## SPEECH DAY, ST ALBAN'S COLLEGE, PRETOPIA, 30 NOVEMBER 1978

My Lord Bishop, Headmaster and Staff, Boys of St Alban's, Ladies and Gentlemen, my first task is to express my pleasure and appreciation at being invited to address you this morning. I am particularly pleased to be on this platform in the distinguished company of Bishop Nuttall and Mr Murray, both of whom are illustrious products of the University I represent. Your headmaster and I were contemporaries, but he was already, as the Americans would say, "a big man on campus" when I was a lowly Ink, as we are wont to refer to freshers at Rhodes. My awe of the increased considerably when I found myself in nets trying to

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DECIPHER HIS VIRTUALLY UNFATHOMABLE LEG BREAKS AND GOOGLIES.

SUCH AWE, DERIVING FROM AN IMPRESSIONABLE AGE, NEVER ENTIRELY

EVAPORATES, EVEN IN THE CASE OF A GUEST SPEAKER.

Assembled as we are in Pretoria, a city whose name is synonymous with government, and in the light of recent dramatic events and of an almost unprecedented special parliamentary session, our thoughts gravitate naturally to questions of political philosophy and of morality. Some arresting views have recently been expressed as justification for unusual acts; the most noteworthy

AND QUOTEWORTHY HAS BEEN "WHEN THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER NO RULES APPLY". ALTHOUGH A DRAMATIC AND STARTLINGLY CANDID VIEWPOINT, AND ONE CALCULATED TO APPEAL TO ALL OUR SENTIMENTS OF AFFECTION FOR THE COUNTRY WHICH REARED US AND SUSTAINS US, IT CAN HARDLY BE DUBBED ORIGINAL. THE GREAT AMERICAN ADMIRAL, STEPHEN DECATUR PUT IT RATHER ELEGANTLY OVER 150 YEARS AGO "OUR COUNTRY! IN HER INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGN NATIONS, MAY SHE ALWAYS BE IN THE RIGHT; BUT OUR COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG."

STARTING FROM SUCH A PREMISE THE DISCUSSION LEADS ON RAPIDLY
TO QUESTIONS OF ENDS AND MEANS, AND AS TO WHETHER A LAUDABLE AND

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READILY ACCEPTABLE END CAN EVER JUSTIFY A QUESTIONABLE MEANS OF OBTAINING IT. TO MY MIND IT IS POINTLESS TO DEBATE SUCH ISSUES WITHOUT SOME REFERENCE TO A FRAMEWORK OF VALUES.

THIS IS NECESSARY IN THE FIRST PLACE BECAUSE A QUESTIONABLE MEANS CAN ONLY BE QUESTIONABLE IN TERMS OF SOME ACCEPTED SET OF VALUES. PRESUMABLY SUCH A SET OF VALUES IS ACCEPTED SUFFICIENTLY STRONGLY THAT IT IS NOT LIGHTLY ABANDONED. IN THIS CASE THE QUESTION OF THE END IN VIEW BECOMES A COMPOSITE ONE. OUR OBJECTIVE IS NO LONGER SIMPLY "How CAN I ACHIEVE THIS DESIRABLE END (SUCH AS PROTECTING MY COUNTRY)?", BUT

RATHER "How can I achieve the end and retain my set of values intact?" Viewed in this way it follows immediately by definition that means contrary to a certain system of values cannot be used to accomplish the end, because the end is a composite one, including the retention of the values. The precept with which we are all familiar, the "end cannot justify the means" under this analysis is simply true by definition.

In real life of course people will argue that things are never that simple. One could for example redefine one's values as only applying in normal circumstances, and then say that in pursuit

6.

OF THIS PARTICULAR END THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE NOT NORMAL. THIS
TYPE OF THINKING HAS AN ANCIENT LINEAGE, BUT IT DOES PLACE US
AT THE EDGE OF A VERY SLIPPERY SLOPE. THE ARGUMENT ONCE
ALLOWED, IT IS FATALLY EASY FOR THE DEFINITION OF ABNORMAL
CIRCUMSTANCES TO BECOME VERY ELASTIC INDEED. ONE OF THE OLDEST
LEGAL MAXIMS IS THAT THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME LAW.
PEOPLE FEEL JUSTIFIED IN ADOPTING CLANDESTINE, EVEN MURKY MEASURES
IN FURTHERING THE INTERESTS OF THEIR COUNTRY.

