Gorbachev's Eastern Bloc: the Uncertain Future

Eastern Europe Discussed in Washington, D.C. Meeting

by Joseph Drew

For the second year in a row I attended the Annual Symposium of the Professors World Peace Academy, which was held on December 18 at the Four Seasons Hotel in Washington, D.C. For the last five years I have been invited to a variety of functions of the PWPA, and I always find the meetings invigorating. On this occasion the discussion was stimulating, the presentations thoughtful, and the level of scholarship notable.

The meeting opened with a keynote address delivered by John Lukacs of Chestnut Hill College. Lukacs, a dean of Eastern European scholarship in this country made a number of excellent points. His recent articles in The New Yorker are only one indicator of his well-deserved prominence. Dr. Lukacs said that the Eastern European region had long been pressed between the Ottoman, Teutonic, and Muscovite empires. It was the interaction of these empires and the downfall of the Ottoman, in particular, that led to the troubles we now witness in Eastern Europe.

Dr. Lukacs began by noting that for 40 years the communists have ruled in Eastern Europe. He pointed out that the term "Eastern Europe" is faulty, since neither Finland nor Greece are viewed as being in the region to which, were geography to predominate in our thought, they should be assigned. Dr. Lukacs made the astounding assertion that the Enlightenment and subsequent developments in Western Europe may be less important to us today than developments explained by the downfall of the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian empires in the East. In the West borders remained and cultures developed, even if different philosophies prevailed; the same cannot be said for "Balkanized" East Europe.

The revolutions of Western Europe may not have been as consequential as changes to the east of Germany, he said. Serbia, Rumania, Greece, and Albania are children of the Ottoman Empire; not one became independent by dint of its own efforts. Then came a second wave of new states, with the breakup of the Russian and Austrian empires: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Hungary. The Bolshevik revolution had one unanticipated consequence for other lands: without it,
South Africa Reform or Revolution

by Professor Moses Bopane

On April 7 to 10 more than 30 scholars representing many disciplines from both inside and outside South Africa attended the fourth conference of PWPA South Africa at the Indaba Hotel, Sandton. The conference theme was: “South Africa: Reform or Revolution.”

In his welcoming address the Vice President of PWPA South Africa Professor Moses Bopane sketched the background, philosophy and funding of PWPA projects around the world. He emphasized that “peace” must be the basis for the solution to South Africa’s problems.

The keynote address was presented by Dr. Nicholas N. Kittrie, President of PWPA USA, who spoke on “Reform, Disorder, or Revolution: An American looks at South Africa.” Dr. Kittrie identified four factors which need attention: the importance of maintaining South Africa as a single state, the pluralistic nature of the South African society, the internationalization of South African racial problems, and the question of the “carrot and stick” psychology.

Issues raised by Dr. Kittrie were central to the other nine papers presented and gave South African academics insight into the world’s perception of their country.

Mr. Peter Collins of the Department of Political Studies, University of Cape Town, read a paper on “Democracy, Liberalism and South Africa” in which he presented the viewpoint of white South Africans who feel that some reform has been accomplished and should be recognized. This viewpoint was supported by Professor R. P. de la Rey of Pretoria University in his paper, “Perspectives on Political Reform” and Professor G. Oosthuizen of the Research Unit for the Study of New Religions and Independent Churches who presented “Black Theology as a Factor in Reform.”

Contrasting views were expressed by Dr. C. M. Ngcokovane of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa, in his paper “Black Theology: Divisive or Unifying?” and Dr. M. Tshabalala of School of Social Work, University of Cape Town, in his paper “Political Reform: Reality or Myth.” They maintained that “reform” has to be seen vis-à-vis apartheid. To them apartheid is an evil which cannot be reformed, instead it must be dismantled.

Dr. Tom Lodge of the Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, in his paper “Conflict or Compromise: The Prospects of Negotiation” discussed the African National Congress’ position on conciliation and negotiation.

Prof. M.C. Mphahlele, Dean, Faculty of Education, University of the North, presented a paper “Political Reform and Change in South Africa”. His paper and that of Mr. P. Zulu on “Resistance in the Township: An Overview” portrayed a gloomy picture of the South African situation suggesting that violence is unavoidable.

Dr. M.S. Matshebula, Department of Economics, University of Swaziland, explained the attempt by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) whereby majority ruled states or so-called “frontline states” endeavour to be economically less dependent on South Africa and to be in a position to play a brokerage role. Dr. Matshebula argued that if these states can succeed in reducing their dependence and reliance of South Africa, the latter will suffer a decline in its dominant position.

Very lively discussions enabled speakers to narrow their positions towards a consensus, namely that the solution to South African problems lies in conciliation and negotiation between the dominant political groups, namely the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Azania Peoples Organization (AZAPO) on the one hand, and the National Party government on the other.

The general feeling of the participants was that of having had a successful and fruitful conference which afforded a rare forum for scholars of differing persuasions to exchange ideas.

This was the fourth PWPA South Africa conference. There are clear indications that PWPA is rendering a service which no other organization has ever done hitherto.

Moses Bopane is Vice-President of PWPA South Africa

Education in the South Sahara

PWPA Burkina Faso

The Second National PWPA Conference of Burkina Faso was held July 15-17 1987 at the Ran Hotel of Bobo-Dioulasso city. The theme was “Problems of Education in the South Sahara.” Dr. Akry Covlibaly, vice-President of PWPA Burkina Faso presided over the conference.

Opening speech of PWPA President, Akry Covlibaly:

“Problems of Education in the South Sahara” is the central theme which has brought us together today continued on page 12
Common Heritage and the Future of Europe
PWPA Meets in Yugoslavia

Participants at Dubrovnik meeting discuss concerns of Eastern and Western Europe. Milan Damjanovic (center) from Yugoslavia moderates a session in which Raymond Tschemi (right) from Switzerland presents a paper on "the Emergence of World Culture and Europe's Future." Maria Golaszewska (left) from Poland was one of the respondents.

By Gordon L. Anderson

One goal of PWPA-International this year was to sponsor activities in Eastern Europe. The first meeting, entitled "The Common Heritage and Future of Europe," was organized by the Greek chapter of PWPA which has developed many ties with both Eastern and Western European scholars. The meeting took place in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, a picturesque 13th century city on the Aegean sea.

The conference was organized around ten themes on which papers were commissioned. There were two discussants for each paper, usually one from Eastern Europe and one from Western Europe. The ten paper titles were: 1. The Evolution of Western Civilization and the Division of Europe; 2. The Greco-Christian Heritage in Divided Europe: Perspectives East & West; 3. The Rise & Decline of Europe: From Limited Government to Unlimited Democracy; 4. Man, Society and the State: Christian and Marxist Perspectives; 5. The Quality of Life in Capitalist and Socialist Economies; 6. Economic Cooperation and the Integration of Europe; 7. The Ecology Factor: Common Concern for a Shared Environment; 8. Education for a Common Future: Cultivating a Pan-European Identity; 9. The Emergence of a World Culture and Europe's Future; 10. The Role of Europe in Creating a Peaceful World Order.

The breakdown of participants was as follows: Hungary (2); USA (3); UK (3); East Germany (1); West Germany (2); Bulgaria (1); Greece (3); Yugoslavia (3); Spain (1); France (2); Poland (3); Switzerland (1); and Czechoslovakia (1). The discussions were very informative, not only because there were participants from different nations but because a number of academic disciplines were represented. For example, Professor Jose Delgado, from Spain and Professor Ljubisav Rakic from Yugoslavia, both professors of medicine, had a common concern in stressing the biological aspect of human nature as opposed to the rational or economic nature espoused by the social philosophers. It was clear that opinions did not always fall along East-West lines. Participants from both the East and the West thought there was a general convergence occurring, exemplified by the relaxation of tension between East and West Germany and Mr. Gorbachev's policy of glasnost. At the same time, other participants from both the East and West believed that divergence in Europe will overshadow commonality for the foreseeable future.

