me, "What is your answer?" I told him that Moral Re-Armament was a world revolution greater than Communism because it did not exclude any class, any colour, any race, but enlisted all for the great goal that all humanity can accept—the remaking of the world and the reconstruction of the whole of human society.

The Russian asked how it worked. I told him many stories. One was about the French textile industry. There one of the heads of the textile industry of Europe changed. He decided to put people before profit. He saw the head of the Textile Workers' Union of France, a militant Marxist, for years in the Communist Party. In a new spirit, within a few hours, they worked out an agreement which meant a pay increase of 16 per cent for 600,000 French textile workers. The morale of that industry changed. In the last ten years the workers have had a substantial pay increase every year. Increased productivity has made this possible.

That agreement has become the pattern for the whole of the European textile industry. The Marxist trade union leader said last year, "Not one cry of hatred, not an hour of work lost, not a drop of blood shed. That is the revolution to which MRA challenges management and workers alike."

The Russian said to me, "If you can change men like that, my Marxism is out of date. We have had forty years of socialism in the Soviets—but we have not been able to cure selfishness and give men a new motive."

At that moment a girl came to us offering smokes of every kind. She offered me some and I said, "No, thank you very much." The Russian asked me, "Is there a rule against smoking in MRA?" I said, "No." He asked me why I did not smoke. I told him, "Every yen I have goes to my revolution. I would not waste one penny on tobacco." He was staggered. He said, "Does it mean as much to you as that?" I said, "Why the devil do you Communists think you are the only people who will sacrifice for your revolution?"

We went into the garden and around the garden there was a table loaded with drinks. Everything was there, even sake. The Russian said to me, "Go on. They won't charge you for it." I said thank you very much and took a Coca Cola. He said, "Is there a rule against drinking in MRA?" I said, "No." "Why won't you drink then?" "When I'm with a man like you, I prefer to keep my head clear." He laughed. I liked him.

He asked me to explain how my revolution began. I told him of absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. If you have a trained dialectician you do not have to explain absolute standards to him. He knows if a standard is not absolute it is not a standard. I told him how I made the experiment of listening to the inner voice and obeying.

The Russian said to me, "I'll tell you two things." He looked around. "I smoke nearly a hundred cigarettes a day and I can't stop. Can you help me?" Then he said, "We in the Soviet know that apart from Communism, Moral Re-Armament is the only force working ideologically all over the world."

We aim to save Western society from moral decadence,

and Communism from the contradictions inherent in its own dialectic. We want to save Communism from itself. We want a revolution that works. We offer Communist and non-Communist the challenge to play their part in the greatest revolution of all time. We say that the true Fascists and reactionaries of our times are those who in an atomic age insist on trying to rebuild society at the expense of another class, another race, another colour or another nation.

THE TRUTH IS that man has become an intellectual and technological giant but shrunk to a moral dwarf. Men like myself are responsible. In our generation we used our brains to kill our conscience. Then we tried to kill the conscience of our nation to make us feel more comfortable living in it. Aldous Huxley puts it better than I can. He is a philosopher who has had a powerful effect on three generations. This is what he says in his book *Ends and Means*:

“I had motives for not wanting the world to have a meaning, consequently assumed that it had none, and was able without any difficulty to find satisfying reasons for this assumption . . . For myself, as no doubt for most of my contemporaries, the philosophy of meaninglessness was essentially an instrument of liberation. The liberation we desired was simultaneously liberation from a certain political and economic system and liberation from a certain system of morality. We objected to the morality because it interfered with our sexual freedom.”

That is an honest statement from Huxley.

A nation's thinking is in ruins before its economy is in ruins and a nation's thinking must be straight before it can recapture true greatness. The research expert, Dr J. D. Unwin, wrote a book called *Sex and Culture*. Aldous Huxley described this book as "of the highest importance". This is what Unwin says:

"Sometimes a man is heard to declare that he wishes both to enjoy the advantages of high culture and to abolish continence. Any human society is free to choose, either to display great energy or to enjoy sexual freedom; the evidence is that it cannot do both for more than one generation."

Now there is a man called Bertrand Russell. He is deeply and rightly concerned about the dangers of war. I honour him for that. But it is the paradox of his philosophy that the outlook which for years he has proclaimed, that man is merely a beast, makes war inevitable. Bertrand Russell for half a century has been an advocate of sexual licence. When I was at Oxford I loved that. It gave me a first-class excuse for doing what I wanted. I pretended to understand the rest of Bertrand Russell's philosophy but I did not. I understood that point and I used it. Bertrand Russell does not seem to understand that if man is but a beast, then he is a cruel, vicious, cunning beast. He will continue to live like a beast, treat others like beasts and tread the historic path which leads inevitably to the slaughterhouse or zoo.

B. H. Streeter, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and a former President of the Anglo-Japanese Society, was one of the most brilliant minds of our century and he took a different

view. He believed that the spirit of man is not merely animal. He believed that human nature can be changed and that Moral Re-Armament is changing it on a massive scale. He was too clever to be impressed by complications and flowery phrases. He agreed with Buddhism that "inspiration is terse". He said, "Nations that have grown up intellectually must grow up morally or perish." That is the challenge to my generation and to yours.

NOW THE RUSSIAN I talked to you about was interested if men could change. I was a hard-boiled newspaperman who believed in nothing except to get on in life. I did not know quite why, but I was determined to do it. And I was a success. I was one of the highest paid political writers in London. I came cynically to investigate Moral Re-Armament. It was smaller in those days. But it was the most intelligent attempt I had seen to revolutionise the world in the right way. I wanted to stand in the grandstand clapping and say, "It's a great work you are doing." I wanted other people to pay the cost of rebuilding the world.

They challenged me to make an honest experiment of listening to God. I said, "Don't give me that stuff, if you don't mind, because I don't believe in God." They said, "If you don't believe in Him, you wouldn't mind making the experiment. You won't expect any results."

After a heavy air raid in London I tried it. I used to write articles attacking Hitler. Actually I was on his black list. I realised that although I was strongly anti-dictatorship we had a dictator in our own home. He was not called Hitler. He was called Howard. I was never happy unless I got my own way. Constantly telling my sons what to do and doing

what I pleased. Then there was the question of honesty. In Japan the politicians I know are honest. Well, I hate to tell you but in Britain they are not all honest. I used to write furious editorials telling them to be honest. I realised that for years I had taken more every week from my office than my expenses. I suppose you would call it theft just the same, though everybody did it. And, of course, on the income tax I paid as little as I possibly could and told big lies filling out the form. I sometimes think I would have been a success in business if I had gone into it.

Then there was the question of unity. I have always had a true passion to see humanity united. It is mad to live quarrelling together. But I realised there was no unity in my family. I was writing editorials about brotherhood and I was jealous of my own brother. It divided my father and mother. I wrote to my brother and put it right. I wrote that letter three times. Each time I got to the mail box I tore it up. I said, "I am damned if I will send it." But I did.

He came and gave me hell. He said, "I have always thought it of you." Two hours later he came back. He said, "Let's go out and eat dinner together." Next day we went united to see my mother and father. It gave that boy the beginning of a faith and something to live for. He fought through the war and was killed at the end of the war as a paratrooper at Arnhem. I was nearly too proud to do that simple thing for my brother. Since that time this work has expanded all over the world. The leaders of nations today say that this is the spirit that can save civilisation.

THIS IS JAPAN'S HOUR. She has always had a genius for imitation. She learned modern military art from the West,

and her soldiers are among the bravest the world has ever seen. She took our industrial techniques from the West and has become, in my view, the foremost industrial nation of the hour. Now Japan can become the great Initiator and not the great Imitator. In the field of morality in the modern world there is a vacuum. Japan can make the moral leadership of the world her own.

She is the one nation who can speak today to East and West with compelling authority. The West now needs Japan in Asia far more than Japan needs the West. For the whole world knows that Japan will either lead Asia the right way or someone else will lead it the wrong.

Russia hearkens to Japan. She fears the courage and genius and skill of the Japanese people. China heeds Japan. China knows that the lessons of religion, art and culture which came from her to Japan centuries ago were enhanced and perfected there while in China they failed and fell.

It is a supreme hour in history. Humanity has never faced so great a challenge. Will it be a new dark age, where continents are destroyed, civilisation crumbles into the jungle and man preys upon man, woman upon woman, with hatred and force? Or will it be the shining hour of human history where families learn to love each other and where the whole earth learns to live like God's own family?

We will do it with you. Japan can lead the way. Japan can teach all men everywhere, East and West, the art of social justice, economic growth and lasting peace. Japan, the lighthouse of Asia. If you undertake that amazing, fascinating task then the children of the centuries, yellow, black, white and brown will rise up and call your country blessed.

Renaissance for East and West

*Broadcast from Radio Free Berlin to East and West Germany
in March 1956, during the visit of Peter Howard's musical
"The Vanishing Island" to Berlin*

ALL THE TIME we have been in Berlin, I have been remembering the true story of an old friend of mine. He is a mine-worker from the Ruhr. He was twenty-six years in the German Communist Party. He was a great idealist, determined to build unity in the world. He believed that if only everybody spoke the same language, everybody would agree together. So he set himself to learn Esperanto.

But after a long study of this language, suddenly a thought struck him. He and his wife both speak German. They had been using that language to quarrel furiously with each other for years and years.

My friend saw it needed a little more than a common language to create unity.

The end of the story is interesting. This man got honest with his wife and he used the good old German tongue to do it. He put things right. She too began to change. With peace in the home, he became a force for peace in the world. He went to Japan where, thanks to the work of himself and his friends, the two opposing wings of the Socialist Party

found unity and Prime Minister Hatoyama said publicly that the visit of this man with the Moral Re-Armament force and the play *The Vanishing Island*, was "the most moving event of my life."

A family speaking the same language, and divided. A city speaking the same language—and divided. A nation speaking the same language—and divided. A divided world.

IS THERE AN ANSWER? Can some synthesis be found between the Communist and non-Communist world, or is mankind to stumble and stagger from crisis to crisis as fear grows and darkness deepens until with a final lurch we disappear into the night?

The hydrogen bomb might produce a synthesis between the two worlds. But not one which seriously commends itself to any sane man.

Co-existence provides no synthesis. No honest Communist and no thinking non-Communist believes that it does for a moment.

But there *is* an answer.

A renaissance that changes the motives of West and East alike, and unites humanity in the common task of building a new type of world with a new type of man to live in it, can produce the synthesis without which civilisation will destroy itself. That renaissance is already begun. It is putting hope back in the headlines and is near to world-wide recognition.

It is the work of Moral Re-Armament.

Moscow Radio describes it in these terms: "Here is a global ideology with bridgeheads in every continent in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world. It has

the power to capture radical, revolutionary minds.”

A great European statesman says this, “If Moral Re-Armament were just another theory, I should not be interested. But it is a philosophy of life applied in action which I have seen reaching the millions. It is a world-wide transformation of human society that has already begun.”

While one of the leading churchmen of the West declares, “Moral Re-Armament offers a crack of the whip to Christians who have forgotten their mission, and also offers a positive alternative to sincere Marxists.”

Moral Re-Armament gets results because it gets men changed. Its philosophy is simple. Frank Buchman, its initiator, puts it this way, “Everybody wants to see the other fellow changed. Every nation wants to see the other nation changed. But everybody is waiting for the other fellow to begin. The most reactionary man alive is the person who wants to see the world different but is unwilling to be different himself.”

There is nothing more futile today than the philosophy which some trade union leaders as well as industrialists and cabinet ministers seem to have adopted, that bigger profits and higher wages in the West will by themselves cure bitterness and produce the unity the world needs. Why should they? Why should the Communist world be interested in a form of society whose motives remain exactly the same as the ones that created the passion for Communism and all the other 'isms?

But some Soviet visitors came to see an MRA exhibition of photographs in India. They asked questions. One of them said, “We did not know you had an ideology in the West. How do you cure selfishness? We have not found that secret.

If you can change the motives of men then Marxism is outmoded."

And today on a colossal scale the motives of men are being changed and an answer is being brought to all the 'isms, even to materialism.

THERE ARE TWO main reasons why millions believe that Moral Re-Armament's success is inevitable, and that it must and will become the proclaimed philosophy of nations.

It is universal. It is for all men everywhere. It offers black and white, East and West, right and left, the common challenge of change and the common destiny of remaking the world. It says that no one class, race or nation can do it alone, but all need each other as they undertake together the supreme task of history.

It is realistic. It deals with human nature. Nobody is more idealistic today and nobody more in love with fantasies than the newspaper editor, politician, or intellectual who, while beating himself on the chest and telling everybody what a realist he is, seriously believes you can create unity in the world without tackling human nature thoroughly and drastically on a colossal scale. Any remedy which fails to deal with human nature avoids the root of the problem. It is too cheap. And the men who call themselves realists but sneer at a change in human nature, are simply those who want a new world on the cheap and are unwilling to change themselves.

A diplomat of wide experience said, "Moral Re-Armament is a phenomenon of the twentieth century. Frank Buchman has done three things. First, he clearly saw thirty-five years ago that the world was not just at the end of

war between great powers but at the start of a breakdown of civilisation. Second, he did not stop short at diagnosis. He built an answer that works. Third, and perhaps hardest of all, he gave his life to create a force to carry that answer to the world, so that today thousands of men and women in every part of the world provide an ideological army trained, tested and in action to build the unity of renaissance."

MRA is not anti-Communist, nor anti-capitalist. It is not anti-Russian nor anti-American. It is not anti-East nor anti-West. But it fights without fear or favour for change in every party, class, race, nation or individual who needs change.

Frank Buchman puts the truth this way: "Division is the mark of our age. We have lost the art of uniting because we have lost the secret of change and rebirth. When individuals change, the fear of war and chaos will lift. Even the most difficult will respond to the firm, united but humble voice of reborn democracy. Why should there be catastrophe again when with God renaissance is inevitable?"

You cannot join Moral Re-Armament. You cannot resign from it. Each one of us either lives it or does not. It is the simple choice in every heart whether we sacrifice our selfishness for humanity or sacrifice humanity for our selfishness. Only the most blind and bigoted believe that we can demand to be left alone today while we continue to live selfishly, comfortably and undisturbed.

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT is not just a personal matter—though it demands personal change.

It is not a moral movement—though it fights that

absolute moral standards become the normal for men, cabinets and nations.

It is not goodwill—though, through change and the guidance of God, it can render effective that inert mass of goodwill in millions today which self-righteously preaches to others and accomplishes nothing.

It is a revolution, to bring social, political, economic, national and supra-national change, a whole new range of motives to the whole world. But it is more than that. It is the ideology of freedom, the ideology of renaissance.

It offers the chance for everyone everywhere to go into action today to remake the world and to satisfy the hunger for bread, work, peace and faith that lies deep in the heart of every man.

The choice is atomic war, world dictatorship or world renaissance. East and West can unite on this third and true choice—world renaissance. East and West united can change world history; that is the destiny of our age.

What Colour is God's Skin?

*An address at the Wheat Street Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia, February 1964*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO and more, President Lincoln signed his proclamation of emancipation. It was a revolutionary aim. Today the aim of Moral Re-Armament is more revolutionary and more far-reaching in fulfilment. It is a revolutionary concept which includes the whole of humanity; which aims to put right the massive economic and social differences between men, but also aims to teach men to go forward into the next stage of human evolution where they learn to live together.

