



# Professors World Peace Academy

PWPA-USA Special Report

Vol. II, No. 1



## PWPA-USA 1985 Conferences Cover Member Concerns of U.S. Relations Around the World

### *“Peace in Europe”*

PWPA International sponsored a conference on “Peace in Europe” at the United Nations Plaza Hotel in New York City, March 23–25, 1985. The meeting was organized by Dr. Morton Kaplan, President of PWPA International.

On Saturday, March 23 and Sunday, March 24, there were discus-

sions of papers presented by ten Europeans and Americans. The East-West tensions were driven home as governments on both sides were responsible for the prohibition of some paper writers to attend the conference. While differences were apparent and easy solutions not forthcoming, the participants

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## PWPA Marks Anniversary of First World Congress

On December 18, 1984, members of PWPA-USA gathered at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in New York City to commemorate the First International Congress of the Professors World Peace Academy which was held in Seoul, Korea on the same date in 1983. This important event signified a major commitment by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon to support world-wide activities of the Professors World Peace Academy. PWPA-USA has immensely benefited from this increased support. It now sponsors major conferences and publishes a new journal, the *International Journal On World Peace*.

After lunch, three PWPA leaders talked about the founding of the Academy and its activities and goals. Richard L. Rubinstein, past president of PWPA-USA and president of The Washington Institute, reminisced about the First International Congress, the signing of “A Resolution and Pledge,” and what he believes the Reverend Moon’s vision of world peace to be.

Morton A. Kaplan, President of PWPA International, spoke about

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## PWPA-USA 1985 Conferences

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were able to engage in honest and constructive dialogue, which hopefully can open the door for more ambitious activities.

On Monday afternoon, March 25th, about eighty UN Ambassadors and PWPA professors attended a public meeting in which Morton Kaplan presented a proposal for peace in Europe which called for ultimate removal of all NATO and WARSAW pact forces from the European theater. Panelists who responded to the proposal were Peter Szalay of Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest, Hungary; Mario Zucconi, Centro Studi di Politia Internazionale in Rome, Italy; and Bernard May, University of Cologne, West Germany. Questions from the floor were taken by all panelists. The meetings were chaired by Richard L. Rubenstein, a past president of PWPA-USA and the President of the Washington Institute for the Study of Values in Public Policy.

Publications from this conference are forthcoming.

## "The Hot Peace"

"The Hot Peace: The Sino-Soviet-US Triad" was the title of a PWPA-USA conference held at the Marina Marriott Hotel in Marina del Rey, California, on February 15-17, 1985. The conference chairman was Ilpyong Kim, professor of political Science at the University of Connecticut.

The idea for the conference project came in the wake of the Soviet shooting down for KAL flight #007. A debate on US policy toward the USSR between members of the PWPA advisory board ensued the incident. Since the PWPA southern regions were studying Latin America and the PWPA-USA northwest region was focusing on the Pacific area, the East coast professors chose US-Soviet issues for the topic of study. Ilpyong Kim was elected head a task force on the topic. However, since his particular expertise is Asian studies, the topic was broadened to include China. The project became known as the "Strategic Triangle." In May, 1984 a planning meeting of eight prospective paper writers met at the New York Penta Hotel to organize the agenda for a

conference and decide on an outline for a proposed book.

The conference in Los Angeles became a landmark meeting for PWPA-USA. The participants and papers represented the highest level of international relations scholarship. It was a real benefit to have in attendance a representative from Beijing, China with information about China's new policies towards the US and the USSR. A textbook for college students titled *The Strategic Triangle: Sino-Soviet-American relations in the Post-War World* will be the product of this conference. It is expected to appear at the beginning of 1986 with the following chapters:

*Diplomatic History of Chinese-Soviet-US Relations Since 1961*

*The Strategic Triangle:  
An Overview*

*Soviet Perceptions of China-US Relations*

*Chinese Perceptions of US-Soviet Relations*

*United States Perceptions of US-Soviet Relations*

*Japanese Perceptions of the Triangle*

*Leadership Change and Policy Shifts*

*The Impact of the Triangular Relations on Korea*

*The Implications of the Triangular Relations for Taiwan*

*A Chinese Viewpoint on the Implications for Indo-China*

*Indochina: Still the Cockpit*

*The Strategic Triangle: A Critical Review*

*Integration of the Processes Involved*

*Internal Dynamics of the Triad*







### ***“Crossing the Border”***

The PWPA-USA southern regions held a conference titled “Crossing the Border: Latin American Immigration and the US Interest” on January 31–February 2, 1985 at the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego. Conference organizers were Jacquelyn Kegley, California State College, Bakersfield, CA, and John Roth, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA.

The conference was the result of a planning meeting which the PWPA-USA board of advisors held in September, 1983. The southeast, south central, and south west regions of PWPA-USA all expressed concern about the Latin American immigration issue as the most pressing problem relating to peace in their regions. Further, it was felt that the refugee problem world-wide is a crucial issue for world peace and that this regional case study would have wider implications.