PWPA received a number of conference proposals from both sides for future conferences. Since there are no chapters of PWPA established in Eastern European countries, it was decided that PWPA-International, operating through the PWPA chapters in Europe, would sponsor two more conferences in Eastern Europe in the latter part of 1988 or in early 1989. One conference on education is planned for Budapest, Hungary and another on "The European Environment" was planned for Bulgaria.

PWPA Kenya

Twenty participants from three universities gathered at the New Stanley Hotel in Nairobi, Kenya on August 15. Represented were the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University, and the United States International University.

They were welcomed by PWPA Kenya Chairman, Dr. Frederick M. Okatcha, East African Regional Director, and Mr. M. Naomi. The participants were presented with an overview of PWPA's activities and publications.

Ten papers were presented followed by lively discussions. The discussion centered on a recent court case which captured mass media and

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Dubrovnik Melodies:  
Songs of Peace, Joy, and Love  

Panos D. Bardis  
The University of Toledo, Ohio 43606  
USA  

"OBLITI PRIVATORUM  
PUBLICA CURATE"  
Inscription, Grand Council, Rector's  
Palace, Dubrovnik  

I. Prelude  
Once a group of jolly scholars,  
Who had knowledge, but no dollars,  
Journeyed to Dubrovnik's coast  
To debate and humbly boast  
That they could create utopia  
And a wondrous cornucopia,  
If the leaders of all nations  
Listened to their dissertations.  
But, besides attacking wrongs,  
They composed these sunny songs:  

II. The Song of Thomas  
I'm Sir Thomas, Cromwell Thomas.  
When I speak, I stress my commas,  
For I'm proud of my diplomas.  
Once I ploughed a boundless sea  
In an oaken argosy.*  
What a ship,  
Seamanship,  
Stewardship,  
Scholarship!  
What a ship—  
Ship of fools,  
Haunting shades, and ghastly ghouls!  
But my brilliant leadership  
Changed the ship  
To a vessel of true sages  
With the wisdom of the ages!  

III. The Song of Adelheid  
I'm the lovely Adelheid,  
And my charms I never hide.  
For my beauty is Teutonic,  
But my passions so Platonic  
That I slay men with frustration!  
Yes! I value education,  
Reason, knowledge, toleration,  
Global love, cooperation,  
Lasting peace for every nation,  
Humboldt's work on vegetation,  
Isobars, quantification,  
And magnetic fluctuation.  
Romeroes who are neurotic,  
Frieden, unpatriotic,  
With my fury will collide.  
I'm the temptress Adelheid,  
Adelheid,  
Adelheid!  

IV. The Song of Evanghelos  
I'm the son of Aristotle  
And would like to drink a bottle  
Of the strongest Yugo bip  
For the sake of fellowship.  
Ah, what nectar! Give me oceans,  
For I travel in deep notions  
And abhor all strong emotions.  
But I come from Aphrodite,  
And my flames are fierce and mighty.  
Though some people think of Cupid  
As too frivolous and stupid,  
I consider it my duty  
To appreciate all beauty:  
Blazing blondes and sweet brunettes,  
Loving them without regrets.  
Ah, last night I saw the moon  
And its silver beams bestrew  
On Dubrovnik's dark lagoon.  
And I heard a strange bassoon  
Play a melancholy tune  
On the battlements, and soon,  
Graceful maidens came to swoon;  
For no woman is immune  
To my torrid heart's typhoon!  
Do not think me narcissistic,  
Frieden, and hedonistic—  
Aristippus was neurotic,  
And Herr Sigmund too psychotic.  
But my mind is philosophic,  
Beautifulizing all my snares  
And tempestuous affairs.  
Yes, my flaming heart is mighty,  
For I come from Aphrodite!  

V. The Song of Alex  
I am Alex, I am Shtromas.  
I have sixty-nine diplomas,  
But I never watch my commas,  
For to use some punctuation  
Is to speak with moderation  
And conceal my education.  
I'm the greatest Alexander.  
In the universe I wander  
And display my winsome smile.  
Look at my sublime profile!  
Yes, I am an Alexander.  
Give me good  
Slavic food.  
Give me hot alasca corba  
And I'll dance and whirl like Zorba.  
Give me supa pileca,  
Give me supa govedja.  
Give me food,  
Slavic food:  
Mamaljuga and burek  
And I'll wring Karl Marx's neck,  
For I am the Great Alex!  
Let me sip  
Seas of bip.  
Let me eat  
Hot prsut  
And you guess  
Whom I'll shoot:  
I will shoot—by Saint Therese!—  
Every enemy of peace,  
Then debate with Gorbachev  
And the phantom of Krushchev.  
Now, I give you my affection  
And conclude with a correction:  
In reality, I, Shtromas,  
Do have ninety-nine diplomas!  

(*Note: Dubrovnik derives from dubrava, oak woods. The English argosy, which was coined in 1577, means a large merchant ship or a fleet of such ships. It comes from Ragusa, Dubrovnik's old name. The Republic of Ragusa had 2,000 such ships. In Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice, Act I, Scene 3, Shylock says to Bassanio: "he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies.")  

(Written and recited at the International Conference on the Common Heritage and Future of Europe, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, October 4, 1987.)  

Dr. Panos D. Bardis is the Editor-in-Chief of the International Journal on World Peace, a PWPA—affiliated publication.

PWPA INTERNATIONAL
The New Development in China and its Implications for East Asia and the World

PWPA Japan Hosts Conference on China

by Yoshi Masuda

PWPA Japan sponsored the second symposium on East Asia at Diamond Hotel in Tokyo on December 11, 1987. Approximately 200 scholars and specialists in East Asian studies participated in the conference. The main theme of this conference was “The New Development in China: Its Implications for East Asia and the World.” It consisted of four group sessions: 1) On Ideology for Modernization; 2) On Culture and History; 3) On Economy and Technology; and 4) On Politics and World Strategy. The following is a brief summary of reports on each group session presented at the plenary session by each group chairman.

1. Session on Ideology for Modernization. Report by Professor Manabu Nakagawa (Hitotsubashi University). This session searched for an idea or a way of thinking that has guided the whole process of modernization in China.

Professor Uchimura spoke on “modernization and Mao Tse-tung’s contradiction theory.” Mao applied the theory of dialectical materialism to China after the example of the Soviet Union, however Mao’s thought—which should be distinguished from Maoism—allows for adjustments based on experience.

Mr. Hama spoke on the theme of “the Logic of Planned Economy and the Logic of Market Economy.” According to an analysis by a Chinese economist, the central problem at the early stages of socialism is how to combine central planning with market forces. In Mr. Hama’s view, the current economic system in China is heading for a market economy with some central planning.

During the Stalin era it was said that, due to collective ownership of the means of production, exchanges of commodities in a free market environment could not properly exist in a socialist society. Nonetheless, there are now a variety of models of management and ownership in the economic system of China. He explained how production in China is influenced by the dynamics of the market place and guided by its government.

Finally Professor Nakagawa presented his view. Because the Chinese communist party stands on a very firm economic foundation, it cannot remove the nameplate of communism from its front gate. The reality of Chinese economy is, however, so diversified that its government cannot unilaterally control the price of commodities from the top. They cannot successfully run the economy without adopting certain mechanisms of the market.

Consequently, China will have no choice but to keep moving toward liberalizing the economy.

2. The session on culture and history. Report by Professor Katsuhioko Takeda (Waseda University).

The main theme of this session was “In Search of the Root of East Asian Culture.” Three scholars presented the scientific and persuasive results of their research. The first presenter, Professor Matsumoto located the origin of the Japanese people in the vicinity of Lake Baikal on the basis of blood DNA which is passed unchanged from generation to generation. The second presenter, Professor Kohsaka, paid attention to the use of sesame, which has been ignored by archaeologists. He reported the estimated year of its importation to Japan and vividly compared its use in Japan to that in Korea. By tracing the flow of sesame, we can understand the flow of ancient culture in the New Stone Age.

