



The Egyptian Ambassador to Delhi, Amre Moussa, inaugurates the conference.

DIALOGUE ON DEVELOPMENT V PARTNERSHIP BEYOND FRONTIERS

The fifth Dialogue on Development at Asia Plateau, the centre for Moral Re-Armament in Panchgani, India, took place in January. Its theme, which drew delegates from Asia, Europe and Africa, was 'Partnership beyond frontiers'. We devote this issue to a report of the conference:

CONFRONTATION WOULD NOT BRING about a new international economic order, the Egyptian Ambassador to India, Amre Moussa, told the opening session of the Dialogue on Development. 'There is a struggle of political wills,' he said. 'We need a certain conciliatory but objective approach. Third World countries don't want to threaten the rich nations but want them to understand that for the Third World to continue the way it is would threaten all of us.'

Disarmament discussions were too important to be left to the superpowers alone, Ambassador Moussa went on. 'The dialogue should include us all, big and small countries, North and South, rich and poor.' He emphasised the need to preserve the multilateral contd page 2

The view from Asia Plateau, Panchgani



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Mahatma Gandhi said, 'Things of fundamental importance to a people cannot be achieved by reason alone. They have to be purchased with their suffering.' Increasingly experts are agreeing that an infrastructure of character is essential for development. No amount of foreign aid or tariff reform can bring prosperity to the Third World unless our people are prepared to pay the price in honesty or hard work. As we put the needs of the whole nation before our own pockets, relations, castes and communal interests we may be surprised by the response from the North.

Niketu Iralu, Nagaland





Kiyoshi Yoneda (centre), Japanese Consul in Bombay, at the opening meeting.

system and UN organisation, and called for serious consideration of the problem of international terrorism taking into account the views of the liberation movements.

He described Asia Plateau as a 'forum within which things can happen far from the formal framework which sometimes tends to exacerbate problems'.

'What is needed for development is a will in the Third World to make it work,' said NG Goray, veteran socialist leader and a former Indian High Commissioner to London. 'In a country like India which is blessed with so many resources, why should it take so long to eradicate poverty? We need change—we will have to sacrifice something for the sake of others to achieve this goal.'

Resilience

'Economic experts and governments must give attention to bridging the gap between rich and poor,' said Niketu Iralu, director of Asia Plateau. 'But individuals will have to be responsible in their millions. Otherwise the problems are too big to be tackled.'

Major General Amar Kaul (retired) now General Manager of Somaiya Organics, UP, chaired the opening meeting. He introduced speakers from Sri Lanka, Japan and the United Kingdom. 'Relations between India and Sri Lanka today are fluttering,' said Rohini de Mel, from Sri Lanka. 'We see the dire need for new and determined resolutions by Sri Lanka's leaders and every single citizen if the crisis which grips our nation is to be overcome. Frank dialogue between leaders of all political hues in both Sri Lanka and India could set the stage for new relations.'

'I arrived in Delhi shortly after the tragic assassination of Mrs Gandhi,' said British author Dr Charis Waddy. 'It was deeply moving to hear experiences of tragedy and courage from one person after another. In six weeks there has been an astonishing change of mood—from an atmosphere of stunned disaster to some measure of hope and expectancy. The resilience of the Indian spirit is a challenge to the world. I believe many will rise up to match this moment of destiny and break the chain of hate which binds our nations to the past.'

> Photos: R Kapadia M Lean, P Spoerri

LEARNING FROM THE LAND

INDIA'S FARMERS could teach the world many lessons, Alain Revel, a French agricultural expert told the dialogue. 'I am interested in the transfer of technology from India to the rest of the world,' said Mr Revel, who is the Chief Engineer for Rural Engineering, Water and Forestry at the French Ministry of Agriculture. 'The experience of Indian agriculture is very important.'

India owed her self-sufficiency in food partly to the new seeds and technology of the Green Revolution and partly to government policies, he went on. The increase in food prices in 1972 had encouraged farmers; new storage plans had made self-sufficiency possible in 1977; and Mrs Gandhi's rejection of food aid from 1975 had been vitally important.

Mr Revel was in India to explore the possibility of applying new irrigation control systems developed in France. In the transfer of technology, he warned, it was important to define the obstacles. There was no value in transferring a technology 'just because it is beautiful', he said. Unconsidered and inappropriate transfers had led to 'new ruins' in many countries—plants which were not really needed and not being used.