A pre-conference planning meeting of selected paper-writers was held in Dallas, Texas, in April, 1984. It was there that the title of the conference and a proposed book was decided. The planning meeting pro-

posed a table of contents which could give the book a coherent structure. The final paper writers chosen were experts on the chapter topics. Since the American Enterprise Institute had recently sponsored a similar conference and book titled “The Gateway,” the PWPA organizers planned the contents of *Crossing the Border* as a complement to this study.

The conference in San Diego exceeded its goals in many ways. The diversity of backgrounds of paper writers will give multiple vantage points to the problems in the PWPA tradition. Paper-writers included academics conversant with Mexican migrant labor, Cuban refugees, Guatemalan sociology, and the U.S. Border patrol. Participants included an activist bringing Salvadorian refugees to the United States. Disciplines represented were philosophy, demography, sociology, economics, law and industrial labor relations. Several of the papers presented were original studies which will be a definitive contribution to the field of Latin American Studies. The book is scheduled to be released in early 1986.

### **PWPA Marks Anniversary**

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significant world problems relating to world peace which members of the Academy in America should study in order to provide foreign policy guidance to the United States government. The Reverend Chung Hwan Kwak, Chairman of the Board of Directors, spoke on the topic of “A New Cultural Revolution” which he hopes PWPA can help initiate. At the end of the meeting, 31 PWPA professors signed a letter of encouragement to the Reverend Moon, who was imprisoned, letting him know that they are grateful for his support of PWPA activities. The contents of the three speeches, “A Resolution and Pledge,” and the letter to the Reverend Moon are printed in this issue.





# Reverend Moon's Vision of World Peace

Dr. Richard Rubenstein  
*Past President, PWPA-USA*

*From remarks given at celebration  
of PWPA First World Congress,  
December 18, 1984*

I would like to share with you something of my experience at the First Congress of the Professors World Peace Academy, which was held in Seoul, Korea in December 1983. I first learned of the Congress at a luncheon on December 5, 1983 at the Madison Hotel in Washington, D.C. My luncheon partner, Neil Salonen, had wisely apprised Dr. Betty Rubenstein of the fact that there might be a Congress of this sort before discussing the issue with me. He told me that the Rev. Moon had invited me, together with scholars from every country of the world, to come and join him in Korea for the proposed Congress. Naturally, I was well disposed to the idea. I asked, "When do we leave?" and he replied, on the tenth of December. I had very little time. I wasn't sure how Dr. Betty Rubenstein would react. When I told her, she said, "I know about this; it is part of what you have to do." And so on the tenth of December I met Neil Salonen in Los Angeles, and from there we flew to Korea. During the next eight days, the other participants and I spoke in eight different Korean cities. As many as 20,000 people came to hear the Rev. Moon at some of these meetings.

These mass meetings were held in large coliseum-type structures to which people came from all over Korea. At these meetings, representatives of seventy-two nations, usually the presidents of the various national PWPA's, were seated on the stage. It was quite cold at the time but, wherever he went, the Rev. Moon was greeted with enthusiasm. I especially remember that at the end of each presentation he would stand up and give the Korean "Mon-



sei" cheer. 20,000 people joined the Rev. Moon in "Monsei" as their expression of victory. It was an extraordinary experience.

In order to understand why Rev. Moon decided on such short notice, not only to go to Korea, but to invite professors from all over the world to come with him, it is important to understand the political situation in Korea at the time. Shortly before our meetings almost the entire Korean Cabinet had been assassinated by North Korean agents. The North Koreans were very proud of this bloody deed, which closely followed the downing of the Korean passenger jet #007. In addition, a number of North Koreans had been sent by one-man submarines to infiltrate the South with the goal of causing maximum possible disorder with the latest high-tech methods. This was not reported in the American newspapers. Finally, there were expressions of student discontent.

In the light of these events, the

Rev. Moon wanted to offer a demonstration of international and inter-religious solidarity with the Korean people at a particularly difficult time in their history. He also wanted to urge the Korean people to be calm and to work together for the values which they hold in common.

He was also responding to an economic phenomenon. The problems facing Korea are largely those which experts in economics or international affairs would identify as resulting from rapid industrialization. Since the communization of the North and the technological progress of the South, the South has not only overtaken the North, but it has also surpassed almost every European nation. It is even expected that South Korea's Gross National Product will shortly overtake that of Great Britain. An example of Korea's progress is the full-page ad placed by the Korean firm, Gold Star, in today's *New York Times*, December 18, 1984. In this ad the company declares that Japan is not the

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only rising star in the Far East—that Korea is also rising. This was the context in which Rev. Moon wanted to demonstrate to a people who have always appreciated wise men that wise men could gather and unite for peace across national and religious boundaries, showing their fellowship with the people of Korea.

On December 18th, in the auditorium of Seoul's Little Angels School, founded by the Rev. Moon, there was a convocation chaired by Professor Morton Kaplan, who gave the main address. It was the first international convocation of the Professors World Peace Academy.