The third presenter, Professor Kim, broke down the classification “Mongoloid” into two subgroups: early Mongoloid who lived to the south of Lake Baikal and late Mongoloid who lived to the north of Lake Baikal. The early Mongoloid later moved to the south and east. Then the late Mongoloid populated East Asia. Thus, Professor Kim’s view coincided with that of Professor Matsumoto. Interestingly Manchurians originate from the same root as other Chinese,
whereas, Koreans and Manchurians belong to the same ethnic group.

3. Session on Economy and Technology. Report by Professor Chigoe Kurebayashi (Soka University).

Mr. Kabayashi reported that according to Chinese interpretation, as long as the main means of production are collectively owned, its society can be called socialist. In his view, China is now trying to make its economic system more efficient by introducing capitalist elements into the flow of the economy.

Mr. Kokura reported that at the present time consumer products in big cities have become oversupplied.

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In China today, various modes of management and ownership are in place. The production process is influenced by the market place and guided by the government.

Consequently, some people have realized the importance of marketing and are eager to learn Japanese management systems. In reality introducing such systems is not imminent.

Mr. Odagawa of Nippon Steel stated that management problems surface when Japan and China undertake joint ventures or when Japan gives technological aid to China. At the present time, Japan and China understand each other to a considerable extent. From now on, each side should communicate its needs clearly. At the same time, we should explore areas of common interest.

Professor Kurebayashi also presented his view. It took 120 years for Japan to attain the current level of economic development. It is possible for China to attain economic development within the context of its own unique version of socialism. 70 years have passed in the Soviet Union since the time of the Russian Revolution. What the Soviet Union has brought about through its socialist system cannot be described as a success. Now examining the achievement of the Soviet Union 70 years after the Revolution and that of Japan 120 years after the Meiji Restoration, China is weighing the pros and cons of socialism and is striving to improve its system. Japan should make a distinction between the Soviet Union and China and promote economic and technological cooperation with China earnestly.


In this session, we examined the future position of China from the perspective of the world strategy in view of the modernization that is occurring there. Based on his recent visit to China, Professor Kondo declared that China has adopted the policy of “economy first.” Departing from the Mao era’s view that the military power will promote national status and prestige, China is now thinking that its international status must rest on economic power. This view has gained credibility from the example of Japanese development. Consequently, the Chinese army is not only reducing the number of soldiers and expenses but also running hotels and farms.

Speaking on the theme of “Japanese Policy toward China in the Frame of the US World Strategy,” Professor Nagano analyzed the historical development of Japan’s China policy after World War II. According to his analysis, in the foreseeable future there will be no basic change in US-China relations, friendly relations between Japan and China will be maintained.

Mr. Shigemura presented very interesting facts and a forecast. First, speaking on the Korean presidential election, he forecast the victory of Mr. Roh Tae Woo. The relations between South Korea and China have gradually improved since the defection of a Chinese pilot who flew his craft to South Korea in 1983. Shipping between the two nations has reached one billion dollars per year in comparison with 0.6 billion dollars between China and North Korea. As for the future of North Korea after the death of Kim Il Sung, both Chinese and Russian diplomats speculate that Kim Chong Il’s regime will be short lived. It is probable that considerable political struggle will occur in post-Kim Il Sung North Korea.

PWPA Japan has very strong local chapters and has sponsored many regional meetings. A large number of professors have attended local PWPA lectures and seminars.

In an effort to support work of women scholars, PWPA is sponsoring a special lecture series. The first was held in Tokyo in February 1987. Since then, every other month PWPA has sponsored lectures by renowned female scholars.

Other projects of PWPA Japan include a monthly magazine, “Chishiki” (knowledge) edited by Professor Katsumi Takeda of Waseda University. It has become very popular and influential.

The current President of the PWPA Japan is Professor Nobuyuki Fukuda, former President of Tsukuba University, succeeding the late Professor Masatoshi Matsushita who passed away on December 24, 1986.

Dr. Masuda is Associate Professor of Sociology at the Unification Theological Seminary.
Middle East Industrial Development Discussed in London, England

Participants discuss related topics over dinner. A spirit of amiability and rationality marked the proceedings in contrast to the violent conflict persisting in the Middle East.

By John Munroe

Taking as its theme “Industrial Development in the Middle East,” the Professors World Peace Academy convened in London from February 1 through 4, 1988 at the Monkey Island Hotel amid bucolic surroundings far removed, in spirit and substance, from the topic under discussion.

In general, the mood was upbeat, most speakers shrugging off the recent recession in the region as a natural occurrence punctuating the progress towards economic maturity. However, there was no unreasonable euphoria, the note of caution struck in the keynote speech by H. E. Youssuf A. Shirawi, Minister of Development and Industry and Acting Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs of Bahrain. Acknowledging that massive oil revenues had enabled many Arab countries to push ahead industrial development at a rate faster than many other developing economies, he nonetheless reminded delegates that genuine progress could be achieved only when society as a whole had matured sufficiently to absorb it with minimal dislocation.

This theme was enlarged upon by the conference’s Chairman, Dr. Jawad A. Anani, President of Jordan’s Royal Scientific Society and ex-Minister of Industry and Trade in the Hashemite Kingdom. Pointing out that in the Middle East, industry has always occupied top priority in the minds of politicians, he also noted that it was, in most cases, “a dependable variable, with nationalistic aspirations shaping its structure and magnitude more than the other way around.” This has had the effect of preventing the industrial sector from realizing its full economic potential. Thus, while such countries as Morocco and Algeria have so far had modest industrial growth, the experience of such countries as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Tunisia, and North Yemen, for example, has been decidedly mixed. Indeed, it could be argued that “structural problems are still inherent in the industrial sectors of most Middle East countries” and may even threaten their ultimate viability.

Such obstacles include complicated bilateral agreements between individual countries which inhibit multinational development: “cooperation has been more successful in establishing industries than exchanging products.” More generally, the oil boom has been instrumental in escalating the industrialization process on the input side, but has failed—except in its early years—to boost the output side. While industrialization has been instrumental in creating employment, this has been achieved at a high cost in both economic and social terms. It has also led to an unfortunate neglect of the agricultural sector of certain countries.

A final issue which should be addressed, according to Dr. Anani, is the future cooperation between the Middle East region and the developed countries of the world. So far, the so-called “north-south dialogue” has not been a success. The proposal that the Middle East and Europe should enter into “a contract of generation” failed to materialize.

Among other issues discussed at the conference were regional overdependence on oil which led to asymmetrical development, the industrialization of the agricultural sector, and manufacturing and import substitution. Strategies for equipping the local work force with skills appropriate for industry and the impact of industrialization on the population at large were discussed. Jordan and Turkey respectively were pointed to as examples.

Other case studies relating to industrial development detailed the emergence of large conglomerates in Turkey, the development of the petro sector in Egypt and what one might call the “de-industrialization” of
Lebanon, brought about by twelve years of war.

Dr. Hikmat Hashashibi, Chairman of the Arab Bankers Association, London, commented on the financing of regional industrialization. His conclusion: regional banking has reached a turning point. “New policies have brought some stability to oil revenues and created a more solid economic base, but the failure to adopt an effective ‘regional niche’ strategy has allowed global banking to revive the institutions and financial infrastructures which could cause the Middle East to drift into a financial wilderness.” For the unimaginative Middle East banker the future could be bleak.

The final session dealt with issues for the future. Jordan’s former Minister of Labor and Social Development, Dr. Tayseer Abdel-Jaber outlined some of the choices the region will face, particularly the competition between food and energy; Dr. Essam Eldin Galal of the U.N. Advisory Committee on Science and Technology suggested a strategy for improved technology absorption in the region, and Dr. Joseph Ben-Dak, Chairman of Science Policy Consultants of Haifa, reviewed the future of high technology in Israel.