STARTING WITH WORLD WAR II THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY HAS LEAD TO AN ENORMOUS EXPANSION OF UNDERCOVER ACTIVITIES.

The Natural Tendency is to assume that the specialists in this field are supernaturally efficient and that no country could survive without an elaborate apparatus of this sort. Unfortunately the very necessity of operating out of the limelight guarantees that proper supervision is woefully lacking. Human nature being what it is, such a natural haven for hucksters, eccentrics and the psychologically misshapen inevitably attracts people of this ilk. Novelists such as Ian Fleming, Graham Green and Evelyn Waugh found themselves willy-nilly drawn into this twilight world during the course of the Second World War. Anyone who has read novels such as "The Quiet American", "Our man in Havana" or "The Honorary Consul" cannot fail to speculate

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whether such operations ultimately do more harm than good. He will also have a deeper appreciation of Dr Johnson's famous remark "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel".

EVEN ONE OF THE MOST CELEBRATED AND CLASSIC SUCCESSES OF THIS MILIEU - THE CRACKING OF THE GERMAN HIGH COMMAND'S CODE DURING WORLD WAR II - LEAD TO SUCH BIZARRE RESULTS THAT THE KNOWLEDGE THUS GAINED, AND SUCCESSFULLY HIDDEN FROM THE GERMANS, WAS CERTAINLY NOT AN UNMIXED BLESSING. IT LEAD TO THE DECISION, FOR EXAMPLE, NOT TO EVACUATE COVENTRY, EVEN THOUGH THE PLANNING OF THAT CALAMITOUS AIR RAID WAS KNOWN WELL IN ADVANCE, BECAUSE

TO HAVE DONE SO WOULD HAVE REVEALED TO THE GERMANS THAT THEIR CODE WAS KNOWN. THERE WAS ALSO THE ABSURD SITUATION THAT THE WHOLE GERMAN SPY APPARATUS IN BRITAIN WAS EVENTUALLY SUPPLANTED BY BRITISH DOUBLE AGENTS PAID BY MI 5. THESE DOUBLE AGENTS HAD TO FEED ENOUGH GENUINE INFORMATION TO THE GERMANS TO KEEP THEM FROM REALISING WHAT HAD HAPPENED! THE FECUND IMAGINATION OF G K CHESTERTON PRODUCED AN EXCITING NOVEL ON SUCH A THEME. POLICE UNDERCOVER AGENTS SUCCESSFULLY PENETRATED A DANGEROUS ANARCHIST BAND OF PLOTTERS WHO USED THE DAYS OF THE WEEK AS CODE NAMES. SO SUCCESSFUL WERE THE POLICE THAT EVERY MEMBER OF THE GANG WAS IN FACT A POLICE AGENT, EXCEPT "THE MAN WHO WAS THURSDAY".

10.

By a natural analogy this posture of accepting unorthodox activities to protect the state can, and readily has been, stretched in the defence of other institutions that are close to the heart. Our loyalty to our Church, our ethnic group, our family, our school, our company may often tempt us into the tacit assumption that cutting corners is not so heinous when their existence, their good name or their welfare is at stake. The trouble is that once this type of thinking is not seriously challenged it is not long before the mere comfort of such institutions is sufficient incentive for us to accept

THE BENDING OF THE RULES, AND THEN ULTIMATELY OUR OWN COMFORT CAN BE SEEN AS JUSTIFYING UNCONVENTIONAL MORALITY. ONE IS REMINDED OF THE WELL KNOWN ANECDOTE OF THE POLITICIAN ADDRESSING AN ELECTION AUDIENCE: "LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THESE ARE MY PRINCIPLES; IF YOU DON'T LIKE THEM I HAVE OTHERS".

We who are influenced by the great Judaeo-Christian tradition of morality will usually have very little trouble about being taken in by such sophistries, as long as our confidence or faith in the body of Revelation which we accept is not fundamentally shaken. If such a calling in doubt is a

12.