From what I understand of the theology of the Unification Church, one of its most fundamental elements is the give-and-take principle. We would perhaps call it the principle of reciprocity. The give-and-take principle was demonstrated on this occasion by the Rev. Moon responding to the willingness, under unexpected circumstances, of not just a few professors from one country but of professors from literally every part of the world to join him. He committed himself to the support of PWPA worldwide. This in turn has manifested itself in an extraordinary growth of PWPA, not just in the United States, but literally all over the world.

I know much less about the international activities of PWPA than does Morton Kaplan, who was chairman of the Seoul convocation and is the President of PWPA International. Nevertheless, on the basis of what I have seen in the Philippines, Europe, Korea and Japan, we are witnessing something radically new on the international horizon. Academics of every discipline are cooperatively applying their intelligence to the problems of their respective countries and to those of the world. Moreover, they are doing so across national and religious lines. The energizing element behind this has been the Rev. Moon.

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### **Letter to Reverend Moon from PWPA/USA Professors**

*Signed at anniversary luncheon, December 18, 1984*

One year ago today, December 18, 1983, you invited presidents and leaders of the Professors World Peace Academy from seventy-two nations to attend an International Congress in your homeland of Korea. A resolution was signed at that meeting which marked an historic new beginning for the Professors World Peace Academy.

The resolution acknowledged “Our presence here is eloquent testimony to the passionate desire for world peace that unites us all.” It observed that “humanity faces a new crisis that threatens both freedom and indeed the very existence of human civilization. Communism has been exposed as tyranny, but the democracies have also failed to rally the world towards alternatives that inspire hope and courage.” The resolution announced cooperative efforts to work for “a new religiously inspired humanity; a God-centered world founded upon love and heart.”

You have given unstinted support to professors who desire to work for a “world universal fellowship and harmony in which the terrible wounds of the past arising from differences of history, culture, nationality and race will be bound up and healed.” In the past year you have helped the Professors World Peace Academy to sponsor conferences and activities conducted by over 70 national chapters. You have supported the publication of a new journal, *The International Journal on World Peace*. You have also given assurance that you will sponsor future international congresses of the Professors World Peace Academy on topics of major importance to world peace. All this has been done in spite of your incarceration this past year.

Fifteen years ago, when the Professors World Peace Academy consisted of a few idealistic professors in Korea, there was only the hope that one day an international network of professors of all cultures, races and disciplines would become a reality. Your support and call to professors to join you in the First International Congress in Seoul on December 18, 1983 has turned that hope into a reality. On this first anniversary of the signing of the resolution in Korea, we professors gathered at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in New York City would like to reaffirm our support to the common search for a peaceful world. We want to follow in the spirit of the First International Congress of PWPA and strive to achieve the ideals of the resolution. We express our gratitude for your sponsorship of PWPA activities, and our wish for your speedy release from your present travail.





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## Reverend Moon's Vision

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Recently I was asked to name the two men who have most decisively influenced my own development. I had to say that the two were widely separated in background, in their education and in the way they did things. These men were Paul Tillich and the Reverend Sun Myung Moon.

I would like to share with you something of my experience of these two men. About a month ago I received a catalog from the Union Theological Seminary, promoting an archive consisting of cassette recordings of the lectures which Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr gave in the 1950's and 1960's. I had a kind of *dejavu* experience when I learned about the recordings. In 1958 I took a course at Harvard University called "Classical German Philosophy" from Paul Tillich. In 1974 I wrote an autobiography, devoting the ninth chapter to my years at Harvard. I did not call the chapter "Harvard Days." I chose instead the title, "Tillich and Harvard." Of all the courses I took at Harvard, the one which influenced me the most was Paul Tillich's "Classical German Philosophy." I was amazed that in 1984 I could relive the 1958 course—an experience, I thought, which had been permanently reduced to notes and assimilated in memory. Incidentally, the Tillich tapes convinced me of the wisdom of the Unification Church organization in making tape and video recordings of their major affairs.

In the 1950's, American students of philosophy were more likely to study American pragmatists such as William James and John Dewey and modern European thinkers. They were especially weak in their understanding of philosophical tradition, which, in my opinion, has done the most to help modern man apply philosophical insight to his

own condition with the greatest degree of sophistication. If any philosophical tradition can be considered the classical attempt of man to understand himself systematically in the modern period, it is that which begins with Kant and Fichte and whose other giant is, of course, Hegel. The tradition continues with Marx, Nietzsche, and Kierkegaard. I would also add the name of the scholar Max Weber.

As a teacher, Tillich's greatest contribution to his American students, who were relatively unsophisticated, was that he was a translator of the German intellectual tradition; he brought with him to the United States the categories of modern European thought relating to man's social and religious condition from the high culture of Europe, making them intellectually and philosophically accessible to American students. Above all, I am indebted to him for teaching me to appreciate one book, Hegel's **Philosophy of Right**, which then became fundamental to my own thinking as well as to my teaching of doctoral students. Had it not been for Tillich, I doubt that I could have ever understood that tradition.