The consensus of delegates attending the Monkey Island conference was that industrialization in the Middle East had made considerable progress and that the process was likely to continue, in so far as wealth created from the export of oil would probably cushion whatever lapses may occur along the way. Difficulties in developing human resources and political disruption were seen as potential limiting factors. With respect to the latter, it was pointed out that considerable progress has been made already, in spite of the various conflicts taking place in the region.

Indeed, the conference itself might serve as an example of how difficulties may be overcome when men of good will come together to debate issues of mutual concern in a spirit of disinterested rationality. Drawing together delegates from various Middle East countries, including Israel, discussion was informed and to the point, entirely free from passionately held positions. Meanwhile, Britain’s television screens relayed scenes of violence from the Israeli-occupied territory of Gaza, providing close up images of stone throwing Palestinian youths and club wielding Israeli security officials. The contrast could not have been more marked.

Reprinted from The Middle East Times

PWPA Kenya

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public attention for a full six months. The case concerned a dispute following the death of a well-known criminal lawyer, S. M. Otieno. Mr. Otieno’s widow and his clan were at odds over where and how his body should be buried. The clan, seeking to observe tradition, wanted his body buried in his ancestral homeland. His wife wished to have her late husband buried near her home.

The opening paper was presented by Dr. H. Odero Okura of the University of Nairobi, Department of Philosophy, who had testified before the court about traditional burial customs. The case raised several relevant issues. Among these were women’s rights her role in society, erosion of family values, and contemporary legal trends.

The two-day conference ended with a discussion of future activities and conferences. Closing remarks were offered by the Secretary General of PWPA Kenya, Mr. Kenneth Gray who stressed the vision of the founder of PWPA, Reverend Sun Myung Moon. Mr. Gray offered the hope “...That through our academic research we can provide a basis for peace and harmony in our region and nation through unity within our society, families, and ourselves as individuals.”

PWPA Bangladesh

Literacy in Bangladesh is declining. This was the sobering conclusion of a seminar entitled Mobilization of Youth for Mass Education. The literacy rate in Bangladesh in 1952 stood at about 19 percent. Today, 36 years later it stands at 24 percent, a mere 5 percent increase. The population in the same time period has more

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Forum “Nadwa” Meets in Sudan
Strategies for development in the South Sahara Discussed

From a report filed by PWPA Sudan

The Sixth Nadwa held at the Ahfad University Club on March 9, 1988, was attended by 34 Sudanese academics. The theme of the sixth Nadwa was “The Deteriorating Situation in Sudan and the Building of a Modern Nation.”

Dr. Balgees Badri, lecturer of University of Khartoum, and Dr. Hauder Ali Ibrahim, lecturer of University of Gezira, were the main speakers.

The government initiates grandiose projects requiring technology and skilled labor. Sudan does not have the resources to support such projects.

3) Government officials have a tendency to plan development only in densely populated areas.
4) The higher education system fails to teach skills which are needed for development of our nation.
5) Sudanese thinking tends to be narrow. A broader perspective is needed.
6) There are no truly revolutionary policies in Sudan which can benefit our country despite the history of political revolutions.
7) There are many people engaged in the black market and other non-productive activities. These people become rich while the fortunes of people involved in productive work, particularly agriculture, decline.

Dr. Balgees proposed the following measures:
1) Sudan needs a new type of leadership. Sudan has experienced both democracy and dictatorship, but neither of them worked.
2) The government should present truly revolutionary policies to her citizens.
3) Mutual understanding between government officials and citizens in rural area is needed.
4) Mass media should be utilized to educate the people in rural areas.
5) Sudan needs a system to monitor failures caused by government officials, then there will be a way to correct mistakes.

Dr. Hauder offered his views:
Sudan has been declining economically for two decades which has resulted in many social and cultural crises. Sudan is passing through a period of social change, in which the old moral standard is challenged. Sudan needs a new moral standard for this transitional period. Even among educated people there is a con-tradiction in their thinking between tradition and modernization. The value placed in productive works has declined and corruption is seeping into every level of society.

He suggested:
1) Separate politics from religion.
2) Develop true democracy.
3) Pursue development from a broader perspective. First develop human resources, then develop the economy.

Professor Balgees Badri (left), Mr. Al Khalifa (right)

4) Recognize the importance of voluntary agencies in development.
5) Insure that personal relationships do not influence execution of public policy.
6) Intellectuals must become good role models.

Prof. Badri commented:
The media seem to cover only news of government meetings and ceremonies. Since the media are heavily subsidized with public funds, they should inform and educate the citizenry.

Mr. Al Khalifa followed:
National television offers exclusively news programming. With such a highly trained staff and relatively large budget, it is unfortunate that programming is not used to educate the people.

Intellectuals have become selfish. They should take responsibility to help the public since they benefit from the use of government funds. Individualism has become a dangerous phenomenon. The education system

SPECIAL REPORT
should encourage open-mindedness among the citizens. The present system inhibits creativity and development of ability. An efficient, energetic, and creative administration, free from corruption, is needed.

The seventh Nadwa was held at Sharjah Hall, Institute of Afro-Asian studies, University of Khartoum, on April 12, 1988.

The main speaker was Mr. Bashir Mohamed Saeed, well known columnist and founder of “Al Ayam,” an Arabic daily newspaper. The main participants were: Prof. Yousif Badri, Chancellor of Ahfad University, Mr. Sir Al Katim Al Khalifa, the former Prime Minister, and Dr. Hissein Abo, the president of Khartoum Rotary Club and the executive director of the Sudan Council of Voluntary Agencies (SCOVA).

Dr. Balgees Badri, Lecturer of University of Khartoum stated that the major cause of problems in Sudan is the civil war in the South. He stressed that this war must be stopped by any means possible. Concerning the economical situation, he pointed out that the debt has now reached one billion US dollars every year and seriously hinders Sudan’s development.

The main causes of deterioration of civil service are dishonesty, corruption, and irresponsibility of the educated class. The absence of security in many parts of Sudan has resulted from the government’s failure in many fields, he explained. He suggested that New Hope Society, one of the main organizers of Nadwa, should create a joint organization between Northern and Southern Sudanese to help the more than one million Southerners displaced to Khartoum.

Mr. Al Khalifa pointed out that the present civil conflict arose primarily from sociological factors. If the two sides would sit together for discussion, solutions could be found. Interaction and intermarriage between the two sides could eliminate this sociological problem.

Dr. Balgees Badri offered the opinion that voluntary agencies and political parties should directly participate in developing Sudan.

It was agreed that the next Nadwa should include a discussion of the Southern Problem and that speakers from the South be invited.

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Proceedings of a PWPA conference held in Zambia. Professors from Eastern, Central, and Southern regions share their insights into the development of youth and the process of nation building.

PWPA  
Paper. $2.95

*ordering information on page 27*
Spain Facing the XXI Century

From a report filed by PWPA Spain

From November 6-10, 1987, 25 professors from Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, and Lisbon, met at the Hotel Atlantis, near the beautiful city of Sintra, in Portugal, to participate in the second Conference on “Spain Facing the XXI Century.”

The President of PWPA Spain, Dr. Salustiano del Campo, gathered a distinguished group of professors for the second time to discuss the future of Spain’s ten year old democracy from various viewpoints, political, historical, religious, economic, and technological.

In 1977, Spain underwent a process of nonviolent transition from authoritarianism to democracy, later joining NATO and the EEC. Now, ten years later, there is a danger, according to some, of movement towards leftist authoritarianism, a process of “Mexicanization” which would lead Spain away from its present course of development and integration with Western Democracies towards Third World status and political orientation.

