

IDEALS FOR EXPORT

AN ESSAY BY

DR. CHARLES MALIK

The following is an essay written by Dr. Charles Malik, published in the January 1964 issue of *Harvard Business Review*.

Many nations in Asia and Africa have now become fully responsible for their destiny. What kind of nations will they become? Will they be swept along by the vision of progress through authoritarian discipline exemplified by the Communist nations? Or will they recognize and seek the ideal of individual freedom, of truth, of respect for man as an end not a means, which Western civilization at its best illustrates? The challenge facing Western civilization is that of inspiring the leadership of the world's emerging nations.

These nations and their leaders face perplexing problems as responsibility passes from foreign to national rule—specifically:

- How to change what may be termed the moral key of the nation from negative opposition and struggle to positive construction and achievement.
- How to set up an order of government and law which is at once efficient and enduring.
- How to develop the given national resources, both human and material.
- What positive place in the family of nations the new nation is to occupy and retain.

MEN TO LEAD

Every one of these challenges requires men—men to think, to see, to plan, to lead, to govern, to assume responsibility. The desperate search for competent men is the mark of every new nation. And because such men are in total short supply, soberness follows soon upon exhilaration. For, without responsible men in every walk of life, those who find themselves at the helm of state could easily see their dearly won independence dissolve before their eyes.

Conditions of near chaos have prevailed at first in many a new nation. And what prevented utter collapse was the isolation of that instance, by common consent, from external intervention so as to allow the people themselves, through hard and bitter experience, to work out their own salvation—either that or the benevolent intervention, again by common consent, of the United Nations itself through its diverse organs and agencies.

By whatever means and cost, the necessary men must sooner or later be found, or created. In this early critical stage it is necessary to make use of every available talent; to train people at home, either formally or through apprenticeship; to send hordes of promising young men

to train abroad;¹ and to employ foreign experts. But the available talent is usually inept and corrupt, not knowing yet what public responsibility means. The training opportunities at home are altogether inadequate so far as the requirements of a modern state and modern society are concerned. Upon returning, the young men sent abroad grapple with terrific personal problems of emotional and social adjustment; often the methods and techniques they learned seem ill-adapted to conditions at home. And the foreign advisers can only advise. One can imagine the frustration of a foreign expert advising someone who is his intellectual and cultural inferior but at the same time his political superior because in his hands alone rests the ultimate responsibility for decision and action.

The creation of leadership, then, is a painful, inefficient, unpredictable, uncertain, and exceedingly slow process, calling into play a whole host of sciences and disciplines, including psychology, sociology, politics, history, the philosophical problem of the transmission of culture, and training in some positive technique. It will take decades or even generations before some of these new nations become humanly self-sufficient, in the sense that they are able, through their native traditions, institutions, and universities, to generate their own stable leadership independently of the rest of the world. In perfect frankness and realism, some of them will never be able to do so.

RESPONSIBLE FOLLOWERS

But not least of the problems these new nations face is, not so much the creation of leadership in every walk of life, but the creation of an organized following for this leadership. The people themselves do not know how to be led; in fact, everybody wants himself to be the leader. There is therefore not so much a dearth of leaders as a dearth of followers. Public discipline is lacking; the civic virtue of knowing your humble place and accepting in the interest of the common good the guidance of the wiser and better is hardly known. There is no social or national responsibility except in the darkest possible sense; still to emerge is that creative feeling of belonging to a larger enduring whole which only the joint experience of generation upon generation of common history can engender.

In short, the national human base, not as a clamoring amorphous mass, but as an organized whole, has still to be formed. And he who has not experienced what it means to be able and ready to lead, to administer, to manage, to rule, while turning around and finding that there is, organically speaking, really nobody there to be led or administered, to be managed or ruled—he who has not undergone this experience has still much to learn concerning the possible depths of loneliness and hollowness and utter frustration in human life.