'Researchers need more professionalism and readiness to work selflessly,' said Dr Prakash Dani, a scientist of the Central Institute for Cotton Research in Nagpur. Great dedication had lain behind the discovery of the new seeds which made the Green Revolution possible. Indian farming faced the constraints of small holdings, dependence on scarce rain and the unwillingness of farmers to take risks. 'Our farmers need open-mindedness, readiness to take risks and improved technology,' he said. Such qualities in researchers and farmers could stem from the sort of personal change advocated by Moral Re-Armament, 'which teaches people to give one hundred per cent of themselves'.

Sandy Ross, a retired vet from Scotland, spoke of the threats to world agriculture posed by soil erosion and high winds. 'Working in Papua New Guinea after the war I saw



'He who hates is a beast,' said Ramjilal (above left), a Harijan pavement cobbler from Delhi. 'He who loves and serves everyone can be called a man.' He told the conference of his longing for literacy and for land. 'How can I extract the riches from the earth if I don't own land?' he asked. 'I wish that everybody in this country had the right to some land. That would help remove poverty.'



Rural Maharashtra

the dangers of clearing land just before the monsoon—I lost a foot of land in a month through soil erosion.

'If we don't take soil humidity and windspeed seriously the deserts will continue to spread and millions more will die of starvation. We are missing these points in both the temperate and equatorial zones. Here at the Asia Plateau farm you have part of the answer—the subabul tree, which stops erosion as well as providing fodder, fertiliser and fuel; and a creeping leguminous cover crop which smothers weeds and preserves soil humidity.'

Mr Ross described how former headhunters in Papua New Guinea had helped him to face the power of hatred in his life. 'I had to apologise to about 70 people, but the most difficult were the people in my own family and village. Feuds cut the power of all you do.'

Several speakers referred to the longing for land—a precious security in nations where there is no welfare state. Phil Abrams, one of those responsible for Kenya's post-independence land resettlement scheme, described how large-scale farms had been bought from white settlers for distribution. First class land had been selected, subdivided into plots with water and road access, and reallocated to landless Africans. 'The first people we took were the long-term employees of outgoing farmers. Within three weeks of



Thupten Samphel of the Tibetan Information Office in Dharamsala, India, represented the Dalai Lama at the dialogue. He thanked the Indian people for their help in rehabilitating the 75,000 Tibetans who fled the country after 1959. 'They were coming from one century to another. Everything was so strange that they could only recognise the earth and the sky.' Buddhists, he said, could identify with the ideals of MRA. 'The work which is being done here is very similar to what the Dalai Lama teaches-the theme of universal responsibility and a good heart. In our daily lives each of us must give the best we can for our country, for our cause and for our community."

the first white farms being bought the new settlers were on the land, building their homes. We managed to prevent a grab—and to answer that deep longing for land.' The team of officers implementing the scheme included five who had found fundamental change in their lives through MRA among them two former Mau Mau fighters and the commandant of the camp in which they had been detained. 'Because of this we were able to maintain the vital element of honesty in our transactions.'

Hugues Dupuy from France described how the farmers' bank, Crédit Agricole, was working to reverse the exodus from the country to the towns which had created a 'great French desert'. He was responsible for the bank's department which dealt with rehabilitating rural housing. Their aim was to encourage those returning to the villages to live in old, restored houses in the village centres rather than building new homes on the outskirts.

'Recently I realised that I was a technocrat, sitting in Paris, without much contact with people,' said Mr Dupuy. 'While I concentrated on meetings, documents and laws, villages were crumbling. I was working too much with my head and too little with my hands. A month ago I decided to work only half of my time in the bank and the rest in a village. My bosses have agreed and I have made a start.'



(I to r) Niketu Iralu, NG Goray, former Indian parliamentarian and diplomat; Rema Devi, one of five Malaysians at the conference.

India's 700 millions comprise a kaleidoscope of religions, languages and traditions. They live together with a remarkable degree of harmony—in spite of recent tragic events.