POSSIBILITY, AND WHO AMONGST US CAN LAY CLAIM TO NEVER HAVING ENTERTAINED A DOUBT, IT IS SURELY A USEFUL EXERCISE TO HAVE CONSIDERED BEFOREHAND TO WHAT EXTENT REASON SUPPORTS OUR GENERAL SET OF BELIEFS. BECAUSE REASON UNAIDED IS SUCH A WEAK WEAPON IN THE FACE OF PASSION, SELF-INTEREST OR FEAR IT IS INDEED PROVIDENTIAL THAT WE RELY ON REVELATION IN THE LAST ANALYSIS. NONETHELESS IT IS IMPORTANT TO GIVE SOME THOUGHT AS TO HOW FAR REASON CAN TAKE US.

Any rational discussion of values must surely concern itself with the long term effects of the rules by which we choose to live. "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die" is a morality which by its very nature will only serve us for today. Yet, we must all admit, how often do we act as if there were no tomorrow? We eat more than is good for us, and when we are a little older there will surely be occasions when we shall be tempted to drink more than is good for us. Nobody except a particularly self-indulgent ten-year old will, however, attempt to justify such instant self-gratification. The stomach upset or the hangover follows so shortly after the transgression that

14.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH FOLLY ARE BROUGHT HOME IMMEDIATELY EVEN TO THE MEANEST INTELLIGENCE. YET, WHEN THE NEMESIS LIES SOME WAY INTO THE FUTURE, OR WHEN IT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN, ONLY VERY PROBABLE, WE ARE SO READILY NOT PREPARED TO PUT OURSELVES TO EVEN MODEST INCONVENIENCE IN ORDER TO STAVE OFF A LONG TERM, OR EVEN A MEDIUM TERM DISASTER. IF I MAY CRAVE YOUR INDULGENCE TO RELY ON SAMUEL JOHNSON A SECOND TIME "DEPEND UPON IT, SIR, WHEN A MAN KNOWS HE IS TO BE HANGED IN A FORTNIGHT, IT CONCENTRATES HIS MIND WONDERFULLY". IF ONE IS TO BE HANGED IN A YEAR'S OR A DECADE'S TIME IT DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE THE DESIRED EFFECT. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THE

EXAMINATIONS SEEM SO FAR OFF THAT STEADY APPLICATION TO WORK
IS ALL TOO READILY POSTPONED. ON A MORE LONG TERM BASIS, THE
THREAT OF CANCER IN TWENTY YEARS' TIME, EVEN IF NEAR CERTAIN,
DOES NOT SEEM TO DETER THE MAJORITY OF SMOKERS. WE CAN
ALWAYS PERSUADE OURSELVES THAT DISEASE IS SOMETHING THAT
HAPPENS TO OTHER PEOPLE, NOT TO ME. AND OF COURSE, MOTOR
CAR ACCIDENTS ONLY HAPPEN TO OTHER PEOPLE. "ONE MORE FOR THE
ROAD" SEEMS SUCH A FRIENDLY WAY TO END THE PARTY. "I AM SUCH
A GOOD DRIVER", WE ALL IMAGINE, THAT IT WON'T MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE
TO ME. AS FOR THE CHORE OF SEAT BELTS, THAT WAS SURELY TOO MUCH
TROUBLE UNTIL THE PROSPECT OF A STIFF FINE RELUCTANTLY PERSUADED
US TO CHANGE OUR MINDS.

16.

The examples I have given are all of such transparently indefensible attitudes that, even though we may often through \( \) momentary weakness fall prey to them, we surely when challenged will not seriously attempt to defend them. They have the further property that it is only our own well-being that is apparently affected. Hen the well-being of our particulary ingroup seems to benefit, at least in the short term, then the condonation of acts we easily condemn in others is more insidious. As long as "they" and not "we" are hurt, then it doesn't seem to matter so much. A little judicious roughing up in the scrum

OF A KEY PLAYER ON THE OTHER SIDE, FOR EXAMPLE, MAY EVEN WIN THE MATCH FOR OUR SIDE. WHY SHOULD ANYONE GET UPSET ABOUT THAT? WHO CAN BLAME THE SCHOOLBOY WHEN HE SEES INTERNATIONAL PLAYERS DOING IT IN TESTS?