From my experience of Tillich there came one basic idea, an idea in the preface to Hegel's **Philosophy of Right**. Hegel reflects in an almost doleful sentence that when "philosophy paints its gray on gray then is the shape of life grown old." Such a "shape" of life can no longer be lived; it can only be understood. Philosophy only apprehends what has been. When you and I look out into the stars we are not seeing the present, but the past. To understand is always to look back into what has been. That is also the case with philosophy.

Hegel then continues: "The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only at the coming of the dusk. Only when an action is over can philosophy understand it." As we know, in Karl Marx's critique of **Philosophy of**

**Right**, he takes issue with Hegel. Marx argues that while philosophy has a backward-looking function, it is forward-looking as well. It is not enough, Marx tells us, for reason to comprehend the world—it must also change the world. In his **Theses on Feuerbach**, Marx concludes that thus far philosophers have sought only to understand the world, whereas now philosophy must change the world. What Marx called for was the transformation of "theoria" into "praxis." The trouble with Marx, however, was that his philosophic "praxis" could become only despotic dictatorship. So Marx's attempt to overcome the limitations of philosophy failed.

After I had studied with Tillich, I understood that modern civilization is in a bind. Max Weber spoke of the bind when he predicted that the future would be one in which dull specialists would exercise their functions in an anonymous, impersonal way. Weber spoke of the future as an iron cage.

Had Tillich asked me, "Richard Rubenstein, come to Germany, or come to here, or come to there," I might have done so, because I would have been curious to listen to anything he had to say. But while Tillich could enlarge my knowledge to help make ours a better world, his other limitation was that his thought and his theology were confined to the western world. Toward the end of his life, he became aware of this limitation. Only in recent years have we come to realize how provincial and exclusive the western outlook is. Civilization does not begin with Greece and Rome and come through the Christian Middle Ages to the modern world. The west is enormously important, but it is not the whole of the world.

That is why I was willing to travel to Korea at the invitation of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon on almost instantaneous notice. I have on many occasions stated that what I find so

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# A New Cultural Revolution

*From remarks by Chung Hwan Kwak  
Chairman of the Board of Directors of PWPA  
given at celebration of PWPA First World Congress, December 18, 1984*

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I am happy that you were able to come to this luncheon meeting on such short notice. I know that in the Reverend Moon's thinking this day is significant and commemorates a new beginning for PWPA.

Suddenly after the ICUS conference last year, the Reverend Moon invited the leaders of the national chapters of PWPA to come to his homeland of Korea to participate in the First International Congress of PWPA. On short notice, professors from more than seventy nations responded to the call and came to Korea for what turned out to be a most historic occasion. The PWPA leaders spent up to ten days in Korea as the Reverend Moon made a whirlwind tour of eight cities, calling for an ideological victory over communism and a new world civilization to fulfill original human ideals. Several of the scholars, including Professors Kaplan and Rubenstein, gave congratulatory remarks at the public meetings and delivered speeches at the banquet sponsored by PWPA in Korea.

On December 18, 1983 at the Little Angels Performing Arts Center in Seoul the First International Congress of PWPA was convened. In his Founder's Address, the Reverend Moon encouraged the academics present to study seriously the pressing social and philosophical issues and to seek nonviolent solutions to problems. He stated that human history is at a crossroads and that it is very important that the coming generation be educated by scholars who communicate moral conviction and a clear sense of values. He concluded by stating his belief that participants in the Congress, grounded in theistic beliefs, would

be able to help PWPA fulfill its historic mission.

Later that day, the Reverend and Mrs. Moon invited all the professors to attend a dinner in his home. After completion of the meal he talked informally with them and asked them, as the leaders of PWPA worldwide, to take a clear, positive stand for a moral world order. They responded by writing and signing a "Resolution and Pledge" which affirmed the following general ideals:

1. The universal reign under God of justice and goodwill.
2. The friendship of all humanity under God.
3. A world united under God in peace.
4. A new, religiously-inspired humanity.
5. A new God-centered civilization founded upon love and heart.

I know that signing this resolution was important to the Reverend Moon because he feels that God is looking for leaders who can help find moral solutions to the world's many pressing problems. Since the signing of the pledge, the Reverend Moon has given increased support to PWPA activities worldwide through the International Cultural Foundation, in spite of personal hardships for himself and the overall Unification Movement. A God-centered peace is his deepest desire.

During the past year I have been amazed by the growth of PWPA activities worldwide. Travelling around the globe, I have found many enthusiastic chapters sponsoring an impressive array of meetings on all the continents. From the Philippines to Brazil to Zaire, hundreds of academics are responding to the ideals listed in December 18



resolution. In the United States, under the dedicated leadership of Dr. Panos Bardis, we have seen the publication of a new and major *International Journal of World Peace*. Under the leadership of Dr. Karl Pribram, PWPA is moving forward on activities in the United States.