A responsible or at least responsive public, a disciplined or at least intelligent following, a coherent human whole on which and through which the leader can act, a structured body politic which can articulate and sustain the national will, or the will of this or that organization, or this or that social group—the creation of such a necessary human base is one of the most formidable tasks challenging the leadership of the new nations. This is another way of saying that a whole, new, civilized, national existence has to come into being if the new nation is to cope successfully with the strenuous demands of the present age.

POWER OF INSPIRATION

A whole, new, civilized, national organism, with all the attendant political, economic, social, educational, cultural, spiritual, and general human orders that go to constitute it, is a creation of history and not of simple human design. No matter how “revolutionary” the new leaders might be, one or two or at most five years after they come to power they find themselves, if they are still alive and in power, facing a set of human, material, and moral conditions which determine all their thinking and all their planning.

They have to use the language of their people, with all its imagery, poetry, and spirituality. They have to use and build upon existing political and social institutions. They find their peasants exceedingly conservative and soil-bound. The former ruling circles will, of course, balk and obstruct and conspire, and they have either to be brought in line or liquidated. In the period of struggle, the expectations of the people were whetted to an almost unreasoning pitch, and now the chickens come home to roost. They find themselves grappling with settled habits of thought, with hallowed religious beliefs and practices. They have to cope with endless internal intrigues, all stemming from original human nature, which is quite resistant to all change and all revolution. They have to wrestle with the hard realities of international life, including their relations with their neighbors, with questions of national security, hard currency, and international finance; and they have to be most vigilant with respect to matters of morale, prestige, and face.

These are all stubborn things, and the new leadership, no matter how idealistic and visionary at first, no matter how revolutionary and resolute, soon finds itself compelled to adapt itself to them. The new leadership can move only as the material given it is pliable in its hands, and this material is the cumulative deposit of endless sufferings, experiences, and achievements handed down, through memory, custom, tradition, and institutions, by a limitless past. Of many a revolution, after the revolutionaries have been seasoned and sobered by the experience of grappling with these stubborn realities, the saying becomes ironically true: the more it changes, the more it remains the same.

SOURCES OF IDEAS

Where, then, does the new leadership get its inspiration? What are the sources of its ideas? There are four such sources which in varying combinations and degrees determine the form and content of the revolutionary thrust.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

There is, first, the personal character of the leader himself, formed and determined by his own heredity, background, experience, sufferings, ambitions, expectations from life, and personal embitterments. Every new country today is stamped by the inherent character of its leaders, and the present age of many of these countries is likely to be remembered and labeled in the future, for good or for ill, by the name of its present leader. This is an age of founders and lawgivers of a multitude of nations. Here is the source of the immense historical responsibility that these leaders carry on their shoulders. There is no such thing as a synthetic leader, and one thing can neither be imported nor transplanted—national leadership.

Whatever some may belatedly think of the matter, the so-called “cult of personality” is a living creed throughout Asia and Africa today. People talk of charismatic endowment. This is a real thing with some of these leaders, although at times nothing could be more perilous or more deceptive. The “charisma” possessed by certain leaders who ended by believing that they were gods (and whose enchanted followers confirmed them in that belief) caused them and their followers to perish. Be that as it may, on top of every other determination, though certainly not independent of it, the ideals of the new countries are given them by the distinctive character and decision of the new leaders that the present epoch has spawned.

NATIONAL CULTURE

A second source is the national culture itself. There are systems of valuation and aspiration inherent in the native soil which carry over into the new order. Some of these peoples are bearers of a glorious heritage of which they are intensely proud.