Some people are afraid of the word "revolution". No man of faith should be. "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." If that phrase becomes no longer a pious drone, but a passionate commitment, it is more revolutionary than any of the filthy paraphernalia of a Fascist state or anything that Karl Marx concocted. It affects all we say, do, think and are. It involves race, class, colour, personality and nationhood.

I and my friends have just been marching with Gandhi in the heat and dust of India, where the sufferings match the glories of the people in their greatness. Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, has led a peaceful march of protest for 4,000 miles across his country. He follows in the

footsteps of his grandfather who by non-violent means forced the greatest imperial power of our century to leave India and helped her to remain India's friend. The grandson has a harder task. It is to free India from the tyranny of corruption, hatred, impurity and caste prejudice that weakens his land and threatens to rob her of freedom.

In city after city scores of thousands of Indians, poor and rich, high and low, educated and illiterate, poured forth to follow in Gandhi's train. Civil officials paid back bribes. Families are being reunited. Money stolen from the railroads and bus companies is being restored. Students have become honest about cheating in examinations and have pledged themselves to build in colleges and schools the standard of honesty they demand in government.

From palace and hovel, from hut and farm the Indians came, garlanding Gandhi with flowers, sprinkling him with rose water, releasing doves around his head, washing and cleaning the narrow teeming streets down which he and his friends trod as a token of their enthusiasm for the new hope he is bringing to their frustration and despair.

Gandhi believes and says that not everyone who praises his grandfather lives the spirit of the Mahatma. He tells the Indians that it is exploitation of the spirit of Gandhi to call his name aloud from the high places and the corners of the streets, unless you possess the power to change human nature and turn enemies into friends.

Recently 75,000 Indians gathered on the sands of Chowpatty, the traditional meeting place by the shores of the Arabian Sea, to hear him speak. "We are determined to raise a force of able and intelligent young men and women free from hate and bitterness who will live straight, who can

be relied upon, who will not be corrupted by money or power, and who can lead this nation. Corruption, jealousy and division inside India is an open invitation to aggression. We must show that India is a revolutionary nation.”

IN NEW PATTERNS of power unfolding across every continent revolution to change the aim and character of humanity is blazing in urgency. Let us ensure that blaze creates more light and less heat. Otherwise the world may be lost in darkness. Man with his mind has wrenched secrets from earth and atom that can in this generation give all men everywhere food to eat, homes wherein to dwell, a fair chance and proper background in life. He has with his skill plunged like Leviathan beneath Arctic icecaps and ridden with Mercury among stars. Man's hands control strength to populate new planets or to destroy this one with the problems he has created. His heart still lingers in the dust and debris of senile, sterile prejudice, outworn attitudes, pride and selfishness that have crumbled and failed. Man is a muscular giant but a moral dwarf.

Too many still walk the earth who are too fat, too many far too thin. There is enough for everyone's need, but not for everyone's greed. But man does not yet care enough and share enough so everybody has enough. At a time when it is God's will and man's desiring for everybody—black, brown, white, yellow and red—to walk with head upheld in dignity, equality and peace, selfishness alone breaks homes, divides races, multiplies hate, bedevils the hope of a moral maturity to match the technological and industrial opportunity of our times.

The different races in America are her strength and glory.

They can be her supersonic missile of revolution in the modern world. They are no handicap. They are an asset that no other country possesses.

In my lifetime, whole countries have been taken over by the cruel dictatorship of Fascism, countless millions are controlled by the godless philosophy of Communism. To our shame, not one city, not one state, can boast that it is controlled by the living God.

Supposing America, with her Negro and Latin American and Caucasian and Indian minorities were, able to proclaim in honesty to the listening earth, "Come and see how all men everywhere are meant to live. We need you all in our bid to change world history which is the destiny of our age. In this dangerous, essential task, black men, white men, all men are needed. Here in this land we live like sons and daughters of the God who created all men equal, planting in each human heart the knowledge of right and wrong that makes man different from a beast."

This brings me to a question no man can answer. What colour is God's skin? In fifty years, if things continue as they are, half the population of the earth will be Chinese. The South African Government seem to think the Chinese are black. Contrariwise, because South Africa does much trade with Japan, the same Government says Japanese are white.

Laws are important. Laws are essential. I am one who believes that legislation must often march or even run ahead of the growth in man's character that makes much legislation unnecessary. But laws—though in South Africa they change the colour of a human skin—cannot by themselves alter the character of a human heart.

ON THE DAY President Kennedy was assassinated, I talked with two American Negroes. They spoke of civil rights. They agreed that a Civil Rights Bill with teeth would probably pass through Congress. Then one said, "Whatever laws pass Congress, I can never trust a white man. It is in my bones to hate them all."

Unless you've been a white man, you don't know what it means. Englishmen like myself were taught from our mother's knee to believe that because we were white and English, we were better than everybody else. It breeds the immaturity of that effortless superiority, often unconscious, always so cruel, that millions across the face of the earth have experienced and resented. We do not look down on people because they have a different coloured skin. We just feel nicely sorry for all those who are not born British.

I told those American Negroes how I, an ordinary Englishman, had made the experiment of listening to the voice of God, the inner voice that speaks to each human heart. I saw that it was the selfishness, arrogance and pride of men like myself which had caused untold misery, suffering and injustice.

When I spoke to the men and women of Mau Mau, detained in the Athi River Camp in Kenya, they covered their faces as I drew near. They would not look at a white man. My first words were, "I was born white. I could not help it, could I?" They began to look at me. It began to slide upon their understanding that it was as immature and ignorant to hate a man because he was born white, as to hate him because he was born black, brilliant, foolish, ugly, beautiful, big, small, Jew or Arab. When I had finished speaking, their leaders came to me and said, "We were

educated in Christian schools. We lost our faith and became cynical of everything except violence to achieve liberty, because of the way we saw white Christians live. We want you to know that if we had dreamed white men could speak and think as we heard you speak today, there would have been no Mau Mau in Kenya."

When I survey the wondrous Cross,
 On which the Prince of Glory died,
 My richest gain I count but loss
 And pour contempt on all my pride.

I felt in my heart the shame and agony of the words these Kenyans spoke to me. I wept. Some of these former Mau Mau leaders have become my friends. They saw white men change. They learned that black men, too, could change. They changed. They are now fighting with people of all colours and races to bring God's revolution to the continent of Africa. They understand that violence, sometimes regarded as a good servant, can swiftly become a bad master, and that history never long remains on the side of hate. Hate knows no colour bar. Neither does love. Heart power is America's strength. Hate power is her weakness.

The two American Negroes said to me, "Do you think education and environment can change human nature?" I long for every man, woman and child to have the best education and environment civilisation can provide, but neither environment nor education changed me.

THE WHITE MAN'S WORLD is cbbing. It never really began. For a long time the white man has been in a minority on the face of the earth. By accident of history, by design of

power, white men have controlled much of the planet. That time is swiftly ending. Communications, education, automation—all will combine to shift the power balance of humanity.

God made men in different colours. A white man's world, in the sense that a man because of the colour of his skin is closer to God than his neighbour, affronts the will of the Almighty and the understanding and conscience of humanity. So does a black man's world. So does a world of yellow or red domination. We need a world where all men walk the earth with the dignity of brotherhood that should be normal to all who accept the fatherhood of God.

The Negro is neither worse nor better than his neighbour. The same is true of the white man. We all have our loftier side, and our more debased. There are two sides to each coin—heads and tails. In the West, there has been too much tail, too little head. And the heart, which could and should be the leaven of society, lies forgotten between pride of intellect and lust of desire.

America could set the continents free when she experiences lasting freedom in her own heart—freedom from the immaturity of hate, the under-development of selfishness, and the infantility of impurity and dirt. We exploit our wife or somebody else's wife, our neighbour, our business rival, and scream out against exploitation.

I number many Africans among my friends. Not long ago I travelled with some of them in this country. They were invited to the homes of Southerners, white and black. It is strange that in communities where the white American will no longer listen to the Negro, and the Negro will no longer listen to the white American, both will heed the voice of

Africa. Some of my African friends, people of prominence and distinction in their own countries, stayed in the homes of American Negroes. At the end of a few days, they came to me and said, "Some of them treat us in the same way that they say some white men treat them. The same superiority, the same condescension, the same contempt."

We white men are prone to tell everybody else how to live and what to do. But we are too proud to listen to the voice of God and, in obedience, learn how to live and what to do ourselves. We preach unity with passion and call ourselves the United Kingdom or the United States of America. We transfer idealism to the United Nations but we remain, behind the doors of our homes, our offices, our churches, deeply divided with each other—by jealousy, ambition, greed or prejudice.

I pray the black man does not fall into the white man's ways in this regard.

Today, the long-awaited tide of history flows towards the non-white races. Those tides will lift burdens of the centuries and wipe out bloodstains in the sands of time. Be sure that tide elevates all humanity. You cannot expect every Negro, any more than you can expect every white man, to be a genius of ability, a paragon of virtue, a miracle of grace. But I hope, pray and expect that the Negro people of the United States of America will have the wisdom, understanding and human greatness to avoid mistakes that men like myself have made before them.

There was once a great Baptist preacher called Spurgeon. Multitudes came to sit at his feet. One day he said, "We Baptists can proudly make our boast. We never persecuted those who differed from us on religious grounds." When the

"Amen's" and "Hallelujahs" died away, Spurgcon added, "We never had the chance."

The black man's chance is surely coming. What will he do with it? I do not say, "Be patient." I say, "Be passionate for something far bigger than colour. Be passionate for an answer big enough to include everybody, powerful enough to change everybody, fundamental enough to satisfy the longings for bread, work and the hope of a new world that lies in the heart of the teeming millions of the earth."

Segregation yesterday. Confrontation today. Transformation tomorrow. Let the hands of the black man stretch out above the heads of governments and nationalities to embrace and welcome all people who are ready with them to remake the modern world.

UNLESS WE ACCEPT a world aim, we may be lost in narrow disputations. It is difficult, if not impossible, for others to place confidence in a system of democracy that preaches inalienable rights of the individual with its lips but robs men of their rights with its customs. Yet it is true that nothing would suit the enemies of freedom and America more than to see this country tear itself apart with its internal wars, preoccupying itself with mutual strife, while dictatorship takes over the rest of the world. Some demagogues, enemies of liberty white and black, inside and outside America, desire to push the problem for the sake of personal power instead of curing it for the sake of all the people.

It is a paradox of our times that Communism which says it believes only in materialism bids powerfully for the mind and spirit of humanity. Democracy, which declares its faith that man has the spirit of God, the Holy Spirit within him, bids

for the allegiance of humanity with materialistic aid but without a revolutionary aim for the whole world.

Lenin said, "Our revolution will never succeed until the myth of God is removed from the mind of man." In free society we print on our money, "In God We Trust". But if in truth we place the claims of cash, comfort and colour before God we justify with our lives the theories of Marx no matter what we say with our lips.

It remains my firm belief that crossless Christians have done, and still do, more to camouflage the reality of Christ's revolution from humanity than any Communist or Fascist.

There are sincere men in the free world who have no faith in God. To them it can be said, "Then accept the challenge of living in the way you would wish to see your neighbour live." Absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love are a yardstick by which all men can measure their conduct and see where change is needed. If you have a standard at all it must be absolute. Otherwise it is no standard. And those four standards may prove a ladder that leads a man towards faith.

We say God is love. It is fair to add that throughout history many who profess a faith in God have hated their neighbour. My wife gave me one of the best definitions of love I have ever known. When first I accepted the challenge of this revolution, I went to her and was honest with her as I had always wished our children to be with us. She said to me, "Peter, I think I am meant to love you as you are, but to fight for you to become the man you are meant to be."

This I believe is true love, where black loves white, white loves black, all Americans love America, and America loves the modern world enough to live so that black, white and

the whole of this torn and suffering earth become as they are meant to be in the mind of the Almighty.

I BELIEVE that those who have suffered most will show the greatest passion and compassion for long-suffering humanity. I believe that those who have been the victims of the worst discrimination will be the first to heal the hates and fears of others, because they themselves are free from fear and hate. I am convinced that men and women who for generations have drunk the water of tears and eaten the bread of bitterness will give living water and the bread of life to millions, trembling, longing, hoping, waiting, praying, for the new type of man and the new type of society that will lead the world into lasting justice, liberty and peace.

Those who have passed through the fire of persecution can hold forth one hand to persecutors and persecuted alike and with the other uplift a flame of freedom to illuminate the earth.

A Prophet Voice

Peter Howard was invited by leaders of the American Indians to address their people on several occasions. This address was made in August 1964 to an assembly of Indians from many different tribes at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. "He is the first man to unite the Indian people with a great purpose" said Indians from the American Southwest in a message when he died.

I WAS IMPRESSED when the Mayor told us this place had once been the cavalry stable and it used to be full of horses. He said we should notice a great difference in it today. Having seen that play, *Give a Dog a Bone*, last night and realising how very easy it is to be turned into an animal without knowing it, I wonder how great the difference really is? Do you know the definition of horse-sense? It is a particular sense that the Great Spirit gave to horses which prevents them from betting on humans.

I count the invitation to come here as one of the great privileges of my life. I was asked to go to many parts of the United States, but when Governor Hena and the other Governors and some of you younger Indians invited me here, I said whatever else I do, I am going to Albuquerque. We can see something wholly new brought to birth in the heart of this mighty country.

I want to say one thing: I hear that in three of the reservations officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have

advised Indians against coming here. I am going to tell you what I think about this—straight. We cannot force anybody to come here, nor are we in the frame of mind to force anybody to do anything. It is not the way I like to live. But I think that kind of conduct by certain people in the Bureau of Indian Affairs is damnable imperialism. It is the bossdom of state officials. Here is the interference in matters of private conscience that the last Great War was fought to end. It is Hitlerism, it is Fascism, it is the breeding ground of Communism.

Of course, the majority of people employed in that Bureau are sincere and honourable men, but certain people in that agency want to keep us out of the reservations. They know full well that in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament the American Indian is going to stand full stature under God and speak for the first time for generations with a clear voice saying what he or she has on their hearts. Not everybody wants to hear that voice. I do.

I hate like poison in this country to have us all singing about the land of the free and to have white men from the privilege of State positions telling other people what they should or should not do in matters of conviction and commitment. It is wrong. I do not have the privilege of being an Indian, but I tell you what—I would like to meet some of these men. I would like to have a chance, face to face, of telling them exactly what I feel on this vital issue. How can we point a finger at those who discriminate against other people because they are Jewish if we from a self-appointed position of moral and spiritual authority say, “you should do this, you should not do that.”

Some people say that they expect to get from me some

alternative to the Church or substitute for the Church. It is a lie. Those of you who belong to the Church have the priceless heritage of Christ on earth, and nobody in Moral Re-Armament dares to suggest a substitute or attempts to provide any substitute for that amazing heritage and tradition. You won't get that from me.

The best answer to that particular point was given when I was on a television show in Detroit. A well-known European Catholic was with me. The press was needling us and one of them suddenly turned to my friend and said, "You are a Catholic. Do you dare suggest the Church needs Moral Re-Armament?" My friend replied, "The Church does not, but many Catholics do." That is true of all churches. I want to be clear with you on this point. A lot of people try to make mischief about it.