The spirit behind these activities must be nourished if the work of PWPA is to expand. Today—one year after the First International Congress of PWPA—we sit in a similar luncheon meeting, this time in New York City. I want to thank each of you both for your interest and support in PWPA and for your continuing support and concern for the Reverend Moon. I know that he is constantly thinking and praying for each of you. In conclusion, I want to encourage you to return to your universities with a renewed commitment to work hard for the establishment of peaceful, moral world "founded upon love and heart." May God bless you and your families throughout the coming new year. Thank you.



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## Current Problems in American Foreign Policy

Morton Kaplan  
*President, PWPA International*

*From remarks given at celebration  
of PWPA First World Congress,  
December 18, 1984*

Richard Rubenstein inspired me to remember some of my own intellectual history. No one in my family had ever gone to college. Although we had many books at home, we had no knowledge of the great philosophical traditions. I went to a university where the teachers were not very good, but at least the school had a library. During my first summer in college I began by reading Kant, went on to Fichte, from Fichte to Schelling, and from Schelling to Hegel. Then I sat down and wrote a book—which, fortunately or unfortunately—has been lost or stolen—in which I developed my own philosophy, which turned out to be a form of American pragmatism.

Although I had not read Charles Sanders Pierce, Morrison Cohen or John Dewey at that time, my own position was related to theirs because Pierce, who was the founder of pragmatism, was heavily influenced by Hegel, as was I, and the intellectual problems that had led to pragmatism can be found in Hegel. At that time we were reading our own works but forgetting the tradition from which they sprang. Thus, we are surprised to learn of the Hegelian antecedents of American pragmatism.

Hegel's **Phenomenology of Mind** contains a sentence that should have informed Marx what was wrong with the idea of Communism. The **Phenomenology** includes an attack on the French Revolution and its idea of absolute freedom. Hegel says of it, in a remark that sounds very un-Hegelian and very un-German: "Absolute freedom is meaningless, as mean-



*Morton Kaplan (left) greeting guests at anniversary luncheon.*

ingless as clefting a head of cabbage or quaffing a glass of water."

Hegel had the whole idea right there—the idea that man or society without inherent limitations in the existential world is meaningless. If you know that, you know what is wrong with all apocalyptic visions of the world, for they require a form of totalitarianism in the hopeless attempt to produce absolute freedom.

I would like to discuss the subject of foreign policy. One should not listen to the so-called experts on arms control, for their advice is usually wrong. As late as 1930, several years before he sent the letter to Roosevelt leading to the Manhattan project, Albert Einstein said that nuclear weapons could not be developed. Niels Bohr, another famous physicist, said the same thing. I could go through example after example of this. Thus, when famous

scientists say that the technology to produce a "Star Wars" defense cannot be developed, I distrust that judgment. We predict from existing technology. But new technologies always emerge, and usually faster than we anticipate. If one is opposed to "Star Wars" weaponry, then one should find other reasons for opposing it—for instance, that no government knows how to spend such a large amount of money reasonably at the present time. But for scientists to pose as experts, saying that the technology cannot be developed, is merely arrogant.

All of us are in favor of arms control and most of us are probably in favor of nuclear non-proliferation, but we ought to think for five minutes before we pursue specific political measures. The Secretary of State of the United States obviously did not think for five minutes when he agreed to meet every six months





with the Russians on the subject of nuclear non-proliferation. The Russians do not want anyone else to have nuclear weapons, but they are particularly troubled by the prospect that two nations—Germany and Japan—might acquire them. The Germans and the Japanese know this. If the United States meets every six months with the Russians on the subject of non-proliferation, every informed German and Japanese will believe that this meeting is directed against them. And they will think that it is part of an American-Soviet condominium that produced and continues to reinforce the division of Europe and of Germany. I can see why the Russians would like us at such meetings. I cannot see why the United States wants to participate in them.

We view the present division of Europe as a natural phenomenon. We draw a line between the American sphere and the Soviet sphere; isn't that how we deter war? That is not how Germans think. That may have been acceptable logic after World War II, and after the Berlin blockade. But it has been 40 years since the end of the war. A 40-year-old German was born just barely before the end of World War II. A 55-year-old German was only 15, as was a 50-year-old German at the time of the blockade. They do not see the alliance structure in the same light in which we see it. They see the problem as two superpowers dividing Europe between them, preventing the natural unification of a country that does not wish to be divided. This is a very dangerous situation for the United States.

What should we do? We should not have put Pershing II's on European soil. I will say that I am in favor of our keeping Pershing II's there because it would cause too much immediate political damage to take them out in the absence of Soviet concessions. But every time a German, a Frenchman or an Englishman drives past a Pershing II or a

cruise missile base, he is looking at a target that would be attractive to the Russians in a war. We have such targets in the United States, but we are sure that if we are hit, we will hit back. An Englishman isn't sure that we will hit Russia with nuclear weapons if England is hit, but at least England has its own weapons. A German isn't sure of that and Germany has no weapons of its own. But if the United States acts in a way that could start a war, many cities in Germany would likely be hit.

The cruise missiles could be put on ships at sea and the Pershing equivalents could be put on a larger submarine fleet. If we had not made an agreement at SALT I to reduce the number of submarines, we could use submarines to take care of any necessary targeting inside Europe. We do not have to have visible weapon systems.