The blood and tears that soaked into the dry winter dust after the assassination of Indira Gandhi have set many Indians thinking about how to heal the wounds of the centuries. Several spoke of this concern at the dialogue:

TO BREAK THE CHAIN OF HATE

Sushobha Barve, Maharashtra

INDIA HAS SEEN TERRIBLE BLOODSHED during '84. I never dreamt that my generation would witness killings comparable to those during partition time. A friend and I were on a train in North India on the day Mrs Gandhi was assassinated and found ourselves in the midst of murder, looting and chaos. I was attacked. My crime—I had tried to protect two innocent lives.

This incident made me very angry, at what as a nation we had allowed to happen. I also suffered from feelings of guilt because I had been unable to protect innocent people. For weeks I found myself in turmoil.

I could recognise the anger and guilt. But something else had bothered me, which took some time to understand. On that train many precious things I held dear in my heart had shattered—India's image as a secular nation, the vision that in spite of her shortcomings and difficulties, Indian democracy would survive. Much of that lay in ruins. Our national pride had had a rude shock and we stood humiliated as a nation before the world. Had we reached the point of no return?

I knew none of these emotions was going to help other people. It dawned on me that I could not stand aside feeling that I had no part in those ghastly killings. I must accept full responsibility for what we Hindus had done and face the consequences. There was a need for national repentance. The only way I could see this happen was through apologising to the Sikhs unconditionally and asking for their forgiveness.

Escaped

As I accepted this I was shown steps I could take. I wrote letters to Sikhs in different parts of the country. Some I knew and others I did not. One well known Sikh wrote back, 'I was in tears as I read your letter. As long as we have people like you around we will survive as a nation.'

It was one thing to write and another to meet some of those who had suffered. In Delhi some of us called on a Sikh family, who had suffered heavy loss of property and only escaped death due to the presence of mind shown by the head of the family. They told us all they had gone through. They were hurt, not because they had lost so much property, but because of the attitude of their Hindu friends whom they had known for years. After hearing this I said, 'We Hindus owe you an unconditional apology, for inflicting such deep wounds and humiliations. Please forgive us.' Tears streaked down the faces of both husband and wife.



Swinder and Bira Sahni (left) from Bombay with Mr and Mrs Karkhanis from Pune.

The wife said, 'To hear what you have just said makes me feel that all that we have gone through was worth it.'

Reconciliation and reconstruction of human lives and relationships is going to be a painful process. As we undertake this task at home, we will be shown how to build partnerships beyond our frontiers as well. The essential is men and women who are willing and dare to break the chain of hate and revenge.

Meeting, 'our Sikh brothers'

Priya Ranjan Prasad, engineer, Jamshedpur

THERE IS A LOT OF CORRUPTION in my area. Young people feel bad about it, but helpless. We had all given up hope that anything could be done. About six months ago four people from MRA came to address us. I thought, 'Here am I, an educated man—if I give up hope, who is going to build society?' I like the idea that if change is to come the first one to start must be myself. I began by giving up smoking and drinking—and I find I see people in a different way now.

In the riots after Mrs Gandhi's assassination many Sikhs in Jamshedpur were rendered homeless. They took shelter in the gurdwara. We have regular MRA meetings in Jamshedpur and at one of them we Hindus decided that we should go and meet our Sikh brothers. It helped them to know that someone cared. In one area respected Sikhs and Hindus sat together to hear all the grievances people had. Then they took corrective measures.

We decided to write a joint letter to the press, appealing to both Hindus and Sikhs. It appeared in one of Calcutta's best known papers. We got several replies from both communities.

Now we are seeing what we can do to bring reconciliation in a neighbouring city, where much blood was shed.

Assamese visit

Padma Ghosh, psychology lecturer in a Calcutta teachers' training college

SOME MONTHS AGO I MET some young Assamese, at a Moral Re-Armament conference. I felt that as members of the neighbouring state of West Bengal we had not always been sympathetic or generous towards the Assamese. Bengalis have migrated to Assam as lawyers, doctors and businessmen and have found economic prosperity there. We have been arrogant because we felt we were superior in culture. I apologised to the students for these attitudes in us Bengalis.

The following January they invited three of us to Assam. We were warmly welcomed. We met students and stayed in Assamese homes where we received the highest hospitality. But we felt that there was an undercurrent of enmity between the Bengalis and the Assamese. The Bengalis did not want to understand the Assamese and their desire to maintain their cultural identity. This is the disease of India the different states do not face up to each other's problems. Is a result of this visit we made lifelong friendships with the Assamese.