MORAL INSENSITIVITY OF THIS TYPE IS NOT CONFINED TO THE SPORTS FIELD. IT PERVADES SO MUCH OF MODERN LIFE. IT HAS PERMITTED US FOR SO LONG TO PUT UP WITH DESPOLIATION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT THROUGH INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION, OR TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINALLY TARDY WHERE INDUSTRIAL OR COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES ENDANGER THE SAFETY OR HEALTH OF OTHERS. ONE THINKS OF THE SLOW AND PAINFUL PROGRESS OF EFFECTIVE LEGISLATION TO COMBAT THE EFFECTS

18.

OF LEAD, MERCURY OR ASBESTOS POISONING, TO NAME A FEW EXAMPLES.

AGAIN, THE TWO CARDINAL POINTS ARE THE LENGTH OF TIME FOR THE

EFFECTS TO BECOME APPARENT AND THE FACT THAT THESE EFFECTS

USUALLY HAPPEN TO OTHER PEOPLE, NOT THE INGROUP WHO CAN TAKE

EFFECTIVE ACTION.

THE BASIC IMMORALITY IS TO AIM TOO LOW OR ON TOO SHORT A TIMESCALE.

WE ARE SO ANXIOUS TO PASS MATRIC, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WE TREAT

THAT AS AN END IN ITSELF, AND SO RESORT TO CRAMMING OR COACHING

THAT WE FAIL TO SEE IT AS BUT A MILESTONE IN THE GENERAL PROCESS

OF GAINING AN EDUCATION RATHER THAN A CERTIFICATE. WE SO WANT

TO WIN THAT WE DIMINISH OUR GOAL TO WINNING AT ANY PRICE, OR TO SUCCEEDING AT ANY PRICE, OR TO SURVIVING AT ANY PRICE.

One of the analogies I have found most useful in defending moral precepts rationally is to compare them with the manufacturers' instructions one receives when buying an expensive piece of equipment such as a high performance motor car or any other pedigree piece of machinery. We obviously wish such an item to be serviceable for as long as possible, and to that end every reputable manufacturer supplies us with a manual with a careful set of rules as to how to use it

20.

AND MAINTAIN IT. HE DOES NOT LEAVE US TO PIECE TOGETHER
THIS INFORMATION BY TRIAL AND ERROR. IF THE MACHINERY IS
WELL CONSTRUCTED THE EFFECTS OF NOT OBSERVING THE MANUFACTURER'S INSTRUCTIONS MAY NOT BECOME APPARENT FOR A FAIRLY
LONG TIME. NONETHELESS, FAILURE TO OBSERVE THEM WILL
ULTIMATELY LEAD TO THE BREAKDOWN AND EVEN DESTRUCTION OF THE
CAR OR MACHINE WELL BEFORE ITS APPOINTED TIME.

WE HUMAN BEINGS, EITHER INDIVIDUALLY, OR COHERING AS SOCIAL ORGANISMS, ARE MUCH MORE INTRICATE AND COMPLICATED THAN ANY MACHINES EVER MADE, EVEN GIANT COMPUTERS, SUCH AS THE ONE THAT

WAS ASKED "IS THERE A GOD?" AND REPLIED "THERE IS NOW". OUR MAKER, THEREFORE, HAS LEFT US WITH A GOOD OPERATING MANUAL, OR SET OF COMMANDMENTS WHICH WE NEGLECT AT OUR PERIL. WE ARE DESIGNED NOT JUST TO LAST FOR A VERY LONG TIME, BUT FOR ETERNITY, AND SO MINUTE ATTENTION TO EVERY DETAIL OF THE OPERATING MANUAL IS THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP SUCH DELICATE MECHANISMS FOR SUFFERING SHIPWRECK, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING THE TIMESCALE FOR WHICH THEY ARE ORDAINED.

THE BEST AND MOST RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT HISTORY ARE PRECISELY THOSE WHO HAVE AIMED HIGH AND ON THIS COSMIC TIMESCALE. UNLESS A SOCIETY POSSESSES SUCH PEOPLE IN SUFFICIENT

22.