Another area that we should recognize in our formulation of diplomacy—and we have not done so sufficiently—is Eastern Europe. There is not a single communist country in Europe with interests similar to those of the Soviet Union. Because the Soviet Union is their close neighbor, the only way in which they have some room to maneuver is in the continued existence of a non-communist Western Europe. If the Soviet Union conquered all of Western Europe, then Eastern Europe would have absolutely no room at all. We have not yet learned how to make use of this circumstance.

The situation in Eastern Europe is quite different from that in Central America, which is near the United States and not near the Soviet Union. There the interests of Marxist regimes are far more consonant with those of the Soviet Union than those of Eastern Europe.

I have people say "Let's get Castro on our side by being open," or "Isn't Ortega really one of the more liberal people in Nicaragua?" How many of them read the documents

seized during the Grenada campaign? Did they hear what Mr. Bishop told the central committee of the New Jewel Party? He told them that Castro had advised them to maintain pluralism rather than making the same mistake that he had made. This is the same story that the Nicaraguans gave when they took over. But what else did Bishop say? He said that pluralism had to be instituted because if he immediately imposed a Marxist-Leninist regime, the United States would move in. Granada would have to have the bourgeoisie for awhile to avoid precipitating a crisis situation that would precipitate American intervention.

Are the Nicaraguans different? When the Grenadan central committee member, Mr. Louison, talked in Moscow to Marshall Ogarkov, who was Chief-of-staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, about getting additional assistance from the Soviet Union, he got some but he wanted more. The Russians were careful, however; they did not refer to Grenada as a comradely country, although the Granadans presented themselves as Marxist-Leninist communists. Ogarkov, however, referred to Nicaragua as a comradely country. I did not read that in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*. I read it in captured materials from Grenada.

The only way in which we can force real pluralism on Nicaragua is through the Contras. And if we don't support the Contras, we are participating in something very important to the Soviet Union. The bulk of the sea traffic from the United States to Western Europe goes through the Caribbean. If the Caribbean is cut off through the entire sea chain—that is, Cuba down through the Lesser Antilles and Central America itself—not only would our attention be diverted from Western Europe, but the Caribbean would constitute a choke

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## Current Problems in American Foreign Policy

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point for American traffic instead of a free-entry route.

In Japan there is a rising nationalism under the surface which is not satisfied by the current American view of Japan as merely an appendage of the foreign policy of the United States. Americans have difficulty in learning that we are best served by good nationalists who have domestic support but who sometimes tweek our nose or kick us in the tail, and who are not willing to listen to the American Secretary of State every time he changes his mind. We are better served by people who have their own independent ideas and who wish to protect their own freedom. We prefer, instead, people who follow our policy prescriptions.

Eventually we are going to pay a price for this policy in Japan. In fact, the group of Japanese who are presented as ultra-rightists in the United States are not ultra-rightists. I know the ultra-rightists in Japan. They have a quite different position. The leaders whom our newspapers call ultra-rightists are people who feel that Japan should be playing its own role and should have a real alliance with the United States in which Japan has responsibilities. What kind of nation wants—"take" and no "give"? That is a patronizing relationship that can only stir resentment among a proud people.

In the Philippines the United States has an extremely serious problem. I think President Reagan misspoke very badly when he said that the alternatives are Marcos or Communism. In April, the President of our Philippine chapter, the former foreign minister, Salvador Lopez, is going to be visiting the United States at our invitation to

give a talk in Washington. He chose April because he said he wanted to come here while there was still a chance to offer advice rather than merely to present an obituary. The Marcos administration is so corrupt that it has no long term prospect.

The situation around the American naval base is so terrible that it could stir a nationalist reaction in the Philippines. We can't control the situation because the people who are responsible for it are protected in Manila. Occasionally the Navy is able to force a reservist who is involved in some of the on-shore disturbances back onto active duty. And when they get him into active duty they can court-martial him. The Navy is aware of the serious nature of the situation in the Philippine Islands. I am not sure what the United States can do about it. But I do know we cannot continue to live with the present Marcos regime.

Speaking of rotten regimes, the Mexican regime is as rotten as they come. Last year 30 Mexican generals volunteered to come to the United States for training, the first time that had happened. They were alarmed by the situation in Mexico. One of them actually tried to institute reforms but he was removed. If a Mexican brigade has funds for 800 people, it really has only one hundred soldiers in it. But many of them are not really in it, because they hold regular jobs and only appear in military uniform for a month or two during the year or on weekends.

The Mexican army does not really exist. It could not control any serious disturbance. If a disturbance would break out there, it would take practically the whole U.S. Army to bring it under control. Unfortunately, there is nothing we can do about Mexico except hope that the second party can begin to present a constructive opposition to the so-called revolutionary party.