The conference fulfilled and surpassed the expectations it had raised. The success of the conference was due in part to the Portuguese participants, many of whom were the invited guests of the Spanish participants. Their presence enriched the conference and greatly broadened its scope. They expressed interest in the formation of a PWPA chapter in their own country as soon as possible. Both, Spanish and Portuguese professors enthusiastically supported the idea of holding a joint conference on the topic, “The Presence of Iberia in the World.”

The conference’s success was largely due to the foundation laid at a previous conference which addressed the same theme in October, 1986 in Torremolinos, Spain. Three of the papers presented at Torremolinos were published and have become best-selling books in Spain, among them is Dr. Jose Manuel Otero’s Our Democracy Can Die.

The first day of the conference four papers were introduced and discussed the Spanish sociopolitical situation and its influence on the XXI century. The three papers presented the second day dealt with Technology, Health, and Economy in relationship to the same. Dr. Jose M. Otero Novas opened the discussion with a paper entitled “Democracy and Related Concepts.” He began by asserting that we cannot expect democracy to be a panacea for the many problems of our society, but should consider it the best of existing political systems.

The constitution does not bestow human rights upon men, but merely recognizes them.

...we cannot expect democracy to be a panacea for the many problems of our society, but should consider it the best of existing political systems.

The constitution does not bestow human rights upon men, but merely recognizes them.

posed the growing communist infiltration within the Catholic Church through liberation theology. This ideological movement arising from South America has spread to Asia and Europe, mainly through Spain and has now established solid connections to liberationist groups in Africa, India, and Asia. He asserted in his paper that Spain has the only Catholic Church not taking a clear stand against liberation theology, creating confusion among believers. He also revealed that the International Socialist Party is taking the communist party’s role in supporting Liberationists in Spain, indirectly providing them with Government funds through other organizations.
Professor De La Cierva will soon be publishing his second well documented book on the subject, following the success of his first "Jesuits, Church, and Marxism." The third paper, "Monarchy Today and Tomorrow," was presented by Professor Vicente Palacio Atard of the University of Madrid. It dealt with the important role played by King Juan Carlos in the Spanish bloodless democratization process. As a recent survey revealed, the King's popular support amounts to 80 percent of the population. In concluding his paper, he stated that monarchy is good and desirable for Spain since it moderates the extremes in political parties and state institutions.

The final paper of the day was presented by Professor Gonzalo Fernandez De La Mora, government minister, on the subject "Universalism and Individualism in Spain." He presented an overview of the history of Spain and demonstrated a fascinating hypothesis. During periods of national unity when there existed an unselfish commitment to global ideals, a period of national greatness followed. On the other hand, decline followed periods of national selfishness and isolationism. This paper gave rise to fruitful discussion of the Basque independence movement, considered by many to be one of the most crucial issues facing Spain today.

The second day three papers were presented: "Ancient Instruments and New Technologies" by Dr. Felipe Calvo, an enlightening record of metallurgical developments throughout the ages and their future implications; "Social and Medical Problems of the Third Age in Spain Facing the XXI Century" by Dr. Aurelio Uson Alvo, a detailed sociological study of geriatrics in Spain; and "The Lack of Integration in our System of Production" by Marcos Rico in which he explained the difficulties of many of Spain's academic and research institutions in developing their own modern production systems for fish-breeding. It was generally agreed that there is an urgent need for integration and cooperation between professors, scientists, and researchers with administrators officials and businessmen in order to develop new technologies and improve Spain's productive and health systems.

Presentations throughout the conference were followed by lively discussion and those attending gained a great deal from the experience. Most participants felt that the two greatest contributions of such conferences towards a peaceful world are their interdisciplinary nature and their vision for progress. The proceedings of the two conferences will soon be published.

PWPA Burkina Faso

so that we may comprehend the developmental problems of African countries, especially in our region.

The interest accorded educational problems has brought up numerous considerations.

The educational system of African countries is generally an extension of the system inherited from colonization. Its driving force, the school, is considered a means of liberation and economic, cultural, and social advancement.

Education, being the means of transmitting both knowledge and know-how cannot be confined to the classroom. Discussions, such as those we are engaged in, are a valid approach to understanding educational problems.

At the time of French and English acquisition of the South Sahara, the educational system of the varied African societies was not clearly defined. Also, these peoples were considered uncivilized. For the colonizers, schooling was a privileged form of education because it supported the dominant bourgeois ideology of the West and translated the formalism into which was growing the positivism of the 19th century. The school imposed upon the Sahara was after the western model. Its objective was to answer the needs of the French and British colonizers, to take advantage of the region's wealth and to cause the indigenous people to assimilate western values and culture. The results were the following:

1. creation of a specialized labor force whose purpose was to fulfill the needs of the colonizers;
2. conditioning the indigenous people's thinking through moral and religious education.

This explains why education in the South Sahara was in the control of the religious missions.

Looking back, it appears that the colonial schools were organized to create teachers, laborers, and clerks for administrative positions and private enterprise—all to further the goals of the colonizers.

We recall that the French colonial African countries of the South Sahara had only secondary schools, William Pompi at Gore (Senegal) and Terasson of Fougere at Bamako (French Sudan).

The colonial school has functioned outside the society that it wanted to change, therefore it failed as an instrument of development.

After 1960, African countries began to reevaluate their educational systems. The various school reforms were designed to prepare people to work for development. The educational system in place had been an extension of the colonial system, and therefore appeared to be a foreign body in our societies and was incapable of promoting real development in our countries.
National Language Question Discussed in Uganda

Professor B. G. Kirya, President of PWPA Nigeria (right), showing PWPA book table to Mr. J. Ntimba, State Minister of Education in Uganda.

From a report by PWPA Uganda

Despite social and political obstacles, PWPA Uganda has been able to organize two regional conferences, “Regional Cooperation for African Development,” November 2-5, 1983 and “The Future of Education in Eastern Africa,” July 21-25, 1987. Proceedings from these conferences have been published. PWPA Uganda was able to organize a successful journalists seminar, “The Role of Mass Media in the Promotion of Peace,” October 23-24, 1987.

This year PWPA Uganda embarked on a new project called simply “The Lectures,” the main theme of which is “Unity and Cooperation for Nation Building.” This series of talks fills a great need for imparting information to the public. It is hoped that the lectures will focus attention on pressing social issues and facilitate social change.

Chosen topics include:
- “National Language Question in Uganda;”
- “Women and Development;”
- “Public Morality and Education;”
- “Law and Citizenship;”
- “Culture and Medicine;”
- “Mass Media and Nation Building;”
- “Education and Rural Development.”

The first lecture of the series “National Language Question in Uganda,” was held in March, 1988. Mr. Ssentamuy, National Curriculum Development Center, and Dr. Mukama, Department of Languages, Makerere University, were the featured speakers. The following points were considered:
1. A national language is an important tool for unity and development;
2. A national language will make communication easier by the people of Uganda;
3. A national language can help to mold a nation of one culture;
4. The lack of a national language propagates tribal division and sectarianism;
5. The use of numerous languages in broadcasting has resulted in inefficient programming.

One presenter, Dr. Mukama of Makerere University Department of Language, observed that the request of a national language must be viewed in the overall context of national objectives. Dr. Mukama suggested that a national language could become instrumental in national development and unity.

Even after three decades of independence, the unresolved question of a national language threatens cultural cohesiveness in Uganda, she pointed out.

In a language survey conducted between 1968 and 1970, it was found that English is spoken by only 21 percent of the population and that it appears to be the language of an urban elite. Swahili, introduced by Arab traders centuries ago, is spoken by 39 percent, primarily among Bantu. Luganda speakers represent 39 percent.

Dr. Mukama suggested that Swahili would be acceptable to the majority, however there are no official policies which would facilitate its adoption as a national language.

On another front “The Role of Mass Media in the Promotion of Peace,” a seminar for Ugandan Journalists, was held on October 23-24, 1987 at Rubaga Social Training Center, Kampala, Uganda. The objectives of the seminar included: increasing awareness of ethics in journalism; promoting accuracy in reporting; and, enabling journalism to play a more positive role in nation building.