There are brilliant patterns of conduct, law, and sociopolitical organization which they can cull out of their half-perished, half-living past. The urge to revive the national culture, the distinctive mores of the people, the native deities, is one of the most potent urges in Asia and Africa today. It combines variously with other urges, but it lends color and consistency to independent national existence everywhere. To be is to be different, to be something in

yourself, and therefore these peoples must assert their different roots and prove that they are worthy descendants of a unique history all their own. There is today a most pathetic scramble for history, with men everywhere vying with one another as to who can prove that his people have “contributed” to human achievement more. Thus every new nation falls back upon its own native resources—social, political, intellectual, spiritual—for guidance and for inspiration under the harsh conditions of modern life.

EAST & WEST

But neither the new leadership nor the distinctive native resources are enough. Leadership in these new nations draws from two final sources of ideas and inspiration—those that come from the Communist world and those that come from the Western world, both Europe and America.

No country in Asia or Africa can possibly live today apart from the more advanced countries of the world. On the one hand, it desperately needs them; on the other, they will not allow it to live by itself. They speak of independence, but independence is a most relative term, and in intellectual and spiritual matters there is no independence. In virtually all cases independence is a myth; to be sure, a most useful and necessary myth, but a myth all the same. A delightful treatise could be written on the practical uses of hypocrisy and make-believe in the international order. To give a single example, without some European language and culture no country in the world could possibly develop competent doctors to whom you could safely entrust the care of your body. The same may be said of a dozen other needs.

Thus, even apart from any geopolitical considerations or pressures, if the new countries of Asia and Africa are to survive and develop, they must enter into the living European world of thought and organization. But although the amazing complex unity of this world is ultimately grounded in the Greco-Roman-Christian-European synthesis, today it is more or less neatly polarized into “East” and “West.”

MARXIST DOMINATION

If we rise above all silly propaganda and all unworthy self-congratulation, and fix on the truth and the truth alone, we will see that it is a fact that Marxist ideas have remarkably swept all over Asia and Africa. Marxist-Communist habits of thought are widespread, entrenched, and relentless in areas where they were totally unknown ten or fifteen years ago. The materialist interpretation, stemming primarily from Marx, dominates the thinking, consciously or unconsciously, of Asian and African leadership.

There are four basic reasons for this:

- (1) The extraordinary effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist-International-Communist Party: businessmen speak of organization and efficiency; there is nothing half as well organized and efficient as this great party.
- (2) Economic and social conditions in Asia and Africa are much more akin to conditions in Russia and China before their revolutions than to conditions in the West.
- (3) Asian and African countries are used to authoritarian regimes; therefore, the totalitarian Communist dictatorship is not repugnant to them.
- (4) There are racial and cultural continuities between the Communist realm and the domains lying immediately beyond.

Certain regimes in Asia and Africa are completely indistinguishable from Communist regimes—in their ideas, in their tendencies, in their interpretation of man, history, society, and law, in their political and economic organization, in the very terms they use, such as “socialism,” “imperialism,” “reactionary circles,” “class struggle,” the “masses,” and so on. Every leader in Asia and Africa has imbibed some Communist lore, and some have read and are reading Marx, Lenin, and Mao, of course in English or French translations, considerably more than they are turning to Rousseau or Jefferson or Keynes.

It would be a fascinating piece of research to examine the speeches and writings of these leaders, the newspapers, magazines, and more serious literature arising in their countries, study the radio broadcasts, and examine the school and university textbooks with respect to their ideological content for the purpose of determining how much Marxist-Communist slogans, expressions, and ideas have crept into the master minds of these lands. The result is likely to be a shattering eye opener to those who make believe that the fundamental ideals of Western civilization are faring well in the world today. One of the four basic sources which inspire the leadership of the new countries, and in some instances *the main* source of inspiration, is undoubtedly Communist ideology.