In the Middle East we are in a mo-

ross. We have been making a mess of the Middle East since 1948. If we had allowed the Israelis to win in 1948, instead of allowing the British to direct our policy, we would have had peace. Again, if at the time of Suez we had permitted a victory, we could have solved the problem. If immediately after 1967, before the Israelis had become convinced they should keep the West Bank, the U.S. had exerted enough pressure, we might have been able to trade land for peace.

Every American administration which has tackled this problem has done the wrong thing and has played it for political gain. When President Sadat made his magnificent gesture, there was no reason for President Carter to play such a weak role at Camp David just to get an agreement—the American mouse and the Israeli lion.

I am pro-Israel. It is a good state; it is a democratic state. But that does not mean that we have to support every Israeli policy. There are many Israelis who are opposed to the government's policy.

South Africa is one of the few places where American policy is working to the extent any policy in that area can work. My own experience is that President Reagan has applied just the right amount of pressure to permit them to carry out reforms.

Unfortunately during the 1980 presidential campaign a very conservative American scholar made a fuss about the naval base at Smithstown. I don't want to deny its importance—but he then went on to say that because of the importance of the naval base, the United States had to be tacit ally of South Africa.

My acquaintances in the leadership of the Nationalist Party were dismayed by this statement. The military leaders I talked to were also dismayed by the statement. Reagan immediately sent Joseph Crocker over. Crocker said that South Afri-



cans must understand that the United States is a multi-racial country and there can be no close relationship between the United States and South Africa until there is an end of apartheid in South Africa. I saw the look of relief on the faces of the leaders of the Nationalist Party when that statement was made. I know something about the difficulties of moving to a dignified solution for every racial group in the country. I am not arguing that success will crown our efforts, because sometimes problems do not have solutions and sometimes you cannot mesh timetables. There is a timetable for whites to be accommodated, and there is a timetable to save the moderate leadership of the black groups in South Africa which are willing to work with the government toward constructive change in that nation. I doubt that both timetables can be meshed. The result may be a disaster. But additional American pressure will only backfire. My own impression of the Afrikaner is that when he is pushed into a corner he will attack.

We also need more constructive goals to rally people to support of American policy, goals entailing an end to the division of Europe and the threat of war. Sadly, no American administration in recent history has proposed such goals. I hope that our organization can do better.

## Reverend Moon's Vision

*continued from page 6*

important in the Rev. Sun Myung Moon is that while Tillich could only help me to understand what religion and civilization have been in the past, the Rev. Moon offered me an opportunity to work for the future. Religion often advances when charismatic leaders arise who, by their inspiration, are able to show new insights, new directions and new needs. Only when men of this kind arise at the appropriate moment is it likely that religion will advance, first, to new insights, and second—and much more importantly—to new programs in the real world. Now when Dr. Hugh Spurgin, for example, said that Rev. Moon regards the December 18th of last year as an historic moment, I thought initially that the statement might be hyperbole. However, the more I reflected on the statement, the more I felt it was more than hyperbole.

If, for example, we look at the birth of Christianity, we note that it has its origins when the Roman empire was the most vital cultural, political and intellectual force in the world. Communities that had been living separate tribal existences suddenly realized that the tribal shell had been broken and a larger religious and cultural reality had to be worked out. The real answer to the question, "how do we get beyond theoria?," is not Marxist philoso-

phy, but new religious inspiration. That is the Rev. Moon's contribution. And that, I believe, is going to be understood more and more as times goes on. The same thing happened with the rise of Islam. The pagan tribal cultures of the Arabian peninsula were such that each tribe had its own deities. A larger North African and Arabian culture needed to come into being, and so it did.

Similarly, when it is possible to fly from New York to Tokyo in 11 hours, it is impossible to see civilization as that which begins in Greece and Rome but excludes the Orient. In our time, some new cultural synthesis is likely to arise. Moreover, if it does arise, it will in all likelihood have a religious component. I know of nobody who has seen this more clearly or has worked more effectively in all the countries of the world to bring this about than the Rev. Moon. It is for that reason that I was willing to repeat last year's performance.

Last year I came on sudden notice; this year I come on sudden notice. Why? Because we are called together not just to write papers. We are called together because we have an opportunity to participate in the creation of a new synthesis of "theoria" and "praxis" by bringing our different backgrounds and our different insights together in a really new age; we can do more than we could as scholars looking at what has been. We can help to create what shall be.





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## **Partial Listing of International PWPA Conferences from 1982–1986**

### **AFRICA**

#### **Ivory Coast**

*Regional PWPA Meeting*  
July 27, 1984

#### **Kenya**

*Conference*  
September 23–25, 1985

#### **Nigeria**

*Morals and Education*  
October 14–15, 1983

*Education, Youth and Citizenship*  
June 8–10, 1984

*Leadership and Nation-Building*  
May 23–25, 1985

#### **North Africa**

*Education for Peace and  
Development*  
Paris, France, September 1982

*North Africa, 2000: Prospects for  
Peace and Prosperity*  
Paris, France, August 30–31, 1985

#### **Senegal**

*Regional Cooperation for African  
Development*  
November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1983