The seminar was opened by the Honorable Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Ahaj Abu Bakar Mayanja. Mr. Mayanja affirmed the usefulness of such a seminar and welcomed its organization. The opening session was also addressed by Mr. A. B. Katsigazi in his capacity as National Secretary of Information and Mass Mobilization at the National Resistance Movement Secretariat.

continued on the following page
The President of PWPA of Uganda, Prof B.G. Kirya, Vice Chancellor of Makerere University, presented background information on PWPA and its activities. Over 60 participants attended including representatives of fifteen newspapers, Radio Uganda, Uganda TV, Uganda News Agency, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the School of Journalism of the Institute of Public Administration, the Institute of Teachers Education of Kyambogo, Makerere University, PWPA Kenya, and PWPA Uganda.

Six papers were presented on ethics in journalism, "Impact of Mass Media on the Public," "Role of Mass Media in Nation Building," "Information Needs of the Ugandan Society," "Mass Media as Promoters of Peace," and "PWPA and the Unification Movement."

The participants freely exchanged views and opinions beyond institutional boundaries. The lively informal discussions continued during coffee breaks and over lunch.

At the last session of the seminar, before the formal closing speech by the President of PWPA Uganda, a committee was formed to draft a set of recommendations. Professor Kirya, in his closing message, emphasized the need for ethical, truthful, and constructive reporting by the journalists. The seminar received good coverage by the Kampala newspapers, Uganda TV, and Radio Uganda. Participants expressed a great deal of satisfaction with the seminar. Journalists in particular emphasized the need for more activities of this kind in the future. Seminar proceedings will be published soon.

The officials of PWPA Uganda are: President Prof. B.G. Kirya, Vice-President Prof. A.B.T. Byaruhanga Akiiki and Secretary-General Dr. Y. Takigawa.

PWPA Uganda publishes its monthly news letter, "The Torch."

40 Years of Independence Discussed in India

The timely theme called upon Indian educators to focus on: "Forty Years of Independence: The Role of the Academics in the Issues Before Us." Seven Papers were presented to the 40 PWPA India members and the guests present at the India International Centre, New Delhi.

The keynote address was given by Professor Indra Nath Choudhuri, the secretary for the Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of Letters), New Delhi. He stressed that Indian academics must find their domestic roots, because the adoption of imported western education systems has not fit the Indian society or psyche.

Professor B. B. Mohanty, professor of Oral and Visual Communication and Head of the Department of Audio-Visual at the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi was the conference director. He challenged the educators to respond to three of India's major problems: religious fundamentalism coupled with terrorism, a process of national disintegration, and drug addiction.

Professor Gopal V. Asolkar, Vice-President of the Maharashtra Academy of Sciences presented his paper, "Science, Technology and Development with Reference to Vidarbha."

The President of PWPA India, Dr. Motilal Jotwani, head of the SIndhi Department, Delhi University, presented "A New Awareness in Education and Culture."

The Vice-President of PWPA India, Dr. Atvar Atwal, member of the State Planning Board in Punjab, presented "Education and Culture: The Role of Academics in Independent India."

Professor Vishnu Raut is the former head of the department of English at the Shri Shivali College of Arts and Commerce and Science in Akola, India. Professor Raut's paper dealt with the economics and political development in India over the past four decades.

From Banaras Hindu University, Department of Philosophy Professor Kamalakar Mishra presented his paper "Education and Culture: The Role of Academics in Independent India."

Professor Narayann H. Samtani, the former Head of the Department of continued on page 16
The Role of Academics in International Understanding

from a report filed by PWPA Nigeria

40 participants including scholars from the University of Lagos, PWPA members and media representatives met in Lagos, Nigeria to discuss “The Role of Academics in International Understanding.”

Participants were welcomed with an address by Professor Sodipo, president of PWPA Nigeria and conference Chairman. Professor Sodipo was assisted by Professor Emenyounu.

The keynote address, a paper entitled “The Role of Academics in International Understanding” was offered by Professor G.O. Olusanya, Director General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

The Minister of Health, Professor O. Ransome-Kuti was a special guest speaker. His presence at the meeting and his message added significantly to the level of seriousness of the conference.

Three other papers were presented:

1. “The Role of International Organization and the Maintenance of International Peace and Understanding” by Dr. E.F. Okoli. Dr. Okoli is founding member of PWPA Nigeria and member of the Board of Directors. He represented Nigeria during the First International Congress in Seoul, Korea and was one of the 72 professors who signed the PWPA Resolution and Pledge. Before reading his paper, Dr. Okoli spoke sincerely about his own experience with the Founder of PWPA, Reverend Sun Myung Moon, as a man who “is fully convinced of what he is doing.”

2. “Peace in Cultural Variety” was presented by Professor N.O. Alao, an Islamic scholar and former Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Lagos. Professor Alao has a seat in the Council on Religious Affairs.

3. “The Contribution of the Academic to Understanding in His/Her Community or Society” was presented by Dr. Mrs. H.D. Abiola, who holds a Ph.D. in communications and is Editor-in-Chief of the Concord Press, a major daily newspaper. Unfortunately a last minute engagement prevented Mrs. Abiola from attending. Her paper was read by Mr. N. Obasi, senior editor of the Concord Press. The full text appeared in the Sunday edition of the Concord.
PWPA Paraguay
The University and Development

by Gordon L. Anderson

The first conference of PWPA Paraguay was held in Hotel San Bernardino, 40 km from Ascuncion, on April 7-9, 1988. The theme of the conference was “The University in Development.”

Representatives of nine countries participated: Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Argentina, and the United States.

The opening ceremony began with the Paraguay National Anthem played by the naval band.

Professor Dr. Dionisio Gonzalez Torres, President of PWPA Paraguay and Rector of the National University of Ascuncion chaired the conference.

Dr. Gordon L. Anderson, Secretary-General of PWPA International discussed the importance of values in development. The honorable Dr. Carlos A. Ortiz Ramirez, the Minister of Education and Culture spoke on “The Necessity and Politics of Education.”

He was followed by the Honorable Professor Delfin Agartu Centurion, Minister of Industry and Commerce.

On the following day, the first paper was presented by Professor Dionisio Gonzalez Torres, on the theme “Challenges and Problems in the Development of the Contemporary University,” followed by Dr. Luis H. Berganza, Dean of the University of Chemical Science, U.N.A.

He was followed by 25 other presentations over the next two days in a high level, tightly packed discussion of issues such as “The University and the Development of Education,” “Responsibilities of the University in Socio-Economic Development,” “The University and Public Education,” “The State and the University and Biotechnical Ethics,” “Science and Technology as an Aspect of the University,” “The University and Industry,” and several other papers on international cooperation.

The meeting was reported on two national television stations and made a substantial impact on the leaders and scholars in Paraguay. The meeting was also an opportunity for the members of PWPA in South America to make plans for activities and educational programs there.

Burkin Faso
continued from page 12

After the failure of university experiences in Dakar and Abidjan, the university phenomenon is implanted in our African countries. The university is seen, then, as a beginning point for the transformation of African society. It must produce the agents of development through appropriate education.

It has become increasingly apparent that problems in education are becoming serious in the South Sahara. As discussion progressed the importance of the more fundamental aspects of society were considered such as the erosion of traditional morality and values. These were examined in relation to the more technical aspects of improving education.

PWPA Zaire
continued from page 15

The evening started with an introductory speech given by His Highness Tshibangu Tshishiku, Catholic Bishop of Kinshasa, eminent scholar and President of the Board of Directors of the Universities of Zaire. The title of the conference was “Future Prospects of Africa.” 24 professors gathered for debate on this subject.

His Highness Tshibangu emphasized the future of Africa, and invited the professors to reflect on the prospectives of Africa in all aspects of life. He insisted that one not only concentrate on the inevitable disasters in the future, but try to focus on what we want the future to become, according to our highest aspirations.