You won't get from me promises of material advancement. You won't get offers of money, liquor, women. Heaven help those who get around in certain areas of America trying to use people by corrupting them. It is a shoddy, shameful business. Of course, in theory everybody should say no to it; then it would stop. In practice it is hard, if you are poor, if you depend on a certain level of patronage to get forward in life and somebody comes to you and says, "Here it is, provided you go my way." It is a shameful business.

What you will get from me is an offer to play a part in a revolution as equal comrades and equal revolutionaries under God. Together we may be able to turn the tide of history. Apart we cannot do it.

I LONG TO SEE today a new voice coming out of the heart of America because, bluntly, the world does not know

where America is going to take us. We know we owe our liberty, honour to the valour and generosity of America. We are grateful. But frankly we don't know where you want to take humanity. And I am not sure always that you know. We want to have a great theme; we want to have a great aim; we want to have a revolutionary goal big enough to embrace everybody; powerful enough to change the selfishness in everybody; clear enough to say to the whole world, "Look here, we must take humanity forward its next step in human progress. We in our country need you to help us do it." That is what I want to see happen.

Forget, if you can, the colour of my skin. My parents told me that I am white. Mark you, no one quite knows about their ancestry—it's always hearsay evidence. For all I know I may have the blood of a million nations fluttering through my veins. But, forget my colour. It seems to me as foolish to blame a man because he is white or black, or yellow or red, or any other colour under God's earth, as it is to praise him for being a colour the same as your own.

What is important in you and in me is not the colour of our skins, nor the colour of our blood—which, by the way, is the same colour—but the spark in each of our hearts which is eternal, which is priceless, and which renders each one of us as important to God, and should render us as important to our fellow men, as any other one of us. That element the world has forgotten. The important thing is not the colour of our skins but the course of our life.

What are you and I living for? If we don't know, it is time we found out.

There has never been a greater stature of human wealth, power, and technological and scientific achievement than we

see today. But not for generations has the spirit of man shrivelled and shrunk to so low a level of self-worship, self-hatred and God-denial. People worship each other and hate each other and deny God to a degree which I do not think has happened for centuries. The world is in danger of self-destruction, or of an era of brutality, cruelty, violent cynicism and control which might usher in a dark age which could last for a thousand years.

What is needed is a prophet voice from a prophet people that the whole world will heed. I tell you solemnly, I believe it is God's plan now for the Indian peoples of this country to become such a voice. They can speak unitedly and with passion, but also with compassion, to America and the entire world.

I think when the history of the world comes to be written with accuracy the patience and dignity of the Indian people will be a shining page in the annals of man. You have had a rough ride. But now yours is a voice that everyone will heed. The whole world is hungering, hoping, waiting to learn from some people of a new type of man who will usher in a new type of society and civilisation. It has got to be demonstrated, not just talked about.

When I was a young boy in my country, I was taught an oath that was unbreakable. The oath was "Honest Indian". When I said "Honest Indian" it meant the word I gave was true. We took it with deadly gravity. As a child I believed that no Indian mouth could lie, no Indian hand could steal, no Indian heart could be deceitful, vengeful, jealous or hateful. That is in the true spirit and tradition of the Indian people. If you recapture your ancient virtue, you may be able to save the soul of the white races of the world, as well

as teach every race, every colour, every class, every nation the secret of how to live in this exciting, dangerous, adventurous, amazing century which we inherit.

It will take change to do it. You won't do it as you are. And human nature can be changed. I say this not as a matter of theory but as a matter of experience. I will tell you what my wife says. Speaking as a Greek and a Latin she says, "Moral Re-Armament can change everybody, even the British, and if that can happen, there is hope for the world."

I WAS a successful newspaperman. I was sent to investigate this work. They said to me unless we deal with human nature thoroughly and drastically on a colossal scale, nations are going to continue to follow their historic path to violence and destruction. Everybody else was dealing with the symptoms. Nobody else appeared to me to be dealing passionately with the root cause.

They talked to me about absolute moral standards—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. I was educated at Oxford, and I quickly tried to prove there was no such thing as absolute morality. But a coal miner who had been in the Communist Party said, "If you have a standard at all it must be absolute: otherwise it is no standard." I knew that was true.

Some of the great men in your country and mine now express aversion to moral absolutism. If you reject moral absolutism, you accept and propagate moral nihilism. I will tell you why. If you and I decide we are going to accept our own version of standards, relative moral standards—a lie is all right sometimes, it is all right to be dirty if you don't hurt anybody, everybody is a bit selfish, and love is fine but of

course you are right to hate certain people—you cannot blame anybody for coming up and saying, “In my life right and wrong no longer exist.” Why shouldn’t they? My standards are relative: yours are relative. Then you have nothing to say to a Hitler or a Stalin who wants to enslave the world.

I don’t say that if you accept absolute standards, you become perfect. I am not perfect: I wish I were. If there are things that have been wrong that can be put right, they should be put right.

These people in Moral Re-Armament told me of a postcard that Frank Buchman had received. It had the picture on it of a man’s head. Underneath was a simple statement: “God gave men two ears and one mouth. Why not listen twice as much as you talk?” The point was put to me that if I listened, God would speak to my conscience and my heart. He would tell me where I needed to make a start.

I got very clear thoughts. The first thought was to be absolutely honest with my wife. I love my wife, but there were many things she did not know about me. I had the thought to put right a jealousy with my brother which had divided my family. I was nearly too proud to do it, to tell that young boy that I was jealous of him. In the end I did. It brought unity to us and helped to give him the beginnings of a faith in God before he was killed in the war. Then I had to pay back money I had stolen. I didn’t call it stealing, of course. We used to fill out expense sheets every week and what we filled out in our expense sheet was always considerably more than we had actually spent. Everybody did it. I had to pay that money back.

I made a start without faith. I began to get ideas about certain things in my life which gripped me, habits. I don’t

tell anybody what to do. Everybody is free to do what they like. But I used to drink. I wasn't a drunkard. I have been tight now and again, but I had what is called social drinking. There was a friend of mine in British newspapers I longed to help. His home had been ruined by liquor. Nice chap, marvellous wife and kids. I used to give him money. When his wife rang up in the evening asking where he was, I would tell her some lie and then rush round to the pub, or the other place where I found him, and say, "Get on the phone to your wife." He called me his best friend.

When I made a clean start in life myself, that man came to me and said, "What has happened? You are different." I told him. He made a start. He went back to his Church. He quit liquor which was part of his problem and for the next fifteen years of life until he died he was everything that a husband and a Christian should have been in that home.

I know one thing. If I take one drop of drink, I cannot help a person who is corrupted by it. If I take one puff, I cannot help people who are chain smokers. That is why I don't do it. I also don't do it because we depend entirely on the money we are given, and I wouldn't waste a penny on liquor or tobacco. It is not the way I am meant to spend the money I am given.

I do know from experience if you really want to help people gripped by habit you have to be free of habit yourself. When I began to do things in my life that I could do—like putting things right with my brother, like being absolutely honest with my family—I found that around me people began to change. I also found that habits which for years had gripped me were broken, and I was forced to the conclusion that there was an Intelligence which knew things

about the people around me that I did not know and a power that could do things in my heart and life that I could not do for myself. That for me was the beginnings of faith.

You have in front of you this morning a man full of frailty, much weakness, but a man who has solemnly dedicated his life, such fortune as God gives him, his honour, everything he has or is to rebuilding the world. With God's help I am not going to falter or flag.

THERE IS A PART that every single person in this room can play, and they alone can play. I am not such a fool as to think we are going to get everybody in America changed. I do believe that people utterly convinced of the reason and effectiveness of Moral Re-Armament can change the climate of the United States in a year. I do believe if that happened from end to end of the world, Communist and non-Communist alike, people would say that is the way men are meant to live.

Supposing the Indian people could go to the White House and say to President Johnson, "You talk about the Great Society, you talk about landscaping America, you talk about welfare, you talk about medicare, all those things are fine, but, Mr President, you are never going to build the Great Society without building great people. We have built it in the Indian reservations of this country. There is no division today between the Indian peoples of America. There is no corruption in our society. There are no broken homes. There are no people who are so selfish they destroy family life by their own indulgence. Mr President, we have something to give you and our country that the whole nation needs."

That would be a voice worthy of the high tradition of the original inhabitants of this land. It would be a voice that the Great Spirit, God, Christ, longs to hear from the Indian people. And for my part, if you will let me do it with you, I will do it till the end of my days. I want to serve, I want to fight, I want to battle, and for me and for those of us who decide, there will be no turning back.

Labour can Shift the Nation

An address to a seminar of officers of Labour Unions of Southern California, Los Angeles, February 1964

“PEOPLE who exploit or enslave other people forge their own chains.” Do you know who said that? You were going to ask me a few questions. I thought I would ask you one. “People who exploit or enslave other people forge their own chains.” Any offers? (Someone in the audience said: “Lincoln”.) Well, it ought to be Lincoln, but actually it was Karl Marx, creating the agenda for the First International.

Our work is revolution.

We stand strongly in favour of trade unionism. I wish the whole world were properly united and the workers unionised. I wish the unions themselves were united.

We are utterly opposed to any discrimination of class, colour, creed or race. We will fight to the death to bring intelligence to humanity and end all discrimination. We believe in civil rights, but we do not think that legislation goes far enough.

We are out to end the hatred in human hearts created by human arrogance and pride, and to end the human arrogance and pride which creates that hatred. Of course we believe in legislation, of course we believe in laws to make men live as men should live, but we believe that neither environ-

ment, education nor laws go far enough in the times we live in. We have got to train men to step forward into a new age where we live together as sane people and as brothers.

I HATE POVERTY. In 1962, according to the figures, one million American farming families lived on less than \$1,164 a year. That is terrible. But may I also tell you that many million families in Asia live on a total income of less than \$350 a year? I have sat in their huts with them. I have shared their food—a couple of handfuls of rice for their family. They share it with you! If you have gone through that, you have either got to have a heart of steel or you will never forget it. We need that passion for people in our hearts to make us tick.

I thank God for the conditions you have achieved. I know the struggle you have had. But I beg you all by the mercy of God, do not forget the people who do not have unions. Do not forget the people who are still oppressed. Do not forget the people who this day as we sit here are going to bed hungry, and waking up tomorrow without hope. If we in the free world forget those people for one instant, the world we create is going to be destroyed.

When I was a boy I went down the Rhondda Valley. I saw some of the finest craftsmen in my country, sitting there year after year without work to do through no fault of their own. They used to say: "Come to have another look at us?" I never forgot it. I am not sentimental either.

Moral Re-Armament happens to be revolutionary. We challenge every selfish man, whether he is unionist or industrialist, black or white. We challenge you to change. Not everybody likes that. We believe that the price of a new

world is the decisions made in individual human hearts, starting in our own. A lot of people can tell you about the rugged ill-nature of some steely capitalist, and I know they are selfish! And if you go to the other side of the fence a lot of people can tell you about the bull-headed selfishness of certain union leaders!

Do not believe we can be bought by management. We don't take a cent of salary. We cannot be bullied or bribed. We have only the money that people give us. We have no big "sugar daddies". If anybody wants to bribe us or bully us, let them come and try. We happen to be—with God's help—incorruptible. We all give to this revolution every cent we have in the world.

People talk about my writings. My plays are successful. I heard this morning from Italy that the trade unions have bought out the theatre because they see there is some hope of changing management. That's great. I must also tell you in all honesty that the Catholic press very strongly praises the play because, they say, they think it will bring the unions to a sense of patriotism.

I give every cent from my books or plays, before they are published, to the work of Moral Re-Armament. I do it not from any spirit of nobility. I happen to believe in this work. I wouldn't want to make money out of it. I want you to understand that, because we talk here together sensibly. I may not meet you again. I want you to understand the reality of how we are financed. We are financed by the voluntary sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of people all over the world who pitch in because they care. There is no mystery.

I have a farm. Any profits from it go to Moral Re-

Armament. The men who work with me know that, they know what I am living for, and they chip in too.

I would like every capitalist in America to give us large sums of money. They do not. I can think of no better use to which the money could be put. But if you think any capitalist can buy us for the purposes of the right wing you are crazy. We are not for sale. That is one reason why we get attacked—by extreme Right and extreme Left.

DON'T THINK I am here to make people better. This is an important point because many people think we are a kind of evangelistic concern that comes up and says: "Have you got an itchy pimple? If you'll scratch mine, I'll scratch yours." If you think a man like me would give his life to that, you are nuts! We are in a massive job of world surgery, and the world is a very sick patient. In order to do that job of surgery, we have to clean our hands, but cleaning our hands is not surgery. I am not a bit interested in going around inspecting your hands. I say: "Let us do the surgery together. If we need to clean up, clean up as we go—but let us do the surgery."

Moral Re-Armament exists only in so far as it is lived and applied by people. In terms of people around the world who have been affected by it, the numbers run into scores of millions. That is literally true. It does not mean that they are all saints. It does mean their lives to a greater or lesser extent have been affected by this work and they are still in touch with it. We never will have a membership because the moment we did that we would become a kind of rival concern to other rival concerns. We do not want to run a rival union; we do not want to run a rival Church—or a

rival political party. The Republicans need a lot of Moral Re-Armament; and, bluntly, I know Democrats who need a lot of it too.

When I set out as a newspaperman to investigate Moral Re-Armament I found people who were making the most intelligent attempt I had yet seen to answer the contradictions of our age. And I still believe that to be so.

The world is going to be remade—or it is going to be enslaved.

If you can tell us how to do our job better, you will be our friends. We have got to do it better. But as far as we are concerned, we are in there with every drop of our blood, every cent of our money, every ounce of such brains as we have got, till death us do part.

We want to remake the modern world. That is our revolution, and your revolution, and we will carry it through together.

A World Role

*At an Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in the Caxton Hall
Westminster, December 1963*

POLITICIANS may think of votes. Industrialists may think of profits. Trade unionists of wages. But a hero's task awaits the common man. He has to think for Britain. Our common task is to restore character to the Commonwealth.

We must make Britain proud of her role in history again. Let us call the bluff of beatnik bishops and intellectual confidence tricksters, who use their brains to destroy the conscience of our community. Let us drive the cynics and satirists, who glorify sex and debunk faith and debase national character, out of the places of influence they hold.

Let us support churchmen who live the Cross and give it to their people, public men who put God's will before their own and people who worship Him before they worship their own bodies or the personalities of other men.

Blessed are the pure in heart and the men of faith who live straight, think straight and will get the nation straight.

We must build a system of education which teaches youth how to live as well as how to earn a living.

We must forge an industry free from the hatreds, fears and greeds that prevent homes being built, ships being launched, hands being employed, contracts being completed

on time, prices becoming competitive. British made can once again be best made.

The United Kingdom must become truly united—a society undivided by prejudices of colour, class, accent or background.

Britain's role in history now is to re-arm herself morally and spiritually and to become a remaker of the modern world. Nothing but the greatest role will satisfy the longings in the hearts of millions of ordinary men and women. Nobody but ourselves can rob us of our future.