Violence no weapon

An Assamese participant spoke of the conflict between the Assamese and the thousands of Bengali refugees from Bangladesh in his area:

I DON'T SUPPORT VIOLENCE, but recently I have been at a loss. For four years there was a non-violent agitation against foreign nationals who had illegally entered Assam, causing extreme difficulties for the indigenous people. During the 1983 election it took a violent turn. I have seen innocent people being killed; houses burnt out; security forces open fire. I wanted revenge. At this point I thought violence could be the only weapon.

Since talking to people here it has struck me that we cannot have a peaceful or permanent solution if we exclude a certain section of people. I feel that unless each region of a country, and each country of the globe is developed equally, we cannot expect harmony. I have seen here how the French and Germans want to be reconciled and in agreement for the development of their countries. I have found inspiration and hope for life, that moral standards can still be applied.

I will go back to my state and try to tell people that for a permanent and full solution violence is not the answer.

No to bribes

Ranjit Singh, Delhi

AS A PEON in a government office I automatically got my share of the routine bribing that went on. My bad habits like drinking grew as a result of this extra income. Invariably, I was drunk when I returned home very late and rarely met my children. Sometimes I sold things in the house as the money ran out. The children were deprived of milk and other needs as my salary went on drink. There were fights at home with my wife. My parents avoided me. My wife began hating the very sight of me. She prayed hard that her husband would reform.

One day friends I had known from MRA visited me. I started thinking again about the ideas I had learnt through MRA. The thought which came to me as I listened to my inner voice was that I should stop taking bribes. I informed my boss about this decision and I told those who had given me bribes that I would not accept any more. My wife and I straightened out the budgeting at home.

I realise that corruption may not end in the whole country, but I can begin to live a straight and clean life myself. I have been able to influence two more of my friends to live this way.

There are about 15,000 people living in our Harijan colony and many have stories like this to tell.



The terrace at Asia Plateau

Groups from France and Germany travelled to India for the Dialogue. They took one session on the postwar reconciliation of their countries and the challenges to unity today.

GERMANY AND FRANCE—trust beyond economics

Dr Gisela Oberlander, historian and political analyst, Bonn, West Germany

DURING THE LAST 110 YEARS we have had three wars between France and Germany—and two of them drew in the whole world.

Last year a photograph was taken of President Mitterand of France and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany at the war cemetery in Verdun, where 150,000 soldiers of both nations are buried. An official report of that occasion said, 'We have been reconciled; we have been able to get united; and now we have become friends.'

If you look back in history you will see that the deepest source of calamity between nations is misunderstanding. This is why Frank Buchman, the founder of MRA, thought that he should provide a meeting ground after the war. The first place to which the Germans were invited after the war was the MRA centre at Caux in Switzerland and there French and Germans were able to get to know each other. As we get to understand each other, we learn to respect our differences and at the same time we become conscious of our oneness. We learn that unity does not come through uniformity, but through harmony. It is a grace of God that has been given—but you have to be ready for it.

When we French and Germans came to Asia Plateau we realised we can't take what we have been given for granted. We are grateful to our parents for having taken the risk of making friends. Many of us forget about this and have become indifferent to each other again. We need to find understanding once more. For instance, if I do not understand that my French friend is afraid of a reunited Germany; and if he does not understand that this question is the dearest on my heart; we cannot move on together.



Informal dialogue

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The secret of reconciliation is to remember what you have done to others. But then you must go ahead and take on something together. A belief in freedom and human rights made us unite after the war—and they are still lacking in many places. Today's problems are no longer those of one nation, but of the whole earth. If we understand this, we will find a united task and take the risk of trusting each other again.

Our wall too

Gérard Gigand, France

WE HAVE TALKED A LOT about being world citizens. At the same time it is important to have roots somewhere. I cannot apologise to the Germans as a world citizen, for they will see me as a Frenchman. I have to identify completely with what my country is, and has done, for my apology to have any meaning.

We have now come to the end of an era in our relationship between Germany and France. We have rested on the laurels that our parents' generation have won. We have used the interest of the capital. If we do not nc increase the capital, we will eat into it.

This has something to do with the question of Germany's division into two parts. Young Germans feel the young French are indifferent about the wall which divides Germany. If the young Germans feel we are indifferent, then they will be more ready to unite with the East under Communism, which is what we French are afraid of.