Considering the importance of this theme, the professors expressed a desire for PWPA to support several other conferences on the same topic, and if possible work together with La Fondation Universitaire du Zaire to create a center of prospectives for Africa.
PWPA Zambia

The Use of Local Resources Discussed

Prime Minister of Zambia greeting the public on his arrival

by John Phiri

The 9th conference of PWPA in Zambia convened on July 1st at Musungwa Lodge, a resort overlooking Lake Kariba in Itzhi-tezhi, about 400Km from Lusaka, Zambia's capital.

Twenty papers were presented on the theme: Utilizing Local Resources for Development.

For the first time since the inception of PWPA activity in Zambia, the Prime Minister, came to participate in the conference.

Kebby S. K. Musokotwane, Prime Minister of Zambia opened the conference. His opening speech was quoted on national television and radio as well as the Times of Zambia, a national newspaper.

He requested that conference proceedings be forwarded to his office and received a number of books published by PWPA Zambia:

“The Role of Academics in African Development,”

“The University and the Challenge of Youth Development,”

“Development through Self-reliance in the SADDC Region.”

The great interest that Prime Minister Musokotwane took in the conference was shown by his taking time to attend the first plenary session on the second day.

During the first of two days of the conference the program consisted of four sessions on the subthemes:

“Agriculture and Natural Resources,”

“Human Resources,” “Communications” and “Energy.”

The third day was a session on health aimed at identifying opportunities improved health care.

Participants for the conference came from Botswana, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. There were 26 participants in all.

John Phiri is the Assistant Secretary General of PWPA Zambia

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The Comparative Study of Revolutions

From a report filed by PWPA England

The British Professors World Peace Academy’s four-day conference on the Comparative Study of Revolutions gathered twenty participants and an equal number of observers to the dreaming spires of the university city of Oxford April 6-10, 1988.

The participants, representing Great Britain, USA, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Turkey, as well as an Iranian expatriate, settled into the distinguished antiquity of the city to hear papers presented by fifteen of their number. Beginning with a welcoming dinner in the Great Hall, the convivial atmosphere of an Oxford college lent itself well to a consideration of both historical and current revolutions.

The Chairman of the British chapter of the Academy, Professor S.L. Andreski, was about to see his hard labors of the previous months come to fruition. The field of paper-writers held great promise, with papers from acknowledged experts in their particular fields showing a good deal of independence and responsibility. The deliberations which followed were considered by the participants themselves to be of a very high quality. The general discussion ranged from South America to Afghanistan, East Africa to Turkey and Europe, as well as the Middle East and the Philippines.

Professor Christie Davies of Reading presented a general overview of the turbulence and reform which has characterized the history of the Anglo-Saxon countries ever since the English civil war of 1642.

Professor Erich Weede, from Cologne, gave an impressive presentation on the general utilitarian view of mass rebellion, violence and revolution. The causes and effects of this form of behavior were pursued and discussed in detail.

The flavor of the discussion on present revolutions was well expressed by Jeffrey W. Barrett of Washington D.C. who posed an interesting question at the beginning of his paper. “Given the well-documented horrors perpetrated by totalitarian regimes why is it that so many Latin American revolutionaries want to set up totalitarian dictatorships of their own?” he asked.

Outstanding papers were also delivered by Professors Amos Perlmutter (Role of Armed Services in Revolution), Krishan Kumar (On Revolutions Thought), Fahranq Jahanpour (The Shi‘i Revolution), and Desmond McFaran (The Portuguese Revolution).

Besides the fifteen papers that were presented, five others were available, though these could not be presented as their authors were unable to attend.

A conference in Oxford is not only an intellectual event, but also a social and cultural occasion. A visit to the Noel Coward operetta “Bitter Sweet” followed by another to Mozart’s Requiem provided the cultural treat for the delegation.

“Congratulations,” wrote one participant afterwards, “for such a magnificent conference. It was first class intellectual and social stimulation, which—at least for me—has given rise to considerable alterations in thought.” It is envisaged that the proceedings of the meeting will give rise to a single-volume publication in the near future.

Role of Academics in Understanding continued from page 15

Eminent guests included Professor G.O. Olusanya, the Director General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and Professor Olusanya is a historian, formerly at the University of Lagos.

The two major channels covered the conference on national television on the afternoon and evening news. Channel 7 translated commentary into Yoruba, the language spoken in the south of Nigeria. The conference was reported by two popular morning radio programs with a nationwide listenership.

The participants expressed satisfaction with the program and excitement about PWPA’s activities. PWPA Nigeria wishes to express special Mrs. Soyemi whose wholehearted effort contributed greatly to the success of the conference.

40 Years of Independence continued from page 14

Pali and Buddhist Studies at the Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi, India spoke on education and culture.

Dr. S.C. Dutta, President of the Indian Adult Education Association in New Delhi, titled his presentation “Our Progress in Social, Economic and Political Fields.”

This year participants submitted papers one month prior to the conference. This new format allowed maximum time for discussion and added to the spirit of openness. These innovations contributed towards the success of this conference, the most successful in the four year history of PWPA India.
Eastern Bloc  
continued from page 1

Russia might have won World War I. The country had wanted to dominate Eastern Europe for some time. It looked for dominion to be split with French and English interests: Germany was to be crippled. For Russia the revolution and civil war meant many dead; the economy was set the struggle of the century is between Russia and America, or between capitalism and communism. Note that in both world wars the countries were allied; moreover, neither war was caused by conflict between capitalism and communism.

In the immediate post-war era the US government thought that the USSR was ready to expand into Western Europe; this was not so.

In 1917 the prestige of Russian culture fell to a new low in Europe and the association of communism with Russia was a negative one. If the revolution had been held in France or England, communism would have had a greater appeal.

back. Moreover, the borders were rolled back 200 miles. Lenin’s actions led to the independence of five new states and a retreat from the imperial borders. The Soviet pact with Nazi Germany was designed to reverse this.

In 1917 the prestige of Russian culture fell to a new low in Eastern Europe and the association of communism with Russia was a negative one. If the revolution had been held in France or England, communism would have had a greater appeal. This is a fascinating point.

So it was that communism failed to mount a single revolution successfully anywhere in Europe after 1917.

Lukacs noted that the new states of Europe were created with “faulty frontiers.” This is a point I have been pursuing in my own work on population exchange.

It was next posited that nationalism, not communism or fascism, is the powerful ideological principle of this century. It is a myth that Stalin believed that the US would challenge Soviet domination in Eastern Europe; this was also not so. In fact, without the Soviets’ campaign of terror in Eastern Europe, the Cold War would never have happened.

When Germany was defeated by the Allies, the Soviets moved in to fill the vacuum in East Europe. While Western Europe was weak, the Soviets were willing to take the Eastern half. Prime Minister Churchill knew he could not prevent Stalin from dominating Eastern Europe. He wanted to join with the US to save some of the Balkans, but the US did not go along with the plan. So, the division of Europe happened along army demarcation lines.

The fact is that the US government was not really interested in Eastern Europe. The Americans hoped for a pro-Russia but not pro-communist line to develop in the region. The US turned from exaggerated hopes for the region to exaggerated fears. We committed the Eastern Europeans to American-style societies. Under Truman and Eisenhower, the US did not challenge Soviet overlordship over Eastern Europe. Americans simply thought that Eastern European was too far away to be of concern. For the US to engage in the liberation of Eastern Europe would entail sacrifices the country has not been prepared to make. Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia prove that.

According to Lukacs, Churchill told De Gaulle that the Russians had a voracious appetite for Eastern Europe but that after the meal comes the digestive stage. The Russians will not be able to digest Eastern Europe, stated Dr. Lukacs, because of nationalism.

Lukacs then reviewed the recent history of the region. He stated that in Hungary and Poland today we are seeing a sort of Finlandization. Perhaps Moscow will recognize that border states governed like Finland are safer than states which will need protection. A new political structure might arise in Eastern Europe.