The New Society

*An address at an Assembly in the Westminster Theatre
London, April 1964*

I BELIEVE we are at a hinge of history, and on this country the future could swing.

The world looks on us as a nation of blockheads, not eggheads. They say, "You can tell an Englishman anywhere, but you cannot tell him much." Welsh, Scots, Irish may agree. But in truth, with the majesty of our mongrel ancestry, we are a nation of prophets, warriors, poets. Our vision in the past built our greatness. Unless we find vision today, we may perish.

A Briton saw an apple fall from a tree, and his theory launched an historic leap ahead in science and experimental mathematics.

A Briton saw a kettle boiling, and created an age of steam that revolutionised society.

A Briton saw mould in a jar, and led man to penicillin. Our people first split the atom, invented jet engines, pioneered trade unionism from Tolpuddle, ended slavery, ended the degradation of child labour, educated, emancipated and finally liberated millions of our fellow men in Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

This age of adventure was built for men like us. But we refuse to make it our own. What is the aim of Britain today,

the goal, the theme of our nationhood and life? Russia has an aim. China has a goal. America, with bombs in one hand and dollars in another, strives to spread her version of freedom across the earth. The Africans plan for a black continent and the end of white domination in the South. Many Latin American republics blaze to don beards like Castro, snatch wealth from the rich and scatter it among men of hunger and of hate. Germany longs to unite her land again. France dreams of old glory and new influence on other continents. Shall it be said of Britain now that the span of our purpose is, "We never had it so good, and we mean to go on having it better"?

At this moment 800,000,000 families in Asia stagger through life on an income of less than £2 10s a week per family. The population of Asia is increasing. Today three billion people inhabit the earth. By the end of the century six billion of us will eat, breathe and sleep on our planet. Half the population on earth today is under twenty-one years old. We are challenged by an explosion of population and the risk of exploding thermonuclear bombs.

Pills in the stomach, rhythm in the bedchamber, screaming at the pop singers, squatting in the streets is no full answer. Are we going to arise and give an answer to Britain and through our country to the world? Humbly, honestly and hopefully I tell you with all the force at my command that if we decide, we can do it, and that I see no others who will or who can.

We need to shake off our paltry ways and seize history by the throat as it hurtles by, to ensure that in our lifetime man guided by Almighty God is the master of this planet, even of this nation—not men so much in love with their

own bodies and brains, their own position in the Establishment, that they think they can argue God out of existence and expel Him from the earth He made. It takes as much faith to disbelieve in God as to believe in Him. You can neither prove nor disprove Him. These no-Godders who push their heresies and hates at us from pulpits, across the footlights and over the TV screens, who use public positions to promote private perversion, show great faith as well as vast conceit and vanity.

It takes giant love of self to say there is nothing on earth except what I have discovered or can explain, and that the "I" which explains it all is nothing but liquid and chemicals in a flask of flesh that will vanish forever in a puff of time and be dust through eternity.

THINK OF THE WONDERS which now enfold us. According to Sir Bernard Lovell, that tough, shrewd, far-seeing scientist, we can now abolish night. The earth can enjoy unending day if we so desire. We shall soon be able to control climate. This brings possibilities of harvests four, five, and six times a year in parts of the earth which now only once yield their bounty. It also means that enemies may strive to scorch or freeze us into submission. We can make roses grow in millions where now desert sands stretch from horizon to horizon. We can cultivate and crop food from the oceans and render salt seas fresh and available for watering the soil.

So far man has been a parasite on earth. We have pillaged the planet and are near to the end of the fossil fuels and metallic ores on which some have waxed fat and rich. New materials are being discovered to replace metals,

while before long fuel cells will make cars more silent and less smelly. Within fifteen years civil aircraft will be flying at near 4,000 miles an hour, which means we can have an early breakfast in London and fly to Los Angeles where we can go to bed and sleep again the night before. According to Dr John R. Dunning, who twenty-five years ago directed experiments that led to the harnessing of nuclear energy, "We shall almost certainly be outside the solar system in the next century."

He also says that what he calls genetic engineering may make it possible for a man to intervene in the processes of birth and decide what size, sex, shape and intelligence a child will have before it is born. This is a staggering event. Who is going to decide these things? Shall we have a group of scientists running the earth and engineering a legion of zombies to do the dirty work? This is precisely what some scientists are now discussing. They think they are the men best able to run the world. I believe men, whether scientists or not, should first learn how to live before they dare to dip their fingers in the mystery of life itself.

It now seems that the suicide rate varies according to the flow and alteration of meteors in space. There seems a perceptible and measurable relationship between man's mental health and the variation of meteoric bodies in the stratosphere caused by firing of rockets and launching of capsules. It would be strange if modern knowledge confirmed the theory of mediaeval witches that stars and moon affect the mind of man and the growth of crops and cattle.

More people die from suicide than from road accidents in this country, while in the United States of America 200,000 people a year try to kill themselves.

Meanwhile one bishop who is off to America and who people there will, I suppose, think that he speaks for the Church of England, says in his pamphlet: "In personal ethics there are some things always wrong and nothing can make them right. But where do we draw the line even here? The power of modern drugs to keep old people artificially alive has posed some odd problems to the most fundamental commandment underlying the Hippocratic Oath." This statement seems to suggest that anyone kept alive by modern medical knowledge is "artificially" alive, and that doctors may be right to decide to murder old folk who could be saved, if they think they are not worth saving. This advice from a bishop who on 31 October, 1963, also remarked, "There is no such thing as a Christian ethic," becomes even more perilous when we remember that one out of every fifty doctors in this land dies by his own hand.

Are men so pill-, needle- and potion-happy with their own lives going to decide whether you or I are going to continue to live when we are old? And if we can murder the old, why not the young too? If the bishop is to be followed, then doctors face a dilemma each time they have a sick patient on their hands. Do they consider the patient worth saving or not? If it is one of those days when there has been trouble at breakfast, I suppose the doctor's mood will condemn many of us to the tomb by nightfall.

A few days ago an estimate was made that at least 150 criminal abortions are performed every day in Britain. This means at least 54,750 murders a year if you think as I do.

Now man cannot live by bread alone. But he needs bread. The struggle for food, work, homes, education, material environment becomes more urgent than ever in this amazing

age. It must be fought and won. But Heaven help us if we are so concerned with material things that we multiply welfare and destroy wisdom, that we gain all for the body and lose a nation's soul.

Oliver Cromwell was once talking to a new Parliament. He told them he was out to raise the moral standards of the country because liberty and prosperity depended on a change of character in Britain. He said: "Make it a shame to see men bold in sin. And God will bless you. The soul and spirit of men are the real men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat. If not, I would fain see what difference there is between him and a beast."

An appeal only to the materialism of our country is a denial of the dignity and greatness of the common man. I hope one great party at the coming election will challenge us to revolution as well as riches, to sacrifice as well as self-interest, to purpose as well as to prosperity.

IF I TELL YOU what I foresee as some fruits of revolution within my lifetime, I would ask you to remember that before the last war anyone who said they were going to blow up the world with a bomb was regarded as a moon-mad anarchist. Nowadays the most respectable folk discuss the destruction of the world with a calm that amazes me. I know I am not and never have been either a Communist or a Fascist, and so far as I can judge these matters I do not feel like a nut. I happen to be a Christian who believes and, so far as in him lies, lives for the greatest revolution of all time whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the modern world—if the men of God match the pace and persistence of the men of anti-God.

The time is not far off when there will be free food for humanity—and the right kind of food; when food of the earth is as free as the rains of heaven or the winds that fill our lungs and sweep the skies. Only imagination and care are needed to achieve it, with the laws agreed by governments to make it come to pass. If you say that such agreement is hard, then I say it is necessary for human survival, and that through Moral Re-Armament and no other way can it be won.

I believe we shall soon see free homes for everyone—and the right kind of homes. It is intolerable that families should lack proper shelter because of the incompetence, restrictive practices or greed of their fellow men.

I believe we shall have free education for everyone—and the right kind of education where people are taught to look after humanity as well as themselves, to live as well as make a living, where they learn how to find the right plan for life rather than to limit themselves to personal aggrandisement and advantage.

This does not mean the end of work. It means more work, not less. Work is now regarded as the great evil. We demand to do less and less of it in return for more and more benefits for ourselves. Times like Dunkirk showed what the men and women of Britain could do if they chose to give their best for the sake of all. But work is as necessary to the fulfilment of man, to the development of his character, as food, shelter, education. In a rebuilt world men will have the freedom to work according to their ability and according to the need of their fellows. We must start to live that unselfishness of constant service which is absolute love and the arch-rock of freedom.

We do not have to wait for others before we start living the way we want the world to live ourselves. Somebody said to me not long ago, "You wish to get back to first-century Christianity." I replied, "We wish to get forward to it. The Christians have been on the retreat from it for two thousand years." What Christians have done to Christ since He hung on the Cross passes human understanding. We have camouflaged Him for centuries by our Crosslessness. The same is true of others who profess faith in God but live as if He was not there.

GOD SAVE US from those who run the race in short spurts towards God, followed by long periods of retreat towards a sticky dependence on other people's behaviour or response. God save us from the host of the half-hearted, the legion of the lazily lukewarm, the comers and goers, the inners and outers, the yes-butters and the no-unlessers, the masses of the moral neutralists and spiritual appeasers—pacifists in the war between good and evil that is being fought, might be lost, but can and will be won in our work and in the world.

I feel like a man ordered to carve a way through the Himalayas with a toothpick. I can neither begin nor continue nor complete it without the help of God, and of those who will break ground daily with me. Yet the mountains have begun to crack and crumble.

The new morality is designed to rob humanity of truth. Let us speak out against it and establish the old morality that man has never fully tried.

Will Durant, the American philosopher who has done much to destroy the moral fences on earth, speaks out in his

old age: "We shall be charged with hypocrisy because we too are sinners. Yes, we are guilty with the rest. We have been silent too long. Part of our tardy righteousness may well be due to the lessened flow of sap in our flesh. No matter. Let us speak out. It is time for all good men to come to the aid of the party whose name is civilisation."

Not long before he died, I spoke about the future with Frank Buchman. We often talked privately in his last years about what lay ahead. So far his predictions have proved amazingly accurate. But he said to me, "We are going to win if we decide to win. We will never do it on the cheap." He added, "It's the best life in the world. I would choose no other. But I would not want to have to live through the times you will have to face."

We can face anything together. If we stick together and stick to the guidance of God, we shall see our revolution shift Britain and sweep the earth. Austin Dobson, at a moment when doubters abounded, said what I feel far better than I could express it when he wrote:

Yet would you tread again
All the road over?
Face the old joy and pain,
Hemlock and clover?
Yes. For it still was good,
Good to be living,
Buoyant of heart and blood;
Fighting, forgiving.

Challenge of the Century

*An address at a lunch given by citizens of Liverpool
October 1964*

LIVERPOOL was the joy of my youth. When I worked in Fleet Street, earning my bread with my pen, if news was short, my old master, Lord Beaverbrook, would say, "Peter, you'd better go to Liverpool." Liverpool never failed.

There was always a row of some kind boiling. Politicians were slitting each other's throats with the utmost courtesy. Blood was about to flow. Stories of racing, drinking, and love abounded. The men were bold, the women beautiful. Above all, there was ever the heartbeat of humanity, the warmth and suffering, anger, joy and go-to-it craftsmanship and pride that make a city mighty.

Patriotism is supposed to be out of date, but ours is a very great country. Sometimes in the heedlessness and changeability of the times, we forget our tradition of greatness. But there is nothing more tragic and terrifying in history than the record of countries once great which from selfishness and indifference decide to live small.

Remember! There would be no freedom in Europe today but for the valour and blood of the British people. We entered the last war when our ally Poland was attacked. Russia and America came into the war only when their own

territories were assaulted. Before that happened and after France surrendered we stood alone against Hitler's tyranny. If we had winced or yielded then, Hitler's hordes might have smashed Russia. Today, Moscow and London would be under a tyrant's boot. These are facts that our own people as well as other countries sometimes forget and should recall.

In an age of increasing affluence, never forget it was the skill and sweat of Northern England that pioneered the paths of industry—long before the United States, Japan or Germany yielded the plough for the power of steam, electricity and now the atom.

Now our days of military and even industrial pre-eminence have passed. Yet this still could be our finest hour. We live in times of such tremendous expansion and adventure. By the end of this century they say 70,000,000 of us will inhabit this island. Automation can provide more employment, more wealth and more leisure for our people if it is rightly understood and handled. Science is opening up new realms of space and power. We have a government that says it will get Britain on the move again.

But a nation, like an individual, possesses body, mind and spirit. We risk concentrating so much on flesh in Britain, that with its comfort, welfare, housing, pensioning, health servicing, its sexual and physical delights, our minds become midget and muddy, while our spirit suffers from starvation, stagnation and decay. We are in danger of becoming a society of physical affluence and moral appeasement—rich, fat, sexy, quarrelsome animals in an island zoo or jungle.

WE LIVE ON AN ISLAND. If our ports close, we starve. Those who control the ports control the nation. Today, neither management nor official trade unionism holds full control of the waterfront.

The men of the British docks are among the best workers in the world. What a tragedy if this country's economy were slashed and lacerated by a national dock strike, run not just to improve conditions but to establish power.

Every honest person knows that much is wrong in dockland. There is the need for modernisation. We are tackling twentieth century problems with a mediaeval outlook. Some sanitary arrangements are such as no first-rate farmer would provide for animals. A percentage of workers is paid far too little. Some men have too much work to do. Other workers are paid for doing nothing. Both management and labour, for their own and not the nation's good, have encouraged restrictive practices that should have gone long ago.

But every honest man knows, too, that it is hypocritical to howl for co-existence between Russia, China and the West while allowing hate to run the British waterfront and fostering class war in the hearts of employers and employed. Men who teach worker to hate worker and all workers to hate bosses are the enemies of the new Britain every decent person wants to see. It is like those who scream, "Ban the bomb," but propagate class hate which increases the danger of atomic war.

We need a revolution in the docks more far-reaching than Communism, Trotskyism or the Fascist-mindedness of certain elements in both management and trade unions.

We need a revolution that changes the hearts of men

as well as their environments and working conditions. For too long the leadership of the docks has been living in an unreal world. Management and labour have been out of touch with the true feelings and motives of the men of the waterfront. They have told others, "Mind your own business," while neglecting to mind Britain's business themselves. It has been a blind outlook, a cover-up mentality. Now the bill is coming in.

The truth is that until men change, nothing fundamental will change on the British waterfront. Pioneers who bring the spirit of Moral Re-Armament, of "what is right" not "what I want", into the homes and hearts of labour and management alike, are friends of labour and the nation. In that spirit docks can be modernised, solid trade unionism established, restrictive practices ended, unity and prosperity achieved, strikes outmoded.

It is the same with housing. Some people are living in conditions of misery and slumdom which disgrace us all. Plans are made. Promises given. But building is delayed. And when some houses are built, they are so badly built that repairs and maintenance cost almost as much as the rent.

It is cheap in my judgement to blame Government. The root of the trouble is jealousy, rivalry, irresponsibility, division among the different authorities—and a spirit of "couldn't care less" is bred in the hearts of the men.