The French can fear German reunification in which case Europe will come to a dead end. On the other hand, if we are genuinely concerned for human rights and freedom, we can overcome our fear and nothing can prevent full unity between our two countries. We need to be able to tell the Germans, 'We want the best for you. We feel for your divided families.'

No obstacle

YUKIKA SOHMA from Japan has recently been decorated by the Emperor for her work with refugees:

INDIA IS A LAND of my inspiration. Every time I come here I have found something to take back to my nation. And this time I felt my heart was opened to one nation that I did not hate but towards which I was indifferent, and that is Germany. I went to Germany in 1948. I saw the devastation they experienced and yet I did not have a flowing love for that nation. I realise that the only thing we can give to heal the wounds of the world is an outgoing love which God is ready to give if I am not an obstacle.

The new ideology of Japan should be the ideology to care for others. We have to learn from the past and find new ways to make the past benefit us. If we have learnt from our past mistakes we must launch out with courage onto the new path.

Five years ago I launched an Association to aid Indo-Chinese refugees and this November we have changed the name to Association to Aid Refugees so as to take in the whole world. We have begun to send young people to help in Africa. This helps to broaden our hearts.

DEVELOPMENT IS INDIGENOUS

TEAME MEBRAHTU from Eritrea is a lecturer in education at Bristol University, UK. The following is taken from his comments during and after the dialogue:

AS A REFUGEE WORKING in Britain I have one of my feet firmly entrenched in the South and one in the North. Therefore I have to care for both the North and South. As everyone knows, the North-South dialogue has recently run into difficulties. The rich and powerful nations of the North have not risen to the occasion. Judging from its current response, it would appear that the North will go on postponing the creation of a more equitable international economic order if the South remains divided. Therefore stronger collaboration between the countries of the South is a necessary precondition of the North-South dialogue. But that collaboration is unlikely to materialise so long as the South lacks self-confidence and aspires to transplant evelopment from the North. I think this is the wrong arting point. I can see no society in the world which provides an ideal model. The North should not hold up a mirror to the South and say, 'Be like us.' The South must be itself.

Development is indigenous. It has to grow from within, it cannot be imported from outside. With all its might and technology and all the things it has given to the South, the North bases its philosophy on power. Its civilisation is egocentric not socio-centric like that of the South. Therefore, in the interests of both the North and the South, the latter must learn to respect what it has.



Teame Mebrahtu

Today the South in general and Africa in particular is facing a crisis of leadership, great inequalities within countries and between them, corruption, the exodus from the countryside to the cities. Worst of all, many of the intelligentsia there tend to suffer from what is known as the diploma disease. That is people wanting to use education for the sake of what they can get rather than to serve the whole of society. This is sad because the welfare of society, and particularly that of the ordinary person, must be at the heart of the development process.

Development, as I have come to realise, requires humility. For me as an academic this means learning from my own children, from my students, from people who know less than I do and even from the wisdom of the illiterate. If we only look at the material side of development, we are missing an important part of the jigsaw puzzle. Development is not merely a question of modernisation as the anthropologists say nor of growth as the economists would claim. There is the moral and spiritual dimension which we must not neglect.

I saw this hypothesis, an important part of my doctoral thesis, being put into practice on a recent visit to a village in Maharashtra. Nine years ago, I am told, 20 per cent of its people were underfed. The community was buying food from outside, was heavily in debt and had turned to bootlegging. Last year, for the first time, the village was self-sufficient in food. This transformation began when the villagers returned to their spiritual roots and decided to outlaw drink from the village. Since then they have sunk wells, irrigated their land, installed biogas plants, planted trees and built a school and homes for the Harijans. When people change, villages change; and when villages change, they set an example to neighbouring villages and the nation begins to change.



Gauri Ayyub, a lecturer in a Calcutta teachers' training college. Mrs Ayyub and her colleague Padma Ghosh gave an evening on the life and philosophy of the Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

Students meet

SHORTLY BEFORE Dialogue on Development V, foreign and Indian students met at Asia Plateau to 'forge a partnership for the future'. Students from Bhutan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Kenya, Sri Lanka and Ethiopia gave talks on their countries. Many spoke frankly of the difficulties they experienced in India—and of their appreciation of Indian hospitality and education. 'We are forming a group of people from different nations who are trying to forge the same mind despite diversity of thinking,' commented Barnabas Maiyo, a Kenyan studying in Pune.