NATIONALISM/SOCIALISM

It can be shown that Western influence has been to stress nationalism, Communist influence to stress socialism. The one emphasizes the independence of the nation; the other, economic and social development. When the two influences combine, some variant of national socialism results. In this age of “relaxation of tensions,” “peaceful coexistence,” and “peaceful competition,” the two influences practically everywhere combine. Most of the new

regimes are national-socialist, quite analogous to the classical pattern of Hitler, including the racist doctrine (though not on an anti-Semitic basis, but on a color and anti-white or anti-Western basis). It is not “politic” to call these regimes by this term, partly because when “East” and “West” combined in the past, they “combined” principally to defeat Hitlerism, little suspecting then that their future “combinations” would nurture the very spirit they thought they had laid to rest. It is also unfair to name these governments so because there is enough of the “East” and “West” in most of these regimes to make both “East” and “West,” in this age of “peaceful coexistence,” quite tolerant of each other’s presence.

In its positive and beneficent aspect, the Communist impact in the new countries means the arousal of the social consciousness—the cry of equality and justice; the rejection of superstition and liberation from dependence upon dark and unknown forces; the promise that, if man takes things into his own hands, he can achieve miracles; the conferring of special dignity upon labor and toil; national planning; profound respect for what the Russian people have been able to accomplish in 40 years; and another source of dependence, succor, and help. This is Russia’s present positive meaning to the world.

WESTERN SUPPORT

Yet the new leadership owes much to the West, and learns much from it. In many instances the West itself brought these leaders to power, directly or indirectly, or helped them after they arrived. In all these countries the legal and administrative legacy left them by their former masters is virtually taken over intact. Moreover, through the continuance of all sorts of direct economic, military, and technical assistance, and through indirect political and international support, the West is helping many a new leadership to maintain and entrench itself, with the full knowledge by both sides that if part of this aid and support is withdrawn, the whole edifice will quickly collapse. In many instances, therefore, the West is directly responsible for the kind of development taking place, even where the development is Communist or Communist-inclined.

In practically every case the mainstay of authority and order is, not any normal functioning of stable democratic institutions, but the army; and the army everywhere is Western-trained and Western-organized. In many instances the only native institution with which the West can still really converse is the army, and from a short-run point of view, this is enough. The military throughout Asia and Africa have suddenly discovered, and in my opinion correctly, that they have a unique historical role to play in staying chaos, maintaining order, cementing the national unity, and even inspiring and directing change. Rather than

fight external wars, as was their traditional wont, the armies everywhere have turned inward to shoulder more creative national tasks. Where the native military forces have maintained their Western training, Western connections, and Western sources of supply, the West exerts considerable influence upon Asia and Africa through them.

MACHINES/IDEAS

By contrast, in the economic realm, Marxist-socialist ideas are increasingly replacing private enterprise. The West can send machines and money, and these are always welcome. But its socio-economic-political system is not adopted by these lands. The philosophical question arises whether this is only a passing phase or whether it is a permanent phenomenon grounded in the nature of things. This question cannot be answered without the most searching critical examination of the whole of Western existence, including the quarrels and rivalries among the Western nations themselves.

THE CREATIVE SPIRAL

What about the organization and management of economic enterprises, industrial establishments, educational institutions, administrative systems, regardless of whether they belong to a free enterprise society or to a Communist order, regardless of whether the government is socialist or capitalist, free and democratic or dictatorial and autocratic? If the West disregards the system of government, as it often does, it can help immensely in the formal development of leadership in these realms. The West commands a unique wealth of experience and knowledge in all the aspects of management and organization, a wealth from which all non-Western countries, Communist and non-Communist alike, Asian or African, can enormously profit. If I were to live a thousand years, studying and pondering these subjects, I would not be able to master even a small fraction of the infinite cumulative care that has over the years, and indeed centuries, gone into perfecting and articulating them.

These wonderful techniques are the creations of a whole distinctive outlook on things, a whole creative spirit that has matured over the centuries and millennia—namely:

- The spirit of openness to the truth, fidelity to the object, humble submission to facts.
- The spirit of infinite precision and care, and of faithful unbroken transmission from man to man and generation to generation.
- The spirit of cooperation and law.
- The spirit that believes in free criticism and in the ability of the disciplined mind to seek and to attain the truth.