PEOPLE CRITICISE THE YOUTH. I understand that after an interval where the Beatles and other groups gave young people something more interesting and healthy than violence to study, the crime rate has begun to soar again. I do not criticise youth. We are all to blame. Even some churchmen

have become so determined to be "with it" that they accept secularisation as normal and try to make Christ conform to modern compromise instead of struggling, fighting, cleaving with our times until those times conform to the Cross of Christ. Of course, men, whether clerics or otherwise, who live in the grip of secret habits of defeat, cannot and will not tackle a nation in the grip of secularisation and compromise. Secularisers are Satanisers. And make no mistake, the anti-Christ of secularisation and moral defeat has already a stronghold within the ranks of some of the Protestant Churches.

We find decadence defended and justified, even from the pulpit. We are told that premarital intercourse is natural. If you believe in purity you are a square and a menace. Perversion, they say, is a sickness like the common cold. You just cannot help suffering from it, and if others catch it, that's just too bad. Pornography is regarded as educational for every modern child. And this sort of philosophy is upheld by that network of nihilism that spreads through TV, radio, high society and some sections of the press. These little jumped-up morons of immorality who shout so loud are a curious crew. They do not represent the real Britain, but they snatch the headlines and control a culture in decline.

Why do we submit to it? Partly because something in all of us secretly responds to the cheap, the low, the twisted, and hates the straight and highest when we see it. Partly because, after the weariness of war, the sadness for those whom we loved and lost, the longing for a quiet life, we have allowed ourselves the luxury of cynicism and indulgence. We have set aside the sword of the Spirit and the

breastplate of truth. We have become a nation of spiritual sissies. We prefer popularity to virtue. They used to say:

Dare to be a Daniel,
Dare to stand alone,
Dare to have a purpose true,
Dare to make it known.

We say:

Bingo, football pools and sex.
Have another drink.
Don't you dare to disagree,
Think as others think.

This city sets the pace for a nation. Today, Liverpool is widely known for football, beer, the Beatles and Bessie Braddock—in my judgement one of the most forthright, fascinating and fearless characters of our times. Why not start a British revolution here? I don't mean a cheap revolution at the expense of the other fellow, class, race or colour, I mean a revolution that includes everyone. It could enlist the youth, the aged, the dockers, the churches, the whole community.

As you know, my life is given to Moral Re-Armament. I believe this idea is God's challenge to the crisis of our century. I and my friends are human. We make mistakes. But we will never make the mistake of trimming Christ's standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love to fit the convenience of ourselves or of our times, nor will we stoop to the lie that God is so powerless He cannot change the heart of a man in the fragment of time it takes any one of us to listen to Him—and obey.

THIS NATION, which has contributed so much for so long to the story of humanity, will play its finest part if now it shows the world how to match growth in science and technology with growth in the character of man. Men and nations which have grown up industrially must grow up morally or perish. The whole world is waiting for one nation, one city, to pattern a society free from hate, fear, or deadening indifference of class, colour, viewpoint and background.

The future, even the existence of civilisation, depends on whether some people, somewhere, face this challenge and the changes and choice that must be made to meet it. God wills man to prove it possible to live like His sons and daughters in comradeship, in care for each other and a passion to put right what is wrong everywhere in our communities and on His earth.

From the port of Liverpool, goods go to the ends of Britain and the ends of the earth. Why not make the revolutionary idea of a morally and spiritually reformed society a civic experience that Liverpool exports to the entire world? Sound homes, a waterfront that works, and hearts filled with an idea that satisfies. That would be something bigger than the discovery of atomic power or space travel. It would be the adventure of a lifetime. It would be something wives, husbands, children could all do together. Moral Re-Armament, not as a selfish, personal experience, but as a satisfying, revolutionary theme for a nation and for nations, is in the mighty tradition of mighty Merseyside.

Steel of Character

Cement of Love

*An address to a women's conference in the Chatham Rooms
Westminster, April 1964*

IT HAS BEEN a rough century. Few women in Britain can say they have not lost those they loved—parents, husbands or sons.

Some of what is called “moral downslide” in our country is due to the fact that brave women have covered their hurts with a lassitude in life—a desire never to be hurt again. A determination to get a good time while they can and try to forget menfolk who, they feel, if they had still been with us, would have made such a difference in life.

My wife is sitting on the platform. For years and years in our marriage, whenever we disagreed, my reaction was the simple one, “Sooner or later she will see reason.”

It is an attitude that most men have to most women who try to emulate men, instead of trying to find their distinctive God-given function and destiny.

Women today do everything that men do. They work with great skill. They enter the professions. The children are left without mothers in the home. In the evenings the children may not have a home to welcome them. When I was young there was always a mother in the home who

would spank you, scold you, look after you and sometimes pray with you.

Now I want to put three points to you about what I see for women in this country. The first is patriotism. Patriotism today is almost a "square" word. It has come to mean the picture of somebody who goes around waving a flag, sticking out his chest and saying, "My country is always right and everybody else's always wrong." I do not mean that kind of patriotism at all. I mean the kind that never rests until the scourge of unemployment is at last and for ever lifted. I long to see women burn unitedly with the great love of motherhood to see that no family goes hungry again.

Another part of true patriotism is honesty. If you are not honest at home you will not be honest in industry. If you are not honest in industry you will not have an honest nation. If you have a dishonest nation you have a nation liable to corruption and decay.

Honesty begins in the home. True patriotism is to love my country as she is, but to burn and fight and live to see her become the country she is meant to be.

Secondly, I would like to say something about purity. I do not mean that question of experiments in sex before marriage. But I must tell you this. If we tolerate a generation that experiments before marriage, you are certainly not going to get faithfulness after marriage.

Boys and girls who learn to go to bed with each other before they are wed, will certainly reserve the right to go to bed with other people's husbands and wives after they are wed. The women can decide how pure or impure the country should be. For men are as pure as women wish them to be, neither more nor less.

But I want to talk of a deeper thing. Nowadays some modern bishops say that God should not be mentioned in our land, perhaps for twenty years. Well, I think for those who disbelieve in God and for whom God is utterly unreal it is better not to mention Him. And far better for those who profess a belief in God, but live as if He did not exist, to stay silent. But for those who believe in God it is disturbing at least to see bishops saying that right and wrong are relative, and that even doctors looking after old patients have to decide whether or not to keep them living.

You women bring us into the world. You look after us when we are children, unable to look after ourselves. Our characters are founded in the arms and at the feet of our mothers.

When we grow up you marry us and very often we are what you make us. When we are sick you nurse us. When we die, women's hands prepare us for the grave.

You have scientists talking about genetic engineering. It is possible now, or almost possible, to decide the sex and size and intelligence of a child before that child is born.

Where is that going to take us, you mothers? Wives? Unless the women stand up with all the tradition of motherhood and say: "No. Our job, or part of our job, is to produce children, to see they are brought up right, to give them the very best care and the passion and the love that is born in every true mother's heart." That is what I mean by purity. I mean purity that insists that absolute values of right and wrong in every human life are respected by a nation.

Patriotism, purity and, above all, purpose. What great aim and theme do all of us know and love? In this scientific age the world has got to be remade. Man's character has got

to be so enhanced that it matches the technological and industrial achievements of our time. The women of the country are those who can decide that our character shall match our strength and power.

It is possible in the modern world for every hungry stomach to be filled with food. It is possible for every empty hand to be filled with work. It is possible for every heart to have a knowledge that God loves the world and wants to remake it.

Homes are still the cement. Women are the cement of homes. If homes begin to crack, I know where the cement is faulty. Supposing every home were free from all bitterness and all division and all hate? Supposing every home were a revolutionary home determined to see that everyone in every part of the community was cared for and loved? Supposing every home became an instrument of Almighty God?

Women are meant to provide the warmth and glow and passion of real love in homes, in industries and throughout our nation. Women are meant in this splintering civilisation to provide the steel of character and the cement of love that can bind humanity together.

A Revolutionary Faith

*An address to a conference of clergy, ministers and laymen at
Church House, Westminster, January 1963*

I AM A REVOLUTIONARY. My life does not belong to myself. I have no preconception of any kind, any day for the rest of my life, where I will go, what I will do or will not do, what I will say or will not say. I want to be used by God if He will use me.

I have written many plays and books, perhaps not too skilfully, because I do not have the skill of pen of some people sitting in this room. But I have written those plays and books because in my heart I believed God wanted it. That has been the only reason. I have tried to find out what He wants me to write and how He wants me to write it.

God is unexpected. He has His own way of doing and saying things. The marvel is that He is able to use every committed person, if that person will let Him.

Frank Buchman was a friend of mine. But he would not tolerate that sticky human allegiance which so many people demand in place of reliance upon God. One of the things so wrong in so many of the Christian forces of today is that we think being nice, kind, sweet and owing allegiance to each other is Christian. I love my wife dearly. I have three children and I love them with all my heart, but none of these people is as important to me as Jesus Christ. He comes first in my life. When a young man proposed to my

daughter Anne, just over a year ago, she came to me and said something which moved me very much. She said that when he asked her to marry him, he said, "Anne, I love you deeply, but I want you to know that God will always come before you in my life." That meant everything to me—and to my daughter.

And this deeper allegiance meant everything to Frank Buchman. People who tried to slide into a relationship with Frank Buchman where they would put him first got the scorching, burning, blazing conviction of a man who wanted all men to live straight and pure. He knew the insidious ways in which Satan tries to catch human allegiance and rivet it in the wrong way to a man.

Frank Buchman used to say, "If you're not winning, you're sinning." It made certain people cross. He meant that if you call yourself a Christian and people around you are not changing, there is something wrong with the way you live your faith. Now, you may agree with it or disagree with it. I do not talk about it as a point of doctrine. I talk about it as a point of experience. In my own life, if I am living straight and the maximum God shows me, people change. If people do not change, there is some sin, definite, concrete, which is preventing that happening around me.

If people in their millions are not being changed and won to the truth of Christ, there is something wrong with the way Christians are living their Christianity. If we really wanted, we could find out what it is. Because the God I worship is a God who speaks.

Not every thought I get in my heart comes directly from God. Many of them do not. But I know from experience that if honestly and without preconception I open my heart

to God and say, "What do You want me to do?" then if there is something He wants me to do, He has a way of showing me. God will show us where the sin is if we are not effective. God will give us the answer to it.

Once I was talking with Frank Buchman and said to him that sentence from St John, "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanses us from all sin." Buchman said, "What do you mean by that?" I said, "Well, I believe that Christ died for me and that if I turn to Him in faith, He washes me clean and forgives me all my sins."

"That is true, but yours is a very limited experience," said Buchman. I was furious, but did not say so, mind you. I was at the stage where you smile and pretend to be happy, when actually you are savage. Many go through that stage. Some never come out of it. I said, "Thank you very much" and went away. Then I went back to him—some people whom Buchman annoyed never went back to him, they just reacted—and he said, "I will tell you what I mean. Your nature and mine are wrong. We need Jesus Christ moment by moment, hour by hour, day by day as long as we are on this world, and if we are to keep straight. The blood of Jesus Christ will wash you moment by moment from all sin, if you let Him."

I want to tell you two stories of two miracles. I have, I may say, been attacked by certain good men and true in the Protestant churches who dislike what they call "these dramatic stories" in my books. "You mustn't have drama," they say. To me, the New Testament is one of the most dramatic stories I have read in my life. I am an old newspaperman and I read the New Testament with more fascination than I do my morning newspaper. It is fascinating and I

do not believe that the kind of stories it tells were limited to 2,000 years ago. When the Holy Spirit works, He is often dramatic. A man can be changed in the twinkling of an eye. The whole of my life was changed in two seconds, and I didn't do it.

People who complain that stories of miracles are exaggerated sometimes live in such a way that they never see miracles happen around them.

I want to be sure that people who criticise these stories of God's wonder-work as "dramatic" are themselves living in the right drama. They may be in the wrong audience, at the wrong theatre, clapping at the wrong curtain call.

THE FIRST STORY is about a general. He is a Catholic. I have an unqualified respect and esteem for the Roman Catholic Church. I honour their claim. I read what the Pope is quoted to have said to Cardinal Cushing the other day after the great assembly in Rome: "I feel as if I were in a bag. I cannot get out of it." I bled to read that. He seems to mean that he has so many difficulties among his own Christian flock that he feels it hard to get out and do the work that needs doing in the world.

The general came to see a play called *The Ladder*, which I happen to have written. Quite a short play, it describes how an ordinary man is captured by ambition, by money, by the love of his mother, by the—not love of—but association with a wife, by his interest in other women. He goes to the top of the human tree and in so doing puts another nail in Christ. The play does not say it in quite those terms, but that is the story of the play.

The general sat there with his wife. At the end of the play he said, "That man is me."

He was an ambassador, as well as the youngest general his country had ever known. He said, "I want to talk to you." He sat down and told me one or two things he had rightly told his priest. I said, "You need to go back to your priest, not to me." He said, "The trouble is, I go to confession regularly, but I always confess the same things." I said, "Well, I cannot tell you more or as much as your priest but I can tell you this, that in my own life Christ has given me the cure to problems of lust and dirt and dishonesty which I thought were incurable."

The general said, "I believe He can do the same for me." From that moment, although he goes regularly to confession, he has not returned to some of the things that he had to weary his confessor by confessing again and again.

He went back to his own country. He took his wife with him. He shut up his business, sold some property and invested that money in bringing an answer to his country. He got four hundred businessmen together in a big city. He said to them, "Gentlemen, we tell our workers to be honest, but I was dishonest about my income tax. We tell our wives to be pure, but I was not pure. But I have decided to change." Those four hundred businessmen stood up and cheered him to the echo. They began to change.

I should like to say one thing about those businessmen. People seem to think it is more noble to bring an African or an Asian or an East Indian or a beggar to salvation than it is to bring a king or a rich man or a white person. To me souls are souls. I do not think because someone is royal you must write him off, because someone is not royal you

may say he is a hero, because somebody is white he is a cad, because somebody is black he is a saint. People are people and every person should be treated as a royal soul. We have got to fight to change the businessman and the worker, the coalminer and the monarch. All are needed by God in His work and plan. I have dealt with some of all of them and all need much the same things when you get to reality.

If you say that circumstances are kinder to the rich than to the poor, that is true. I hate poverty like poison. If you say a man born to the purple has a better chance in this world, that is likewise true. But I do not accept the Marxist philosophy that better environment makes a man a better man. It is not always true.

Anyway, these businessmen began to change. The general then took around Brazil and into Peru and other Latin American countries a play written by Japanese students. Many of them were not Christians. Some were. They were students who had been atheist and militant anti-God; who had been changed; who had accepted absolute moral standards as a first step, a necessary step, for salvation and who had begun to march along that road.

Marshal Tavora, who was Presidential candidate in Brazil and one of the great men of his country, went to see the Pope. He said, "Holy Father, I want you to know that these Japanese students in the last few months have saved my country from civil war." That is his view as a man. The Pope put up his hands and said, "Bravo, bravo".

The general has now taken the Latin American students who were changed by the Japanese into the south of Italy.

A parish priest from one of the most Communist parts of Italy, in the south, said about these Latin American

students taken into his country by the general: "This idea is an answer to 'Christian materialism' which is baptised and sometimes consecrated. I speak of Christians who trust more in their own strength than the will of God. This must be changed, and Moral Re-Armament will do that."

