

SPEECH by The Reverend Leon Sullivan, made at the Moral Re-Armament Conference BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE, Carter Presidential Center, June 5, 1987, with a reply by Sri Rajmohan Gandhi.

Rev. Leon Sullivan My friend Conrad, my brothers and my sisters. I'm pleased to be here indeed. I told Mr. Ruffin, and my colleagues in Moral Re-Armament that I would attend this conference...I wanted to attend very much and situations developed that made it impossible for me to come yesterday, but I wanted to be here, if only for a few minutes to say a word in support of your wonderful work.

Moral Re-Armament is one of the most important movements in the world today.

It is important because it deals with the way that explosive disillusionments can be solved in America and in the world. I've seen the affect of Moral Re-Armament in my own family. Several years ago I visited Caux, and I have two daughters, both of them very pretty and very bright...like their mother. And one of them is what we would call in America a radical. And she thought when I was taking her to Caux, to this meeting that she was going to sit down...there was going to be a lot of dialogue, and they were going to have some militant dialogue to determine how they were going to take over the world. And when she arrived at Caux she found all these people, white people from all over the world, and some other people from all over the world, and she didn't like that at first because I said my daughter is a radical. For years I tried to do something about that, and I was unsuccessful. Two days in Caux and her life was turned around. Moral Re-Armament made that child recognize the value of every man and woman, boy and girl in the world. Today she's still a radical, but she holds up Moral Re-Armament.

The only way, I think, that we can find real solutions to problems that perplex us in America and the world is through the application of moral answers. If we apply moral answers to problems we will find resolutions. Moral answers are difficult to use and difficult to be accepted because very often they do not appear to be reasonable solutions. When Jesus gave his Sermon on the Mount, they did not appear to be reasonable solutions to problems of wrong and the problems of his community. He said "Love your enemies". It wasn't a reasonable solution. "Do good to those who hate you. Pray for those who persecute you." Didn't seem to be a reasonable solution. The reasonable solution was "Hate your enemy." The

reasonable solution was "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The reasonable solution was "Start a revolution and destroy your opposition." When Jesus went to the Cross it did not seem to be a reasonable solution. Still his moral answer—and the work of Jesus was a moral answer to the problems of his day and of eternity—won, and will continue to win until He comes again.

When Mohandas Gandhi stood against the British Empire with non-violence it was a moral answer. It did not seem to be a reasonable solution. A non-violent solution against an Empire that for hundreds of years had taken advantage of the nation. "Fight back with the strength of our numbers and win the day with arms." But Gandhi's solution—a moral answer—won.

When Dr. Martin Luther King talked about peaceful protest in America during the '50's and 60's it did not seem to be a reasonable solution. Prejudice and discrimination and segregation was all through the South. Some said, "Use guns." Martin King said, "Use non-violence". It was a moral answer. It seemed to be an unreasonable solution. But Martin King won.

Today we are talking about moral solutions for our world problems, and moral solutions for our nations. And in the world ultimately the solution to world peace will have to be moral solutions. Not guns or bombs or battleships. These won't be the answer to peace in the world, or Star Wars. The answer will ultimately be a moral one. When the world realizes that the destruction of life through hate and national strife and war is wrong; when the world realizes that in a broad and international sense deeply and really, then, not through the United Nations, but through that internationalized moral answer we'll begin to find the solutions to international problems. When the world sees war as a moral issue.

In America today, and there are many Americans in this room, the problems we face in this country will not be solved by a White House, or by a State House, or by a Mayor or by any kind of political organization or group or body. They can assist us in those solutions that are necessary. But the problems of this nation and of your nation will ultimately be solved through the answers of moral solutions. Problems of homelessness and joblessness in America is a moral one. The hopelessness and the poverty we see in this country every day, where one third of the black population in this country lives beneath the poverty line at a time when there has never been greater affluence for any nation in the world, it is a moral problem. It is more than an economic problem or a political problem, it is a moral problem. It is a moral problem until the peoples of this nation

or the people of your nation where those kinds of problems exist realize the proper application of resources and prayers must be the only solution to those problems of hunger and poverty. They must realize that you must, instead of putting billions of dollars into battleships, put resources to help people to live and to eat. They are moral answers. Not until across this country we realize that as true will we be able to deal with the problems of hunger and joblessness and frustration and drugs that's tearing many of our cities apart. The problems of racial prejudice will not just be solved by books and words and laws, they will be solved by moral answers in the hearts and minds of people. When people realize indeed we are all one people under one God. We are all in this world together. You're going to be born alike, you're going to die alike, you're going to be buried alike. The moral answers.

The great problem in South Africa is a moral problem.