- The spirit which seeks scientific laws for their own sake and which bases itself on the primacy of theory.
- The spirit which ever scents out the better and the more true.

These emerging countries do not know this spirit, and their backwardness is caused by its absence. In fact, the ultimate secret of development and underdevelopment is precisely this, and this is how underdevelopment may be defined. If the leadership of the new countries wants more than just to imitate the West and use its techniques, and if the West really desires to help this leadership in the superhuman tasks challenging it, then both the West and the responsible leadership should work together to cause these countries to enter into this creative spirit, the West by not grudging them the spirit which finally created it, and the responsible leadership by paying the high moral price for initiation into the great mystery of genuine creative leadership.

WHAT MAN LIVES FOR

While techniques are very important, far more important is the spirit which created them. And infinitely more important than both is *man*. Is the West helping the leadership of the new countries to see man and to understand the infinite depths of his joy and his freedom? This is the crucial question.

Imagine a race track with judges arrayed on stands on the right and left. The leaders of Asia and Africa have entered the race and the judges on both sides are applauding and cheering them on as they run. What are they applauding them for? What are these runners expected to achieve? And who will receive the prize? Will it be—

- He who teaches and practices humility, charity, self-sacrifice, the brotherhood of men?
- He who extols reason and freedom, and the fullness of the stature of the human person?
- He who brings himself and his people to greater purity and self-control, to a more sincere tolerance and respect for others, to a deep appreciation of the genuine concrete norms of beauty, truth, and goodness?
- He who places mind and spirit above matter and physical desire, and is prepared to die if only he can catch a glimpse of the truth?

Being acutely conscious, as they run, of the searching eyes of their judges, do these leaders believe that it is these things that they are expected to accomplish? Not at all. The runners are goaded, urged, spurred, prodded by both judges to build roads, construct dams, develop the natural resources, increase the national income, modernize agriculture, improve the

administration, raise the standard of living, and try to keep the lid down. I think these are noble ends, but to strain every nerve under the judging eyes and applauding hands of East and West alike only to achieve them is the great tragedy of this age.

STERILITY OF TECHNIQUE

Technique, efficiency, management, results! But what does poor man in these countries live for? Is he free to think and seek the truth? Nay tell us, is there a truth to seek, and is freedom, therefore, at all important?

Form, form, form! Technique, technique, technique! Nobody asks the fundamental question as to what the whole blooming thing is for. Nobody cares to find out what spirit pervades the whole thing. Nobody has the time to ascertain whether man, in his freedom and in his fullness, exists at all. Roads, dams, efficiency, and the smile of the rulers—that is all that matters. But spirit, freedom, joy, happiness, truth, man—that never enters the mind.

An expert serving abroad for five years would consider his mission brilliantly accomplished if after returning home he could boast that he made a few “friends,” especially if they were in “key positions,” and helped the agencies whom he served to “organize” more efficiently. Did he impart any spirit other than the spirit of efficiency? Did he inspire his “friends” with anything lasting and deep? Can he say that he imparted to them some gentleness, some integrity, some purity of living, some saintly character? Can he boast that, because they have now known him and his culture, they have not only constructed roads and dams, but they have erected great monuments of art and embarked on writing great works of reason? Has he passed on to them the spirit of patient suffering, of love instead of hatred, of trust instead of suspicion, and of openness to the truth wherever it is found?

It never occurs to him that all this has any relevance or importance whatsoever. He is no more bothered by these questions than by why it did not rain last Tuesday. *When will the West in its contact with the rest of the world recover the dimension of spirit, depth, character, a dimension inherent in it more wonderfully and more originally than in any other civilization in the world?*

They are all technicians whom the West produces, those who come to its schools from Asia and Africa, and those whom it induces, through its image and example, to arise in their own lands. A world of perfect technicians is the aim, not a world of human beings, let alone of beings divine. A dreary and boring world, where there is nothing beyond man and his mastery over nature, including his mastery over other technicians through his scientific management of them. Perfect hierarchy, perfect organization, total efficiency; but no spirit, no freedom, no joy, no humor, and thus no man.