ONE OF THE LEADING statesmen of Japan was in America three years ago. He visited Frank Buchman for one day, beginning with breakfast at 8.15. Before he arrived Buchman said, "Do you realise that if we give that man an idea of God's leadership he may save Japan from atheism?" We got up from breakfast at twelve o'clock. Not one minute had been wasted and every point was covered which had come into our hearts as we listened to God together and prayed on our knees for him before he came.

After breakfast we walked among the orange trees. He began to talk about some of the things that really concerned him. Then we went into lunch. It was a marvellous lunch, and he found it had been cooked by the daughter of a Wall Street banker and the daughter of a Swiss worker.

He was amazed and said, "You work together?"

Before he left, Frank Buchman said to him, "I had one thought for you as we talked this morning." "What was that?" he asked. Buchman said, "The world will walk into your heart." That is not very orthodox, but it hit the mark. The Japanese statesman said to Buchman, "Say that again." "The world will walk into your heart."

He said as he left, "Today I have found God."

That man went back to Japan. As a result of his conviction a centre to restore God to leadership in Asia has been built, which cost nearly half a million pounds. He raised the

money for it from people through the length and breadth of Japan. He also raised a force of Japanese who are going out to revolutionise the world for God and are doing it effectively.

Two days ago I had a letter from a member of the Japanese Cabinet saying that the agreement just concluded between those ancient enemies, Japan and South Korea, was only possible through the changes which took place in Koreans and Japanese at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly in Odawara, presided over by that Japanese statesman.

That is God at work. It is not human calculation, but Almighty God. And He does work.

Last November I was in South Korea as a state guest. There are twenty-six million people living there, with just over one million Christians. During the war Mr Churchill, Mr Roosevelt and Mr Stalin decided to divide that country with a line. It is called the 38th parallel. Above it is all the heavy industry of the country. Below it there is a certain amount of agricultural produce, seaweed and fish, so that in South Korea it is very hard to build a viable industrial economy.

The second man in the country asked me, "Are you a Christian?" I said, "Yes." He said, "I want you to know what many Christians are like in South Korea. I have a nation on my hands. We are in desperate straits morally and industrially. I need help so much, but these Christians are not a bit interested in the problems on my cabinet table. They are only interested in getting Christians from one church into another. They are the most self-righteous, exclusive, divided and divisive group we have in South Korea."

I took responsibility for us Christians being like that and said, "We are sorry." Then I began to tell him what I thought real Christians could do in a country like Korea, if they were revolutionaries. He said, "Of course, if they were like that, the whole country would be with you." And he asked us to go back to Korea.

IS THERE ANY clear moral line drawn in the life of Britain by the churches, together? I am not talking about individuals or even one church. I am talking about the Christian forces challenging the materialism of our time. Are we straight on adultery? Are we straight on *Lady Chatterley's Lover*? Drunkenness? Gambling? Perversion? Indulgence?

We even use words in the wrong sense. It had become a bad word to call somebody a square; nobody wants to be a square. It appears to mean somebody who believes in God, who believes in his country, who believes in a straight family life, who is against adultery, who thinks that men should dress like men and women like women. In that case I am a square and want to be one.

I looked up the word "puritan" in the Oxford Dictionary this morning. It means "a person of strictness in religion and morals." In that case I want to be one. I am absolutely fed up with those who let their dirty desire to be liked warp even the meaning of our language.

As a result, we accept that nobody wants to be a square, although we do not quite know what it is. We say, "Anything you want us to do, we will do. If you want me to twist, I will twist, even if I am a bishop. If you want me to puff a pipe, I will puff a pipe. Now do you like me? Sure, we will get tight together, then we will all be boys."

I am against that conception. I think a Christian revolutionary is meant to be a revolutionary who revolutionises the situation he is in. Every non-Christian in the world should be saying, "What are the Christian nations thinking about now? What is their next move? What are they saying? What are they doing?" We ought to be the focus of attention at this time of crisis instead of being a pattern of disunity and ineffectiveness.

Somebody says in the play *Space is so Startling*, "Why should the Communists, who say they disbelieve in God, believe in Him when the nations who say they believe in Him can't live in unity together?" It is not a bad point.

Moral Re-Armament is an element which has been projected into the modern world by Almighty God. It is not a church.

What does God mean to modern man? A God passionate to win the world? A God with a master-plan for every human being in the world? An unexpected God? An adventurous God? Somebody who is more interesting, more living, more dynamic than any human person you know? Not on your life.

We need to understand once more the doctrine of God, to be possessed, mind, body, and estate by that doctrine, to live it and give it in triumph to humanity.

To me, it is very often like a mule stuck in the mud. You all complain about the mule. Then you have a red-hot poker handed to you by God. And all you can do is to look at the poker and say, "I don't like the shape of it. Not sure who paid for the coal to heat it. Ah, that is not the kind of poker I would use." You are critical of the poker, but the mule is still stuck.

Moral Re-Armament is the true and traditional property of the church. It takes a man like myself with no faith; it gets me straight; it gives me a friendship with Jesus Christ which is the most precious possession in my life. It teaches me, such as I am, to be available to God for His plan. Is not that the work of the church?

It seems so to me. Incidentally, if you go to my village, you will find that our homestead and family are among the regular churchgoers. Now, lots of people go to church Sunday after Sunday, but nothing happens around them. I am glad they go to church. I think the whole country should go to church. But those who go to church should be the most intelligent revolutionaries in the nation.

The division in the churches has been a colossal human tragedy. But if all the people who were so proud of their churchgoing became Christian revolutionaries, we should see nations shift. That is normal faith. It's time we got back or got forward to the normal.

A Diplomacy that Works

An address to members of the Brazilian government and the foreign diplomatic corps at the Foreign Office building, Itamarati Palace, Rio de Janeiro, January 1965, on the invitation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil

IN THE COURSE of a fighting life, I have received my share of brickbats. But I was once paid a high compliment. It came from a Russian who met me at a reception in the Finnish Embassy in Washington, DC. He mistook me for a diplomat. It was, of course, a mistake but is one of my treasured memories. I am no diplomat. I, therefore, propose to tell you in straight terms what I feel. If, because of my lack of experience in the arts of the world where you gentlemen live and move, I say anything which breaks diplomatic rules, forgive me. But it is better to be understood than to strive merely for appreciation.

We are living in an age such as man has never known. Man's brain and hands have created more produce and wealth than ever before. In the midst of it all, millions go to bed hungry and wake without hope. And the human family is increasing in numbers as the sands of the sea. Man holds power to destroy all life upon the planet. At this very moment, millions turn for leadership to those who are not only unafraid of violence, but seek it as a means to achieve their goal.

In the opinion of Mao Tse-tung, China has less to lose from nuclear warfare than most countries. A few days ago a letter appeared in the London *Times*. The letter described how Mr Nehru of India, shortly before he died, revealed that Mao Tse-tung, when talking to him in Peking, said that China alone of the nations of the world could well afford to suffer 2-3,000,000 casualties and so had least reason to fear a nuclear war. This so horrified the man to whom Nehru told this tale that he asked, "Did Mao Tse-tung really say that?" Mr Nehru gave the assurance that he had. Mr Nehru was a truthful man.

Two months ago Chou En-lai was reported as saying that he would be ready to destroy half of humanity if he could build socialism in the half that remained. This is their answer to the social and economic injustices and sufferings that cover large areas of the earth. Many sane people would regard a programme which envisages the destruction of half the world as a programme that had already failed. But, of course, they regard man as nothing more than an animal wearing clothes, lipstick and shoeleather.

In other words, the state can use slaughterhouse, torture chamber, lash and whip to control the zoo over which it presides.

I am bound to say that I do not regard this attitude as more wrong than the attitude of nations which proclaim a faith and call themselves Christians, but who tolerate gross corruption in matters of tax and industry, who allow the rich to grow fat from the leanness of the poor and who, while crying the name of God aloud, abandon moral standards and live in impurity and indulgence exactly as if they were the animals the Communists declare them to be.

The most dramatic failure of the Communist world is the split between Russia and China. Personally I do not rejoice at this split. Any deep division in the human family is fraught with peril for us all. Some people say that Communism has become a mere instrument of nationalistic policy in the hands of power-hungry men. This may be true of some Communists. I believe it is false about the vast majority of them. Communism, whether you agree with it or not, is passionately resolved to change the world radically and rapidly. Millions go to Communism because they see in its programme the only hope of something new for themselves and for their children.

Some other people say privately that it is now necessary for the United States to form an alliance with Soviet Russia in order to contain, or even to crush, China. I am reminded of the time before the last World War when certain influential people in Britain decided that it would be excellent to come to terms with Russia in order to crush Hitler. They forgot that Russia also had to agree to this arrangement.

For months the British negotiators waited in Moscow. Then, like a crack of Red lightning, came the news that Molotov had signed a treaty with Ribbentrop. Germany and Russia proceeded to destroy and devour the carcass of Poland. Stalin supplied Hitler with food and equipment in his efforts to conquer my country. It is hard to criticise the Russians for hoping Germany and Britain would grind each other to the grave and leave them in peace, when that is precisely what some of us in Britain had hoped the Germans and Russians would do to each other.

AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II three men—Adenauer, Schuman and de Gasperi—from three different nations, Germany, France, Italy, decided to stand together to build Europe. Those men were united in their political philosophy by being pupils of Don Sturzo. They were helped to this effective action by their conviction about Moral Re-Armament.

Schuman would have retreated into private life in 1949 but for a conversation with Dr Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament. Instead he took up the task he most feared—that of reconciliation with Germany—and for which he faced bitter criticism from his own people.

Adenauer knew the part played by Moral Re-Armament in the creation of the economic unity of Europe. When the Schuman Plan agreement was signed he said, "MRA played an unseen but effective part in bridging differences of opinion between the negotiating parties in recent important international agreements."

De Gasperi echoed this in his conviction that MRA went to the "root of the world's evils and will bring about the understanding between men and nations for which all people long."

Robert Schuman wrote, "If Moral Re-Armament were just another theory, I would not be interested. But it is a philosophy of life applied in action, which I have seen reaching the millions. It is a world-wide transformation of human society which has already begun."

Don Sturzo, who had trained these three great Europeans, described Moral Re-Armament as "fire from Heaven". And two years ago, Adenauer told the Press, "Unless Moral Re-Armament is extended, peace cannot be preserved."

Of course, Adenauer, Schuman and de Gasperi all happen to be Catholics. They all knew perfectly well that Moral Re-Armament was no substitute for the Church. They knew this was not a new sect—a Protestant sect or a substitute for any church. They knew, as Schuman said, it was a philosophy of life applied in action, reaching the millions.

Here was the foundation of post-war Europe. If Europe is in difficulties today, it is not for lack of money and prosperity, or of powerful weapons. It is because Europeans stopped short in the unity of Europe. They were content with too small a goal. They did not realise that the only answer to revolution on a world scale is a greater revolution, which also must involve the whole world.

Some of the European leaders realised this truth, but many of them lacked the will to act together, to surrender personal ambition and indulgence, to out-sacrifice, out-challenge and out-work those who want to maintain a divided world today in order to profit from it tomorrow.

BRAZIL is a sign of the times for those with eyes to see and ears to hear. The Brazilian revolution was not, in fact, a revolution by one class or in the interests of one section of the nation. It began out of the revulsion of millions of Brazilian women against the corruption and trend of the times. It was a revolt by Brazilians for Brazil. But the revolution has only just begun. The test of it is yet to come. It will be whether Brazil can demonstrate to the whole world that free men can fill empty stomachs with food, fill empty hands with work and fill empty hearts with a passion to remake the world more efficiently, more swiftly and more justly than any dictatorship.

One test will be whether inflation is conquered. It can be. But it will take remedies that hurt. It is vitally important that this country can never be accused either by its own people or by foreigners of taxing the little men but letting the big men go free; of being more energetic about putting down Communism than in ending the corruption which is a cause of Communism.

A start of greatest importance has already been made. I was told yesterday that for the first time it is becoming dangerous to be dishonest. Some big tycoons are faced with the threat of big penalties for big corruption. Thank God some men have been given power to act who believe that those who will not sacrifice their selfishness for their nation will be prevented by tough measures from sacrificing the nation for their selfishness and greed.

The test is whether their leaders will lead, employers will create employment, and workers will work. Leaders who do not lead and employers who do not create employment are as responsible for inflation as workers who will not work. And no big sacrifice will be offered by the ordinary man unless leaders offer him, too, a big aim which he can understand and love.

Why is it that Communism has people in every part of the world, who, of their own accord, help its cause forward? Whereas the democracies are so concerned with their own concerns that they will not even stand and help each other in a continent like Latin America, Africa or Asia? It is simply because Communism, whether you regard it as good or bad, has a world aim which its adherents pursue with passion, philosophy and plan.

Its world aim comes first, and the life of every Communist

is submitted to that aim. It is called ideology.

Why should men of faith accept a lesser aim for their lives, pursued with lesser discipline and lesser sacrifice than those who follow the doctrines of Karl Marx?

There is an alternative to a Red world or a dead world. It is a world rebuilt. It is a revolution big enough to include non-Communist and Communist alike and powerful enough to change the materialism in both, which is the root of the human problem and which remains long after tyrants are slain, or those who want to subvert a nation are jailed. We can never rebuild the world unless all nations, all races, all classes, all colours are included in that essential and urgent task.

WE NEED in this age of astonishing human achievements in technology and science and force, the astonishment of a new aim in which all men can share. That is the creation of a new type of human society, built by a new type of man. Khrushchev, just before he fell from power, stretched out in his mind towards it when he admitted that forty-six years of socialist experiment in the Soviets had failed to create a man free from hate, or fear, or greed. The free world condemns itself, if, with all its material advantages and its belief in a Supreme Being, it continues to live with the appetites, cruelties, divisions and fears that man knew when he lived in the caves.

Moral Re-Armament is an ideology of freedom for all men everywhere. Whether the Communist or the non-Communist world needs it most, God alone can decide. Certainly, if both accept their need, we shall see an age of sanity, justice and lasting peace. One nation demonstrating

the speed with which men can learn new and greater aims—without which they will plunge into the old wars that will lead this time to the everlasting silence—could give hope and challenge to Moscow and Peking as well as Washington, Paris and London.

It will mean change for the government and change for the governed, change for the rich who can afford it better than the poor, who also need it. Here would be a Christian nation showing the world that God, for the first time this century, was becoming relevant and powerful in the family life, industrial life and international policies of a great nation. Free nations committed to Moral Re-Armament as fully as Russia and China are committed to Communism would pioneer the next step of progress for Communist and non-Communist blocs alike.

Frank Buchman gave his last words to the world, "I want to see nations governed by men governed by God. Why not let God run the whole world?" This may not be diplomatic language. It remains the only diplomacy that will work.

Peter Howard wrote a series of full page announcements for the Press which dealt with issues of the day. They were inserted through the gifts of thousands of ordinary men and women. Here are four of them:

One Enemy, One Answer for the World

"The Times", 9 February 1962

TWENTY YEARS AGO, when Hitler's heel was on Europe, a great Englishman looked into the future and said, "I am afraid".