The main question for Eastern Europe may well be the prospects for Germany. German influences have replaced American ones in the region. Gorbachev is proposing ties among Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia not unlike Churchill’s Danubian Confederation. The future is with the nation states of Eastern Europe; language and culture are more important than economics (so much for Marx). The Eastern states are in ferment. If relations between the US and the USSR improve, we may see a better life in Eastern Europe. German expansion will have to be watched, and it is the job of the Eastern Europeans to liberate themselves. Dr. Lukacs concluded that they may be closer to this than we think.

In the questions which followed the speech, the discussion focused on nationalism in Eastern Europe (why the Baltic states won’t free themsel-
is an attempt to tap economic forces of the market; glasnost' and perestroika are tied together.

Dr. Kovrig said that in Eastern Europe we find a massive playground for social engineers. Hungarians are tired of the constant tinkering; so are the others. Former Vice President Milovan Dijas of Yugoslavia states that self-management is not possible without a pluralistic society, and this doesn't exist in communist Eastern Europe. In Poland we see a dialogue of the deaf. The Hungarians may be the most interesting to study because the land is on the brink of economic collapse. There is a question of the legitimacy of the regime and a need for better mechanisms to improve: when anything goes wrong, the people believe it is attributable to fundamental flaws in the system. There is growing hostility to Marxism. Great changes in the political structure are being proposed. It seems that there is developing a system only marginally different from liberal democracy. But there is depth of alienation beyond the palliative being offered. Perhaps "constitutional communism" will arise, with some freedom of expression allowed.

Second to speak to the gathering was Andrzeje Korbonski of UCLA. His topic was "Ideology Disabased: Communism Without A Face in Eastern Europe." His speech presented some fascinating questions.

Are there communist universals? The answer is that there are not. The party doesn't strictly control matters and there is not total control over the media, party control over the military, etc. We see total bankruptcy.

If countries are not "communist," what are they? They have a unique commitment to nonfree economies plus welfare plus a safety net. What we have is a rather inefficient totalitarian system; it is like Greece under the colonels. We see stagnating countries falling further and further behind the rest of the world.

What is to be done? Where do we go from here? Gorbachev sees that communism is stultified by rigid bureaucracies; in fact, Eastern Europe is between two millstones—Germany and Russia. So we have today communism with no face, and with authoritarian rather than legitimate rule.

Third on the speaker's dais was Professor Roger Kanet who read a paper by Jan Prybyla; Professor of Political Science at Penn State.

The following symptoms of trouble in Eastern Europe may be isolated: (1) economic stagnation; (2) slow retail trade turnover; (3) an inability to modernize productivity; (4) a growing hard currency debt; (5) a decline in domestic investment; (6) stagnation à la the Third World; (7) an energy crunch; (8) horrendous ecological damage; (9) underspecialization country-wide; (10) exploding costs; and (11) breakdown of central planning. For each symptom a wealth of statistics was provided.

Causes are: the absence of feedback through a market system; a tendency of centrally planned systems to create chronic shortages; the absence of an information system to correct mistakes in the marketplace; inability
The US should make it clear that we do not favor a division of Europe... We do not need NATO to last through the century. It is up to the US to create a set of alternatives to which the East may respond.

officially approved norms and values of communist lands. We also find an illegal second economy, which is market-driven, and the presence of privatistic values against collective ones. In addition, there is political, ethnic, and religious dissent. The thrust is toward improvement of individual lives.

Officials seek to reverse this “contra” system through such measures as pacification via consumption; repressive tolerance—the “velvet prison” which tolerates intellectuals through an illusory freedom of thought; differentiated political justice; and suppression through main force.

Fifth to talk was Prof. Otto Ule, SUNY-Binghamton. He talked on the effect of reforms in the USSR for Eastern Europe. The USSR used to be a model for the region; now it is not. In the viewpoint of Eastern Europe, Gorbachev’s reforms mean trouble. Poland’s leadership is now quite popular in the Soviet Union. Overall, three of the region’s countries may be seen as going along with perestroika: Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Those which will reject it are East Germany, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. In the latter case, perestroika is simply incompatible with the ruling theory; it is seen as support for those who led in 1968. A conclusion: provinces prosper when the center is preoccupied with other issues. There is no prospect of “socialism with a human face” returning in the near future to Czechoslovakia.

Next was Dr. Aurel Braun of the University of Toronto. He spoke on military matters and Eastern Europe. He commented that Gorbachev, who sees Eastern Europe through domestic glasses, said that his first order of business was to work on a close relationship with Eastern Europe. Three important Warsaw Pact developments are: (1) decision-making; (2) doctrine; and (3) arms control.

Prof. Braun reviewed all three areas. As to decision-making the Soviet Union is retaining control but not influence over military matters. The Soviets control the nomenclatura and this is sufficient in each country. As to doctrine, the party makes that and the military carries it out. Burden-sharing is important: the Eastern states spend a lower percentage of their GNP on arms than does Russia. And, interestingly, the Russians give them worse arms than they give to certain Third World countries. As to army direction, we see a change from offensive to defensive operations. Today, we hear more about “sufficiency.” In general, though, much of what is new is not good, and much of what is not good is new.

Dr. Volgyes searched for agreement among the speakers.

1. There is malaise in Eastern Europe.
2. The USSR is influencing changes there. We see a chaotic system, not an alliance; militarily, most of the Warsaw Pact units are under Soviet and not native control.
3. Eastern Europe is the source of raw materials and a market for Soviet goods.
4. What is the mechanism of enforcement of Soviet wishes.
5. Stalin decided in 1945-47 not to incorporate the lands into Russia.
6. Stalin’s stooges in Eastern Europe were treated as if they were nationalists. This legitimized nationalism in Eastern Europe.
7. Gorbachev is regarded by most leaders in Eastern Europe as a young upstart, a kid they are not going to listen to.
The final speech was given by Dr. Morton Kaplan, President of the Professors World Peace Academy, International.

Dr. Kaplan found that Gorbachev had been stopped in his reforms early on. The crisis in the Soviet Union is not deep enough to permit anything more than tinkering with the system, anyway, he said. There is no Soviet national interest which requires Soviet troops in Eastern Europe.

The US should make it clear that we do not favor a division of Europe, he asserted. We do not need NATO to last through the next century. It is up to the US to create a set of alternatives to which the East may respond.

Why doesn’t the US initiate some proposals along these lines? he asked. The country does not even think about policies which might attract Europeans. We should not care what the Soviets think; rather we should try to suggest attractive alternatives to communism. The world does not need to be a forum for struggle between two alliances perpetually fighting each other.

This conference was fascinating. I learned a great deal about Eastern Europe. Although the conclusions take on a negative cast, this is appropriate, given the current state of East-West relations. The Professors World Peace Academy is to be congratulated for mounting such a thought-provoking session.

Joseph Drew is Professor of Political Science at the University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

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**“Prelude to Peace” Debuts at Alice Tulley Hall in New York**

*American Born Composer Dedicates Work to PWPA*

In the final day of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit at which the INF treaty was signed, the New York City Symphony performed the world premiere performance of “Prelude to Peace.” The symphony was composed and conducted by Kevin Pickard, an American who took master classes with Nadia Boulanger at the Fountainbleau Palace Conservatory of Music.

The New York City Symphony commissioned Mr. Pickard to write “Prelude to Peace” for its 1987 Lincoln Center series. The performance was held in Alice Tulley Hall.

A note in the program stated “Prelude to Peace” is a tribute to all those who aspire to World Peace. It is especially dedicated to the cultural vision of the Professors World Peace Academy, to whom the composer owes a debt of gratitude.” “Prelude to Peace” is a single movement work with three main sections with varied tempo and mood.

Because of the timing of the debut with Mr. Gorbachev’s visit to the United States, both the ABC and CBS networks sent crews to film the performance.
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