It used to be the case that people, precisely in the mutual challenge between cultures, were applauded and rewarded and expected to win prizes for spiritual and moral attainment; but that is now all gone.

It is *time* that you of the West wish to kill and save. Timesaving devices! Wonderful! But how will the saved time be spent? In the creation of further timesaving devices? You great organizers have helped considerably in bringing about this enmity between man and time. For man today is more time-conscious than ever before, and it is not an accident that the three great Western philosophers of this age, Bergson, Whitehead, and Heidegger, all have as their fundamental theme the mystery of time. When the great cathedrals were built, the faithful architects and the humble workers who put stone to stone never thought of time; they were absorbed in eternity.

What if this eternity really exists? Have you thought of that? Would not all your timesaving then be by itself completely meaningless? So I beg you, make sure first of whether it exists.

SPIRIT AND ESSENCE

Thinkers are pitifully apologetic for all this; therefore they exert themselves to rationalize it. They never tire of assuring the West that in its dealings with the East it cannot mean, and it should not aspire to mean, more than form and technique. I am sure this is the voice of embarrassment, fatigue, and lack of faith. It can never be the last word.

I am, on the contrary, pleading that, in its dealings with the non-Western, underdeveloped countries, Western civilization must challenge them, not only politically and economically, not only materially and in terms of power, but intellectually, spiritually, morally. Has the reality of the spirit become so faint now that one feels embarrassed to make a statement like this, lest it fall on an audience's ears as something bizarre and strange, something hollow and irrelevant? Has the dimension of quality, being, the "what-it-is," vanished from the minds of men?

You say, "I am an American," or "I am a Swiss." Asians and Africans, then, have every right to say, "We are honored, but what we wish particularly to know is: What is an American; what is a Swiss? What do you believe in, what do you stand for? Only these techniques, only these processional things? Is that enough; are you honestly satisfied with it? Do you really think it will impress people for long? Then do please tell us, what are you more?"

The question persists even if it is never asked, even if people do not care to answer it, because they are safely protected by arms, diplomacy, and politics, and by the flood of words that graciously comes from their mouths. The question persists because it belongs to the

essence of Western civilization not to let such fundamental questions lie dormant for long, and because, even if Asia and Africa in their confusion fail to ask it, a poet or a philosopher or a saint is certain to arise in the West who will ask it resoundingly as thunder and sing it sadly as a psalm.

WHAT VIEW OF MAN?

What is the view of man that these countries are ultimately promoting? What will be the Indian human person, the Arab human person, the Congolese human person, 20, 50, 100 years from now? Is it true that the present leadership need not worry about that because that will take care of itself? This is, of course, nonsense, because the fundamental character of the human person is already determined by the basic spiritual-human-cultural systems of valuation to which he is exposed and amidst which he matures. An appraisal of these systems is therefore necessary from the beginning.

The pitiful preoccupation with hunger, ignorance, and disease is sheer formalism. It is sacrilege today to suggest that the hungry, the ignorant, and the diseased can still be noble and good, and that in the past some of them achieved wonderful things, despite their hunger, ignorance, or disease, and at times because of it. I want no man to be hungry or ignorant or diseased, but the question is: What will people live for once they are not hungry, once they are no longer ignorant, once they suffer from no disease whatever? Will that come of itself? Must you not be concerned about it from now? After all, the hungry, the ignorant, and the diseased have not much worried about their state for centuries. It is only you, who are not hungry, ignorant, or diseased, who are rightly worrying for them, and who have infected them with this worry.