A friend asked, "Are you afraid of losing the war?" The Englishman answered, "No, Hitler will be destroyed. I have no doubt of that."

The friend asked, "Afraid of the casualties?" The Englishman answered, "No. Of course I am appalled at the loss of life and the sacrifice of blood and treasure that await us. But I am not frightened by them."

The friend asked, "What is it then?" The Englishman answered, "I am afraid of the crisis in character and nationhood that will follow this war. Faith is being destroyed. Patriotism is being lost. Men have begun to doubt whether right and wrong exist. We may see the whole earth, including Britain, come to look on men as little more than fairly intelligent cattle whose main aim is more to eat and a better stall to live in. I am more afraid of a moral desert on the face of the earth than of all the ruins and the desolation of the lands."

That Englishman was a far-seeer. The crisis is now upon us. The problem we face is not the H-bomb, though it is true that unless we find an answer, man may destroy himself by the forces his brain has unleashed. It is not Communism—though few in Britain yet understand ideology or grasp the nature and goal of men like Mr Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung. The problem is a world-wide rebellion against God Himself. It is a famine of hearing the words of the Lord. It is a universal acceptance of moral compromise, a refusal to deal with human nature thoroughly and drastically on a colossal scale. It leads nations inevitably along the historic path to violence and destruction.

SUPPOSE THE EARTH were invaded by an army from Mars threatening our existence. Would not the whole world join forces in self-defence?

Today humanity is threatened by a common foe. It is an enemy that disrupts and divides the Communist and non-Communist world alike.

It is responsible for the fact that the world which calls itself free and Christian has produced two world wars in this century, has been the seed-bed of Fascism, Nazism and Communism, and has been unable to cure an economic inequality which allows millions in many parts of the world to have too little while a few have too much. It is the source of division among free men today.

It is this same enemy which in the Communist camp has allowed the liquidation of millions in the name of progress, the destruction of Hungarian workers by tanks in the streets, the hatreds and divisions that are the hallmark of modern Marxism, the worship of human gods whose memories and

bodies after their death have to be vilified and degraded. It is the source of division in the Communist world today.

The name of that enemy is materialism—the spirit of anti-Christ—the philosophy which puts things like profit, wages, property and power before people, and which elevates men in the democracies as well as the dictatorships to take the place of God Himself.

Unless the whole world unites to defeat the common foe, we are faced with world dictatorship and with world war.

The answer is an idea big enough to change the selfishness that creates injustice and exploitation, as well as to cure the hate and bitterness that follow. It is an idea that can enlist the passion of the Communist and the wealth and skill of free men in the supreme task of history—the remaking of the world.

In the free world, the squat, the twist, the pay pause and the go-slow, sincerely as they may be pursued, satisfying to some as they may be, do not appear to go deep enough. They do not touch the real cause of the disease that is destroying us. Nor will arguments about Commonwealth and Common Market, important as they are, themselves produce the common sense that can save Britain before it is too late.

The whole world needs Moral Re-Armament—a common goal, common values, a common authority that all men can accept and with which all can unite before it is too late.

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT is simple enough for all to understand and practical enough for all to apply who are not too proud to do so.

Here are some of the realities in which it is rooted:

Absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love as the yardstick of behaviour for every man, every home, every industry, every nation throughout the entire world.

Everybody wants to see the other fellow change. Every nation wants to see the other nation change. But everybody is waiting for the other to begin. If we want to see the world different, the most practical place to begin is with ourselves and our own nation. Then we have something to give the world.

There is nobody more reactionary than the man or nation that wishes to see the world different but is unwilling to change itself.

We must see the work and wealth of the world made available for all and for the exploitation of none. There is enough in the world for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed. If everybody cares enough and everybody shares enough, then everyone will have enough.

Human wisdom has failed. God has a plan for every man, every nation, starting now, no matter what the past has been. That plan is perfect for Communist and non-Communist alike, for the nominal Christian and the sincere non-Christian. Everyone has a part he alone can play. And everyone can find that part if he is ready to listen to God—and obey. We may think the thoughts that come when we listen are ordinary thoughts—but be honest about them. If we act on them they may be the key to the most difficult situation.

When man listens, God speaks. When man obeys God acts. When men change, nations change.

TRUTH is seldom complicated. Some men spend their time trying to complicate truth in order to avoid it. Simplicity seems a sin to those whose lives are complicated by compromise. The truth today is that unless men change, there will be no unity in the United Nations, no lasting solution to Berlin, no prospect of permanent peace and the building of a new world. Cabinets which learn the art of changing men will swiftly bring a new element into statesmanship so that at last it works. They will have the answer to the root problem of Britain and the modern world—the secret of victory in the struggle of chaos against God.

The same great Englishman who feared for the crisis in character and nationhood said in the British Parliament, "The cause of the world's state is not economic. The cause is moral. It is there the evil lies What you want are God-guided personalities, to make God-guided nationalities, to make a new world. All other ideas of economic adjustment are too small really to touch the centre of the evil."

THE CHOICE before humanity today is to re-arm morally—or perish. Every true patriot, every sane man, gives his life to bring his country and the world under God's control. There is a force of such people trained for years in the struggle of ideology, at work on every continent and available for service.

Moral Re-Armament is a necessity for survival. The Russians and Chinese, Americans and Europeans, the Africans and Asians all need it, and need it now.

One nation, morally re-armed, would teach all nations how to live.

One government, morally re-armed, would lead the world instantly into the paths of peace.

One industry, management and labour morally re-armed, would show all industry how to meet the needs of millions instead of perpetuating class struggle, social injustice and greed.

To Every Communist

This page was sent for insertion to the editors of "Izvestia", "Pravda" and principal newspapers of other Communist countries, as well as to leading newspapers throughout the non-Communist world, in October 1962

PEACE OR WAR? That is the question each man asks his neighbour. Every woman awaits the answer.

In a divided world, with both camps armed with weapons capable of total devastation, the theory of the class struggle as well as the theory of capitalism, the welfare state, or the affluent society will prove too small, too slow and too selfish to achieve anything except disaster.

Many honest Communists know it. Too few in the non-Communist world will face it.

Our appeal is to every sincere Communist and Marxist in Russia, in China and throughout the world to join with us in the greatest revolutionary adventure of all time, whereby the root problem—human nature—is dealt with thoroughly, drastically and on a colossal scale and nations are halted in their mad, historic march to violence and destruction.

It will mean change for all. Changed economic conditions, though essential, do not change men. Decadence in some of every generation among the richer societies of the non-Communist world, decadence among the third generation of Communists in the Communist world, prove it.

Too many Communists, as Mr Khrushchev has pointed out, are too selfish to make their Communism work in their homes, on the farm, in the factory or in the nation. Too many non-Communists are too selfish to live for anything except their own comfort, their own corner, their own concerns.

YEARS AGO Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament, in a speech broadcast to the world, said, "Is change for all the one basis of unity for all? Can Marxists be changed? Can they have this new thinking? Can Marxists pave the way for a greater ideology? Why not? They have always been open to new things. They have been forerunners. They will go to prison for their belief. They will die for their belief. Why should they not be the ones to live for this superior thinking?"

Many people say that capitalism or Communism, class or colour are the problems.

The problem is not Communism. It is character.

The problem is not capitalism. It is character.

The problem is not colour. It is character.

The problem is not class. It is character.

New men with new motives will build a new world. No concept short of this touches the root of the modern malaise.

Hans Boeckler, the great President of the German Trade Union Federation, put it this way, "When men change, the structure of society changes. And when the structure of society changes, men change. Both go together, and both are necessary."

THIS REVOLUTION of Moral Re-Armament already has bridgeheads in every nation. As Moscow Radio said, "It

is in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world.”

In Nigeria, Tunisia, the Cameroons, Morocco and the Congo responsible leaders say that Moral Re-Armament has many times averted bloodshed.

In Kenya, hard-core Mau Mau revolutionaries were changed when they heard their white prison commandant apologise for the arrogance and greed in men like himself, which had helped to cause Mau Mau. They gave up their hate, for they saw that where black hates white today, black will kill black tomorrow. They took the all-African film *Freedom*, which dramatises the answer to bitterness and corruption, to their leader, Jomo Kenyatta. He said, “Get this film into Swahili. It is what our people need.”

The first man arrested in the emergency saw the film in Swahili. He had returned from twelve years in prison to find that his two wives and four children had been killed, his home demolished and his land confiscated. He says: “Some power in that film touched my heart and took away my bitterness. I decided to forgive the white man, for I saw that only thus could Africans, Asians, Europeans live in peace.” Together with Kenyatta’s only brother he took *Freedom* to 400,000 people in Kenya in six months. “Moral Re-Armament is an intelligent medicine to cure the diseases of hate, selfishness and bitterness, which confuse nations everywhere,” he says.

In South America, revolutionary students of San Marcos University, Peru, where Vice-President Nixon was stoned, have changed. “To change the system is only half a revolution,” said the editor of the left-wing student paper. “Moral Re-Armament is the total revolution because it changes the system and produces the incorruptible men to run it. The

most reactionary man is the one who wants to change the world but refuses to change himself."

These students wrote a play, *El Condor*, portraying this total fight for social justice. Capitalists and generals changed, quit their sterile anti-Communism, and took up the fight with them. They were received with tumultuous enthusiasm by the land workers in the Peasant League country. In the port of Recife so many dockers found hope and purpose that the Port Superintendent was able to tell the Press that alcoholism had decreased in a marked degree. The Director of the Port Co-operative reports, "Looting and pilfering are going out of fashion. Honesty has come in, so that prices of staple foods in our co-operative have been able to be cut by 35 per cent."

In recent months Moral Re-Armament plays have been seen in football stadiums by more than a million and a half people in Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Brazil. Millions more see Moral Re-Armament programmes regularly on television.

In Japan, on 22 October, 1962 the Prime Minister spoke at the opening of an Asian training centre for Moral Re-Armament at Odawara. Prime Minister Ikeda told the 2,131 delegates from 41 countries: "We are honoured that Japan should be chosen as the centre for the Moral Re-Armament of Asia. Since I took office I have striven to double the national income. Now I realise that the foundation for this should be men who are right and true. MRA is working to create new men, new nations, and a new world. May its philosophy take root and spread. I am determined to help in whatever way I can to further this purpose."

The invitation committee for the first assembly there includes two former Prime Ministers and senior industrial

leaders, who say: "In order to lay a foundation for world peace, and especially to create unity in Asia, individuals and nations must now give priority to Moral Re-Armament." Takasumi Mitsui, the President of the Mitsui Foundation, sold his last family property to provide money for the centre. The aim is to make real for every Asian the words of Frank Buchman to the rice workers of Ceylon: "Empty hands will be filled with work, empty stomachs with food and empty hearts with an idea that really satisfies."

One of those leading the assembly is Rajmohan Gandhi. He is the third generation of his family to stand with Moral Re-Armament. His grandfather, Mahatma Gandhi, who achieved India's independence, first met Buchman in 1915 and twenty-five years later said, "Moral Re-Armament is the greatest thing that has come out of the West." His father, Devadas Gandhi, said, "If Moral Re-Armament fails, the world fails." Pressed by leaders of India to take a prominent position in his country, Rajmohan replied, "Where would India be today if my grandfather had accepted the advice to return to his law practice, instead of fighting for his country? Today, not just one country is in jeopardy, but the whole world."

The grandchildren of the men and women changed when Buchman moved through Scandinavia in the thirties have written a play which gives an answer to impurity and hate. It offers youth of every nation something great to live for.

In Europe, Asia and throughout the world, the third generation of Moral Re-Armament are working day and night, without salary, to make the work and wealth of the world available for all, and for the exploitation of none.

THERE WILL BE NO WAR if East and West, black and white, Communist and non-Communist accept a common revolutionary destiny. There can be no honest co-existence without a common commitment. Mankind's commitment must now become the rebuilding of the world. It means the transformation of society, an economic, social, political change within and between nations, a revolution so vast that everyone, everywhere, can play their part.

Human nature can be changed. That is the root of the answer.

National economics can be changed. That is the fruit of the answer.

World history can be changed. That is the destiny of our age.

God alone can change men. Lenin was a forceful and dedicated revolutionary. His challenge to the century has altered the shape of our times. But it has divided mankind, and can destroy it, unless we change.

Lenin did not believe in God. He said, "Our revolution will never succeed until the myth of God is removed from the mind of man." Lenin's disbelief was nourished by the actions and inactions of those who expressed their belief in God.

Nations which professed faith lived in such a way that they robbed Lenin and his friends of a belief in God. The way some so-called God-fearing nations live makes the Communist world cynical of God today. But unbelief was a fatal flaw in Lenin's philosophy.

Absolute moral standards are a place where all men can make a start—standards of absolute unselfishness in economic planning; absolute love in social attitudes and patterns;

absolute honesty in industrial and political action; absolute purity in every home: standards which do not vary with personal, party or national interest. Here lies the secret of successful statesmanship, sound citizenship and lasting unity. The logical next step for the Communist and for the non-Communist worlds is Moral Re-Armament.

Honest leaders in both worlds admit it. The 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party called upon every party member to observe himself and cultivate in others honesty, moral purity, unselfish labour for society and love of his fellows. Emboldened leaders in East and West will bring these standards to their peoples by living them themselves.

WILLIAM PENN said, "Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

When the men of the Kremlin listen to God, He will speak to them as clearly as He would to the leaders of the non-Communist world if they were humble enough to listen—and sane enough to obey—instead of continuing to do efficiently and proudly what is not the way.

From the Mind of God adequate, accurate, definite information can come to the mind of man. Here is a revolutionary experiment that any true revolutionary will dare to make.

The paradox of history may be that this century which discovered the power of the divided atom will learn the secret of uniting men. The Communists, governed by God, could be peace-makers for the world in the greatest revolution of all time, where all men are needed, no man is exploited, and where leaders and led pay the price of a new society by paying the price of change in their own lives.

Crisis in Character

To All Who Love Britain

“The Times”, 17 June 1965

WE ARE CLOSE TO MORAL BANKRUPTCY. Those who deny the disease are often a part of it. People say war is to blame, youth is to blame, the Press is to blame, science is to blame. The truth is we are all to blame. We have in private and public life for years accepted standards of behaviour lower than the best. We have chosen in the name of “tolerance”, “progress”, “freedom” to kill part of our conscience for our comfort, and then allowed ourselves to be bullied by corrupt and dingy men to kill part of the conscience of the nation for their comfort.

Men, high and low, have made a mockery of our moral and spiritual heritage. They have traded public birthright for private mess. They have forced the foolish belief down the nation’s throat that a public man’s private life is his own affair. Many have lived private lives which render them vulnerable to blackmail, endanger us all and hand Britain over to international ignominy.

Any government, any party, any parliament is responsible for the character of our nation. Those who enhance morality should be encouraged. Those who debase it should be checked. This is vital at a time when the same forces which

conspired to snare a Vassall undoubtedly conspire to trap cabinet ministers or other personalities of pomp.

We suffer from the worship of human idols. Some worship man's brain, some worship man's body, some worship man's power. When human power becomes a god men are blinded by their own arrogance. This can be true of every party.