NUMBERS TO ACT AS A LEAVEN WE INEVITABLY SUCCUMB TO THE EASY ROUTE OF PURSUING THE PRIMROSE PATH OF SHORT-TERM ADVANTAGE AND NEGLECTING THE INNER RULES OF OUR NATURE. EXAMPLES ABOUND ON ALL SIDES. WE HAVE NO EXCUSE FOR IMAGINING THAT IT CANNOT HAPPEN TO US. CONSIDER TWO OBVIOUS CASES OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO OURSELVES: RHODESIA AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND THEIR SLOW AND PAINFUL PROGRESS TO THEIR ULTIMATE DESTINY. SURELY THE FINAL OUTCOME WAS PREDICTABLE WITH INEVITABLE CERTAINTY, AND YET AS LITTLE AS TEN SHORT YEARS AGO IT WAS BLITHELY ASSUMED THAT THE STATUS QUO WOULD CONTINUE INDEFINITELY.

THE PROPOSALS THAT ARE SO DESPERATELY BEING CANVASSED NOW WOULD HAVE SATISFIED ALL BUT THE STERNEST CRITICS TEN YEARS AGO. BUT NO, THEY WERE LAUGHED OUT OF COURT BY MEN WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY SPAN WAS SO MYOPICALLY SHORT.

LET US NOT WATCH THESE UNFOLDING DENOUEMENTS WITH ANY SENSE OF COMPLACENCY. CAN OUR TURN BE VERY LONG IN COMING? INSTEAD OF SEEING THE MATTER IN ITS PROPER TIME PERSPECTIVE AND DOING THE RIGHT AND RESPONSIBLE THING WE TALK INSTEAD OF THROWING AWAY THE RULE BOOK AT THE VERY MOMENT WHEN IT IS MOST NEEDED.

SURVIVAL WITHOUT PROVISION FOR HONOUR, HUMAN DIGNITY, STYLE AND A

24.

COMMITMENT TO THE WELL BEING OF THE OTHER MAN IS NOT SURVIVAL AT ALL: IT IS POSTPONING ARMAGEDDON FOR THE SAKE OF ANOTHER DECADE OF RAPIDLY DIMINISHING COMFORT AND PRIVILEGE. THE WORDS OF G K CHESTERTON'S GREAT HYMN ARE UNCOMFORTABLY APT FOR OUR CIRCUMSTANCES.

O GOD OF EARTH AND ALTAR,
BOW DOWN AND HEAR OUR CRY.
OUR EARTHLY RULERS FALTER
OUR PEOPLE DRIFT AND DIE.

THE WALLS OF GOLD ENTOMB US
THE SWORDS OF SCORN DIVIDE.
TAKE NOT THY THUNDER FROM US
BUT TAKE AWAY OUR PRIDE

FROM ALL THAT TERROR TEACHES,
FROM LIES OF TONGUE AND PEN,
FROM ALL THE EASY SPEECHES
THAT COMFORT CRUEL MEN,
FROM SALE AND PROFANATION
OF HONOUR AND THE SWORD,
FROM SLEEP AND FROM DAMNATION,
DELIVER US, GOOD LORD.

26.

In planning how you can accomplish most in your time left at school aim for achievement with honour. To those of you who will shortly be receiving prizes and awards, congratulations. You have already accepted the long and responsible view that such successfs do not come from gathering rosebuds while ye may. Those of you who will be attending Speech Day for the last time as boys of St Alban's will be giving careful thought to the careers and lives that lie ahead. Do not be taken in by "all the easy speeches" that there are no rules. There always are and have been rules, and we cannot neglect them with impunity.

The Justification for schools such as St Alban's is that they generate boys who are prepared to look at the issues squarely and courageously, who are prepared to stand out from the crowd, and be unpopular if necessary. They lead rather than follow. They become the kind of people in whose custody you can place the water in the lifeboat, who will keep the country's conscience with an eye beyond the next election, who can say "No" to the slick and sleazy scheme, keep their word when pledged, honour a contract, and generate loyalty and commitment. In short they are prepared to be Officers and Gentlemen in the deepest and most oldfashioned sense of those now somewhat

28.

GOMORRAH WOULD BE SAVED IF AS FEW AS FIVE SUCH MEN COULD BE FOUND. SOMEWHAT MORE THAN THAT NUMBER WILL HAVE TO BE FORTHCOMING TO SAVE A WHOLE COUNTRY RATHER THAN JUST TWO RATHER DISREPUTABLE TOWNS, AND THEY WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO DO SO BY INSISTING MOST EMPHATICALLY THAT THE RULES DO APPLY.