Must you not also infect them with your own view of man as an end in himself, a view which made it possible for you in the first place to worry about their being hungry, ignorant, and diseased, and led you to pass on this worry to them? For the more advanced to mean only technique and form to the less advanced is a great betrayal of the spirit. You must at the same time share with them the secret of your creativity or else you do not love them at all—or else you are not treating them as ends, but as animals and means. And in this you will be contradicting yourselves, because your fundamental faith which created you and your civilization in the first place is precisely that man is an end in himself, and can never, in the words of Kant, be treated only as a means.

UNIVERSAL FELLOWSHIP

Are these countries really developing man—developing, that is, what is universal and human in him? Or is it the Indian man, the Arabian man, the Congolese man, the proletarian man that they wish to develop? This is the most important problem facing the new leadership.

Not a single *human* work, in which man is the theme, and not “conditions” among this or that people, is coming out of these countries, or is likely to come out so long as what they are applauded, judged, and rewarded for in their development continues. Nor do they evince any detached curiosity about other cultures, other religions, other points of view, a curiosity that might result in an authoritative essay on something other than themselves that could be read 100 years from now. Even their essays on themselves are neither authentic nor do they tell the whole truth, for man can never understand himself without first becoming human and universal.

It is the native customs, traditions, and mores, the handed-down ways of doing things, the native sense of beauty, system of law, historical memories, social institutions including the family, cultural forms including religion, what they learn in the streets (and there is a living heritage of the street), the whole social-cultural-political environment (*ambiance*)—it is these things from which these people finally draw their ideals in life. They fall back upon them with nothing new added, except materialism-socialism. Is that the best Western civilization can do in this brave age?

These leaders must be integrated into the fellowship of man. The notion of humanity and the universal must dawn upon them. There is a law of nature, as Cicero would shout, above themselves, above their nations, and certainly above their interests. They must therefore be taken into the unity and continuity of history. It is most important that they realize that history did not begin yesterday, that they cannot chop it up into bits and pieces, that certainly it did not begin with them, or at any point they may arbitrarily set up in the past. Broad, fundamental, critical, scientific, historical culture is of the essence of good leadership.

CONVICTION THROUGH FAITH

These leaders are asking: Do you want a civilization to be created in which Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Christ and Paul, Augustine and Aquinas, Pascal and Kant, will feel completely out of place, or which they will simply not understand? If you do not, then you must tell us while we are shaping our destiny: What are your ends? What are your ideals? What is the quality of life of the best men you crave to see flourish? What is the order of values you wish your children to seek and love and realize? What is the spirit and soul that animates your whole civilization? What do you believe in? What do you really stand for? Whom do you worship and whom do you want your children to worship?

Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Christ and Paul, Augustine and Aquinas, Pascal and Kant, are not going to be impressed by the perfection and efficiency of your techniques alone. They will insist on finding out what all this perfection of technique and efficiency is for—what it promotes and produces, not in terms of further efficiency and technique, but in terms of qualitative human spiritual existence. They ask for the tone and spirit and meaning of the whole thing.

What is most needed by the Free World is this: How can it make the values of freedom understandable and real? How can it propagandize man, freedom, truth, and the spirit? How can it make this message of freedom distinctive and powerful and convincing? The greatest need is to fill the concept of freedom with meaning and content, to save it from hollowness and hypocrisy, from being confounded with other messages hailing from other quarters and having nothing in common with man, truth, freedom, and the authentic spirit.

But you can convince nobody unless you are convinced yourselves, and you can propagandize nothing in which you do not originally believe. Without this living faith in the highest and deepest values of the 4,000 years of Western civilization, all your techniques and all your perfections will ultimately only play into the hands of your enemies.

1. According to Francis Boardman's *Institutions of Higher Learning in the Middle East* (Washington, D. C., Middle East Institute, 1961), there were in 1959 from the Middle East alone 10,612 students and 6,457 students studying in institutions of higher learning in Europe and America respectively. In addition to these there were thousands (the exact figure has not been determined and published) studying in Communist countries.