TODAY vast societies are committed to a world revolution which they say "can never succeed until the myth of God is removed from the mind of man". Unless we in Britain now choose to be governed by God, we condemn our children to perish or be ruled by tyrants. Dirt and defiance in the heart, division in the home, deadlock in industry, decadence in the nation, destruction or dictatorship at the end of the road—the progress is inevitable, unless our leaders start to clean up Britain.

We need a moral basis of democracy in Britain. This alone will hold the answer to the decadence of materialism that is the sire of all forms of dictatorship. In an atomic age, a nation's thinking and living are in ruins before her cities are blasted to dust.

The Churches speak with divided tongues. Some churchmen seem publicly to advocate the abandonment of traditional standards of chastity and belief. Others quietly and selflessly continue their work. Some play politics. They try to make party capital out of a moral decadence they have helped to create. Millions are confused and confounded.

WE MUST LEARN and learn fast the link between private sexual habits and public security risks. In the book *Burgess*

and *Maclean* by Anthony Purdy and Douglas Sutherland (Secker & Warburg), speaking of how these two men were warned to flee our country, the authors say: "And so it was not from the Foreign Office but from MI5 that the warning came, and it came not to Maclean but to Burgess. It came in a telephone call.

"The Third Man was a senior member of the service who has since left and won honours in another field. He had been a close friend of Burgess, although he had not seen him for almost a year, and he was a homosexual. This is why it is nonsense to say that Burgess's homosexuality is irrelevant to the case It is irrelevant to moralise, certainly; but the fact remains that if he had not been a homosexual he would have been far less likely to have been warned of the danger to Maclean.

"... He (Burgess) has told many people that if he ever stands trial in Britain he will subpoena a number of well-known names for his defence, as well as two not-so-well-known ones—two of the friends who were then officers of MI5.

"One of these two is the Third Man."

If this, or anything like it, is still true, our own Intelligence Services need intelligent investigation.

When perversion infiltrates, subversion follows. It is believed that public money is paid to men well-known for moral deviance because they are thought to give us more information about the Russians than they give the Russians about us. This, if true, is not only treachery but lunacy.

The ring of men who for so long have protected each other and persecuted good at the heart of our affairs in politics, society, civil service, the arts, literature and other

places of influence must be exposed if we are to continue free.

BRITAIN NEEDS MORAL RE-ARMAMENT. She needs it urgently. She has needed it for a long time. For a long time, too, some powerful men, enemies of it for personal or ideological reasons, have tried by studied silence or skilful smear to deceive the people of Britain about it. If you publish the truth about Moral Re-Armament you are accused of "boasting" or "exaggeration". If fools repeat lies that knaves have invented about it, that is "fair comment", "honest criticism". People criticise the methods of Moral Re-Armament without revealing their own motives. Our methods need heightening. We welcome help to do better what needs to be done. But the motives of critics are often dedicated to the moral disarmament of our people and the spiritual destruction of our country.

Moral Re-Armament stands for faith in God; sound family life; industry where people are more important than profit, work as important as wages, service as important as salary; a society which recognises that class-war, with the selfishness of the Right and the bitterness of the Left, is too small and dangerous for our times; a national goal and aim to remake the world, which all can love and share.

Christ's claims on our country remain everlasting. His standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love are unalterable throughout the ages. He did not teach us to pray, "Our own kingdom come, our own will be done." Nor did He say to the woman taken in adultery, "Go and sin some more."

A man who loved Britain and had a high vision for her destiny, as he lay dying, said, "I want to see Britain governed

by men governed by God." It was after he had heard in confidence about the antics, still secret, of some people of privilege in our land. His last words in full were, "I want to see Britain governed by men governed by God. I want to see the world governed by men governed by God. Why not let God run the whole world?"

His name was Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament. He was, in his lifetime, honoured and trusted by multitudes. He and some who worked at his side have been scorned and shunned by men who led us into this mess. What tragedies could have been avoided if men at the head of our affairs had had the understanding to accept this challenge, the integrity to pursue it. What triumphs yet could be snatched from disaster if we decide to follow that path. It will mean a clean-up of our nation from top to bottom. It will mean national change in which all can play their part.

No party will win the confidence of Britain now unless the moral integrity of our country is proclaimed by it and lived by its leadership. It is no good any longer talking high and living low.

Is not the remaking of the world the will and heart of ordinary men and women everywhere? In the words of *The Times* editorial, "It Is a Moral Issue", (11 June 1963), "Even if the call had metaphorically to be for 'blood, sweat, and tears' instead of to the fleshpots they (the Conservative Party) might be surprised by the result."

Moral Re-Armament or mere materialism—that is the choice that every party and every person in Britain today must make.

We shall continue, hopeful, humble remakers of the world,

to raise the standard of revolution—the greatest revolution of all time whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the individual, the nation, the world.

It is a standard to which honest men and women can repair. The event, despite the prehistoric views of modern “progressives”, remains in the hand of God.

Tomorrow's Britain

A Fable

"Daily Express", 1 September 1964

MANY YEARS AGO, best beloved, before men wore long hair and women wore short trousers, Dinosaurs ruled the earth. A Dinosaur weighed fifty-eight tons. Bones were like pillars of stone, muscles like steel hawsers, scales like armour. Its brain would have filled an eggcup. It seemed to itself, eternal, intelligent and invincible.

Society then was affluent. Corn was fat, watermelons cool, caves plentiful. By day Dinosaurs lurched clumsily and heavily through swamp and jungle crunching, quarrelling, drinking. By night, in caves, they sported and multiplied.

Those who lived on the left of the great forest, which was then the world, painted their scales red. Those on the right painted themselves blue. Every now and then they held elections to decide how Dinosaurs could get more and more and more and give less and less and less.

Some Dinosaurs had brains which would fill an eggcup—and a teaspoon besides. They were known as egg-and-spoon-heads. On account of the extra teaspoonful of brain they became powerful. They stood on hills, which in those days took the place of radio, press and pulpit, and from heights they shouted, "We'll do your thinking for you. A lot of

what you fancy does you good. If enough Dinosaurs want something, that means the something is right." Everybody was afraid of big voices on hills and besides, it's pleasant to be told to do what you like when for so long you have been taught to do what you should. So Dinosaurs admired and copied egg-and-spoon-heads. Lady Dinosaurs got bossier. Gentlemen Dinosaurs got busier. All ate and drank and sported so much that even brains that would have barely filled one eggcup began to be addled and atrophied for lack of use.

NOW THERE WAS A FLY in the great forest, Best Beloved. He was not a convenient Fly. He buzzed by day and stung by night. He seldom slept. He could creep between the scales of Dinosaurs and touch nerves that others never reached. He buzzed to and fro on the face of the earth saying, "For God's sake, wake up. Use what brains God gave you. When Dinosaurs lose ability to distinguish right from wrong, that is the start of the end for the Dinosaur Dynasty."

The Dinosaurs, especially the eggcup-and-spoon brigade on hilltops, became enraged. They lashed at the Fly with their tails. But they only managed to hit and bruise their own flanks, which made them roar the louder. Some Red Dinosaurs called him "Fascist Fly". Some "Gnazi Gnat". Some Blue Dinosaurs called him "Communist Creature" or "Pacifist Pest". Some praying Dinosaurs, the kind who prayed on their knees at intervals and preyed on their neighbours the rest of the time, called him "Heretical Hornet". But the Fly went on stinging and saying, "I'm just a common or garden Gadfly, and if you want to know what Gad is, look it up in the dictionary."

One young Dinosaur said, "Fly, your stings hurt so. That's what makes us so angry." Fly remarked, "It's your conscience that hurts. That's what it is meant to do. You have stunned your conscience to death. It's my job to sting 'em alive again."

Then from the hills egg-and-spoon-heads bellowed, "All this talk of God is old-fashioned. We need it no more. Once we believed in Almighty Deity. Now we believe in Almighty Dinosaur. We are able to create our own environment and handle our own affairs. Liquidate Fly. Forward to a new age."

Fly said, "Fools! If you truly believe that, it's the end of you. Elections may settle how many watermelons you get and how big and plentiful caves may be. Elections are important. But the issue of tomorrow's forest will not be settled by any election. The future of the forest depends on your faith. It depends on what you believe, not what you have. Is it to be Almighty Deity or Almighty Dinosaur? If it's Dinosaur not Deity as Supreme Being, then you are done."

But Dinosaurs went on roaring, and crunching, and drinking, and sporting, and crying from the hills, "There is no other Deity but Dinosaur. Thank Dinosaur we are not as other creatures. We can make dirt clean by calling it avant-garde.

"We can break old rules and make new morality when we decide it is convenient. Long live Almighty Dinosaur."

And as they cried, pigmy rivals began to infiltrate the forest. There was a rustling and whispering that grew until the sound spread from horizon to horizon. The rivals sank fangs into Dinosaur's organs. Dinosaurs began first to boast.

Then to panic. They fought each other. They ran to and fro getting fatter, stronger, prouder, louder, sexier, more cruel and more insecure. In the end friend fought friend, family fought family and every living creature seemed to be foc. They began to sing a song called, "Old Dinosaurs Never Die". But they did.

So Dinosaur Dynasty ended. There was one final scream. Then silence, after slaughter and destruction settled over the face of the forest.

OUT OF THE SILENCE stepped Man, naked, helpless, with a brain that could fill a mug, and confronted Fly.

"Well," said Fly, "you've done it. Now you are king of the earth."

"Not so," answered Man. "God did it. Without Him I am nothing. He made me. He teaches me. He has shown me every inch of the way. He is King."

"That's what you say now," said Fly. "But come back in a few thousand years when you are stronger than Dinosaur, richer than Dinosaur, cleverer than Dinosaur—and see what you'll be saying."

"I'll always say the same, for I believe it," answered Man.

"Fine," said Fly. "But don't forget this. If it ever becomes Almighty Man not Almighty God, you'll be following the Dinosaur into the history books. And you'll go downhill faster with that extra pint of brain. For the real issue then will be soul or no-soul. And if man convinces himself for his own convenience and comfort that he has no soul, there will be no reason left for liberty, justice or survival."

Man took a swipe at Fly and missed him. "Shut up," he said. "Don't preach at me. I know all about that."

“Well, don’t forget it,” buzzed Fly as Man turned, many years ago, Best Beloved, to the task and sweat of building civilisation out of chaos.

But the question remains—will Man forget?

The Normal Revolution of Our Times

*An address to an assembly for Moral Re-Armament
London, October 1964*

THE COURSE OF CIVILISATION, indeed the continuance of civilisation as we know it, depends on the way millions of individuals respond to the challenge of this hour.

This morning I want to talk as farmer, journalist and revolutionary. A farmer learns from the past. A journalist records the present. But a revolutionary prepares the future. And all of us can, if we choose, begin to take part now in a revolution—everyman's revolution—that will save mankind from destruction.

A new order of things must emerge. At a time when there is enough for everybody's need but millions yet go hungry; when Africans, Chinese and American Negroes no longer accept the white man's theory that they are lesser beings to be content with inferior treatment; at a time when men hold the secret of power that can destroy the earth; every sane person wants to do something swift and effective to change the times we live in.

History is racing like a hound at our heels. It is a hungry hound with a bite that can kill. Fools hope to escape, shutting

their eyes, clutching their investments and relying on selfish claims and national actions to keep them safe and protected like fat cats in a cage. Revolutionaries will take the lead in history by creating now millions of people free from hate, fear and the divisions of class and colour that will inevitably land us in jungle, zoo, or slaughterhouse if they are not cured.

I WANT TO SEE something springing out of this century that will secure the peace, freedom and development of the world for hundreds of years.

An aimless society is always a godless society. We must find means to build communities and nations free from the barriers of class, of colour, of race, and of the wounds of history.

God is no gentleman. It is not on record which public school, if any, He attended. Nobody can tell where He cast His vote a few days ago at the election. The colour of His skin, the nature of His accent, the length of His hair and the cut of His clothing are all mysteries.

What is still certain and a matter of experience is that He can, will and does talk to anyone at any time who is willing to listen. For those who have no faith in God, there is the honest experiment of the absolute standards of morality that we so urgently desire those we criticise to accept.

Absolute moral standards are a guide in life. They are like the North Star. For centuries mariners have steered by the North Star. It is a fixed point in the sky. It is yet to be recorded that any ship has reached the North Star, but it is true that on every ocean mariners discern from that star where their position is and where they need to head. And

absolute moral standards for those who lack faith may be a good starting point if they wish to play their part with all of us in a revolution that will change this country and the world.

A classless society will never be created by an aimless society. Aimless individuals make aimless communities. The answer to an aimless or dissatisfied man or woman is to listen to the voice of God and to obey.

I feel myself a man of many frailties and much weakness. I hope that before I die I shall have changed out of all recognition and be wholly different tomorrow from what I am today. Just as indeed I am different today from what I was yesterday. But I tell you without soap or sentiment that as I begin each day by listening to God, it is a time of enthralment and fascination that I would not miss.

It is like a great shoal of silver fish flashing through your heart and mind—new ideas for people, fresh approaches to problems, deeper insight into the mood of the times, costly, daily, personal decision that is the price of shifting our force and our nation ahead.

I am not much of a fisherman but I try and snatch one or two of those silvery fish as they fly from the Mind of God into the mind of men and women and children like ourselves.

I believe the time has come when we can match the discovery of new character with the discoveries of new power and new communications and new planets that human ingenuity is reaching. God be praised Who has matched us with this hour.

We have never had in the long story of man such exciting times to live in. We have never had the truths that are eternal put in such ways that everyone, everywhere,

black and white, East and West, great and small can comprehend them and become a part of them.

That is Moral Re-Armament and it is up to each one of us to say before God that we are in charge of it. For that is the normal revolution of our times.

Further books about Moral Re-Armament

FRANK BUCHMAN'S SECRET

Peter Howard

THIS BOOK is concerned not with praise but with truth. It tells the secret of Frank Buchman's amazing life—his way of dealing with the men and women of every class, race and nation who flocked to him. The author worked closely with Dr Buchman, the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, for nearly twenty years. He gives first hand evidence of men and women who learned Frank Buchman's secret—dockers and kings, statesmen and barmen, workers and intellectuals—and of the transformation of such people that led to solutions in some of the world's toughest trouble spots.

HEINEMANN 5S

BRITAIN AND THE BEAST

Peter Howard

"I WOULD MY PEN could tell of the glory that might have been, had we not sold our moral birthright for a mess of materialism; of the power and kingdom of the human spirit that may yet await us, if we have the courage to face what is wrong and the will to cure it."

In this robust book, Howard writes with pungent frankness about the assault on national character in Britain—the conflicts in industry, the debunking of patriotism, the campaign to call queers normal and normals queer, churchmen who question accepted morality, philosophers who point men back to the beast—all come in for stimulating attention. Howard calls for a revolution of the best of Britain to arrest the decline and give a new leadership. This book is a ringing reaffirmation of faith in Britain's future.

HEINEMANN 5S

REMAKING THE WORLD

*The collected speeches of
Dr Frank Buchman*

THIS is the standard work on Moral Re-Armament by its initiator. The speeches, made against the background of world events, give the philosophy and the facts of the growth of Moral Re-Armament which led Robert Schuman, former Prime Minister of France, to write of it in his foreword to the French edition as "the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society."

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GROSVENOR BOOKS 6S

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