Apartheid in South Africa is the greatest moral issue in the world today. In the 21st century people are treated as sub-humans because they are black. It is a moral problem. And it is a moral problem and a moral issue that must be raised before the world as evil and inhumane and ungodly and immoral. And the world must stand up against the continuation of apartheid in the world. Not just Denmark and not just Sweden and not just one country here and there, but the world must see apartheid as a moral issue world-wide that must be dealt with, not just in South Africa, but around the world. Because the problem of apartheid is a problem to the world. It is an affront to God, it is an affront to seven hundred million black people, it is an affront to me and my family, it is an affront to humanity, and unless it is solved morally, non-violently, millions of people will be killed in South Africa within several years, and that entire section of the world will be obliterated, and that strategic point of the earth the great nuclear powers of the world will one day converge and and confront, and if it happens you will have riots in the cities of America that will make the civil rights revolution look like a picnic. It is not just peace in South Africa or peace in the world, but peace in America that we are concerned about here. The evils of apartheid are not just evils that affects South Africa, they are evils that affect America, and affect the world and must be ended as Nazism was ended, as Fascism was ended. If the world had started in time to stop Hitler you would not have had world War II. It must be ended by moral re-armament from America and around the world and within South Africa. It can't just be done within South Africa. The chains are too strong within. They must be broken around the world; and every man and woman, boy or girl who has a

conscience and a moral feeling must say "It is wrong!", and must say to the leaders of their nations "Something must be done about it."

So we speak and think of organizations and programs and movements like Moral Re-Armament you see the kind of hope that is necessary even for the problem of South Africa. It is for that reason that I called for the withdrawal of American companies a day ago, that I called for a total economic boycott, that I called for diplomatic relations to be ended with this country, because I was reaching for a moral solution to a problem that had to somehow budge; a situation that would not move; a government that would not move; a condition that would not move; something had to be done to wrench it, to dramatize it, to lift it and to push it into the conscience of this nation and into the conscience of the world. That's why I did it. That's why I did it. That's why I did it.

It is a moral answer because in the final analysis that is the solution. It is the kind of answer Frank Buchman would have wanted. It is the kind of answer that speaks of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. So you are on the right track. You are among the saviours of the world. Keep marching, keep working, keep praying, keep working together, keep loving together and by the grace of God the walls still in South Africa and around the world will come down. Thank you very much.

RAJMOHAN GANDHI

This is an unexpected and a very, very, very great honour and privilege. I have felt a few times that I am much luckier than my grandfather Mahatma Gandhi ever was. Because he never came to the United States, and he never met a man like Leon Sullivan and Martin Luther King. He was in the UK in 1930, and he was invited to the United States at that time, and he sent a very important message to the United States at that time, and he knew he had many friends here. But he never had the chance to come here.

I wish I had a thousandth of the eloquence of Leon Sullivan to express my gratitude to God, above all for this privilege of sharing the hope, the passion, the pain of the Leon Sullivans of this world. Like everybody I am stirred by what he has said. And a great part of me wants to jump up, not just to give a standing ovation, but to say, "Well as a result of what you have said I will do this and that and the other in my own country." You know there is something I think about. We in India we think we are the leaders in the battle against apartheid and we want the Front-Line states of Africa, bordering South Africa to cut all their trade with South Africa, but we have a very comfortable diamond trade with South Africa. We

have 250,000 people, quite poor people, working to polish the diamonds...we say, "Oh they are not South African diamonds, they are from Botswana, or some other place", but we know they are South African diamonds, and our government says, "Let not the world talk about the Indians working on the diamonds from South Africa, the Front-Line states should cut their trade with South Africa." So I am aware of that. So I say to myself when Leon Sullivan speaks like this, "My God, we've got to go and do something in India". And I feel we ought to. But there is something else that also speaks out. And because you speak with such passion, and such frankness, I must also speak, sir, with equal frankness. And I say to myself, "Hey, there's danger here. There is danger if the whole world thinks that the only problem in the world is South Africa." And I say to myself, "What about the untouchables of my country? What about our apartheid in India which has gone on for so many thousands of years and still goes on." And it is so in so many parts of the world. And sometimes, and I must speak frankly, sir, when you speak with such oratory, and from your heart, and you stir us, I sense a hazard, because I feel that the world can continue to unite on the evil of South Africa, and denounce it, and continue with all its other sins. And South Africa will become a wonderful cover for a multitude of sins in our own country. And I want to stand with you and pledge my life with you against the evil of apartheid in South Africa, but I also want to stand with you to fight against man's evil to man in my country, in Uganda, in the United States, in the Soviet Union, in Nicaragua, in the whole wide world.

You know last evening when Andrew Young was with us, and there was a very moving time when he also spoke about Mohandas Gandhi and his influence on Martin Luther King, and on others in this country, and I feel a very great bond there as I do this evening. I feel that the blacks of the United States and the Indians of India, and indeed the blacks of the United States and the coloured races of the earth have a great job ahead, and we haven't scratched the surface of the potential of what we are meant to do together in the world. And I want here to say to you that we are going to examine that potential and see together because there is so much sadness, there is so much avoidable cruelty in our world. And may God lead you and guide you and all of us to walk with you toward that great goal to which you are trying to call us. Thank you very much.