Bharat Avalani, a Malaysian studying in Pune, told the conference that he had decided to stop buying rail tickets 'in the black' and using electricity illegally in his hostel. 'Corrupt practices will go on and on,' he said. 'If I do what others do things will be worse.'

'I was following a footpath,' said Martin Chilcott, in India before starting studies at Cambridge. 'What I found here was a motorway, clearly signposted with absolute standards.' STANLEY NICHOLS-ROY was a Cabinet Minister of the State of Meghalaya in North-East India from 1970-76. He is now General Secretary of the All Party Hill Leaders Conference a regional party. He and his wife HELEN addressed a meeting on partnership in the family:

STRENGTH OF PARTNERSHIP

Stanley Nichols-Roy

I CAME TO ASIA PLATEAU when it opened in 1968. I learnt that I must put things right in my own life before I can help my country. I realised that I was a very dominating person in my family and in my sphere of work—and that I needed only to be a part of any partnership. Breaking habits of dominance is not a one-day affair—one has to take steps day by day. In marriage I've found that the joy and strength of a partnership is when I give and not only take.

I went back to Shillong with the thought that I needed to build a new relationship with the leader of the Assamese people, BP Chaliha. Our Hill State Movement had been struggling non-violently to create a separate state for the hill area of Assam. We had reached a stage when violence had been predicted and feelings were high. We were no longer on speaking terms with the leadership of the majority community. I put right my relationship with Mr Chaliha, who was Chief Minister of Assam, because I realised that, whether we were in one state or two, the people of the hills and of the plains would always be neighbours and need to find a solution together.

Over the next two years Mr Chaliha and I and a few colleagues on both sides built up better understanding and mutual trust. So finally when the Central Government proposed a compromise formula, both sides agreed to give it a fair trial. The new understanding between a few of the leaders perhaps contributed to the fact that the State of Meghalaya was created without violence and with good will on all sides. And the people yearned for a solution where the people of the hills and plains could live in peace.

Today there is a difficult sitution in North-East India where thousands of people have come from Bangladesh. The problem of foreign nationals, particularly in Assam, has yet to be solved. I believe that the people must hold to the path of non-violence to find a real answer to this problem.

Helen Nichols-Roy

WHEN MY HUSBAND RETURNED from Panchgani in 1968 I knew there was something different about him—a light in the eye, a new way of talking, a joy. He began to tell me what he had found. I realised that I too must compare my life to absolute moral standards.

The first standard was honesty. Through the years I had been adept at using little white lies. I figured, 'It doesn't matter, they are very small things.' Perhaps I had promised to make a phone call—the phone is extremely important in our home. I would say, 'Oh yes, I've done it.' What I really meant was, 'I'll go and do it now.'

I didn't feel I had any difficulties about purity myself. But in Christian marriage we are told that we become one so our husbands' temptations are ours too. We must fight them together—fight for our men and not against them.

The third and fourth standards, unselfishness and love, go together and they are the most difficult for me. I am shy and self-concerned by nature. It takes an effort for me to go out and speak to people, especially in public places. I realised that I hated a woman in our town who I felt had done something terrible against our family. It took deep thought and prayer for me to decide to write and apologise. I have found myself working with her in almost all the voluntary work I have done since.

Ours was a love marriage. It started way up high and it was beautiful. In three or four years we had come down to rock bottom. Through it all, five points have worked for us in resolving our problems and getting our marriage back onto a level which is even higher than we had at the beginning. I would like to give this assurance to people who are worried about their marriages: no matter how bad it gets, it can go back to where it was and even better.

The five points were:

1. The conviction that marriage was for life and that use vows really meant what they said.

2. The realisation that 'for better for worse'—the commitment in our Christian marriage service—meant not only outside conditions but our relationship together.

3. The faith that things would improve.

The decision not to look back. We must make each decision carefully and once we have decided, we go ahead.
Our four children. We felt we would let them down if we didn't go through with our marriage. They made us stick together when we felt ready to separate. So in addition to thanking God, I thank them.

I believe that a moral change can affect every other situation around you. I saw it happen so remarkably.



Lieutenant-General EA Vas (left), former GOC in Chief of Eastern Command, with Thupten Samphel of Tibet.

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