#### **South Africa**

*The Role of Academics and Human  
Relationships in Southern Africa*  
January 17–18, 1985

#### **Uganda**

March 2, 1984

#### **Zaire**

*School, Education and  
Development in Zaire*  
October 8, 1983

*Alimentary Independence in the  
Strategy for Development*  
November 23–25, 1984

#### **Zambia**

*The Role of Academics in African  
Education*  
March 4–6, 1983

*The University and the Challenge  
of Rural Transformation in the  
1980's and Beyond*  
July 5–7, 1984

*The University and the Challenge  
of Youth Development*  
June 29–July 2, 1985

#### **Zimbabwe**

*Founding Meeting*  
May 5, 1983

*Regional Meeting with Zambia*  
1984, 1985

### **ASIA**

#### **Bangladesh**

*Poverty and Technology*  
July 15, 1983

*Review of Technology Transfer and  
Development*  
April 4–5, 1985

#### **China (Taipei)**

*International Conference on World  
Peace*  
August 29–September 3, 1983

#### **India**

*Absolute Values in Peace,  
Prosperity and Politics*  
January 28–29, 1984

*Annual Planning Meeting*  
March 28, 1985

#### **Japan**

*International Symposium on  
Understanding Asian Management*  
January 12–14, 1983

*International Association of  
Historians of Asia Conference*  
November 21–25, 1983

*Interdisciplinary Research  
Conference*  
December 9–11, 1983

*The World Economy and Peace of  
Asia*  
July 15–17, 1985

#### **Korea**

*Vision for Asian Peace in the  
Eighties*  
July 15–20, 1982

*Development and Prospects of  
International Marketing Theory*  
March 19, 1983

*Transmission and Development of  
Traditional Culture*  
May 7–8, 1983

*First International Congress of  
PWPA*  
December 18, 1983

#### **Malaysia**

*Asian Values and Their  
Contribution to Development*  
March 31, 1984

*Economic and Social Development  
in Malaysia*  
May 24–27, 1985

#### **Sri Lanka**

*Strategies for Peace and Mutual  
Understanding*  
November 12–13, 1983

#### **Philippines**

*The Ninoy Aquino Phenomenon*  
March 24, 1984

*The Role of East Asia in World  
Peace*  
August 1–4, 1984

*US Foreign Policy in the Philippines*  
May 18, 1985

#### **Thailand**

*Conference*  
March 25–26, 1985

### **EUROPE**

#### **Denmark**

*Scandinavian Conference on the  
Peace Movement*  
June 13, 1984

#### **France**

*Pacifism in Western Europe*  
September, 1982

*Spirit and Science*  
Fez, Morocco  
May 11–15, 1983

*Psyco-biologic Strategies for Peace*  
December 15, 1984

*The Notion of Value*  
September 27–28, 1985



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## **Germany**

*Economic Approaches Applied  
Outside the Traditional Areas of  
Economics*

Vienna, Austria

June 7–10, 1984

## **Greece**

*Man: Greek Perspectives in a  
Modern World*

June 22–23, 1985

## **Italy**

*Social Scientists and Peace  
Research*

July 2–3, 1983

*Guilt and Responsibility*

December 5, 1983

*The Reality of Vietnam Today*

April 18, 1984

*Spirit and Nature*

December 11, 1984

*Science for Peace*

January 25, 1985

*Epistemology Today*

October 26–27, 1985

## **Sweden**

*Peace, Freedom and Justice*

May 31–June 2, 1985

## **Switzerland**

*The Fall of the Soviet Empire*

August 13–17, 1985

## **United Kingdom**

*The Principles and Practice of  
Peace*

April 26–29, 1984

*Why Study Peace?*

September 16–17, 1985

## **LATIN AMERICA**

### **Argentina**

*The Importance of Education in  
High Technology for the Future  
Development of the Nation*

November 4, 1983

*University: Mirror or Model?*

June 25–28, 1984

*Technology in Argentina*

October, 1984

## **Barbados**

*PWPA Inaugural Meeting*

July 8–9, 1985

## **Brazil**

*PWPA Meeting*

January 29–30, 1984

*PWPA Meeting*

March 14–16, 1985

## **Chile**

*The Latin American Debt Problem*

December, 1984

## **Guyana**

*The Role of Technology in the  
Development of the Caribbean*

April 18–20, 1984

## **Panama**

*Central America in Crisis*

December 10–11, 1983

*Regional PWPA Meeting*

June 25–26, 1984

## **Peru**

*Definition of Peace: Goodness and  
Positive Values*

September 10, 1983

*Crisis of Values and National Peace*

September 24, 1983

*Regional PWPA Meeting*

December 5–6, 1984

## **MIDDLE EAST**

*Trade and Peace in the Middle East  
Pomezia, Italy*

August 2–4, 1984

*The Middle East City: A  
Harmonious Environment for  
Modern Man*

Paris, France

February 2–4, 1985

*Cooperative Movements—World  
Experiences*

Sana'a, Yemen

May 13–14, 1985

*Education in the Middle East*

Istanbul, Turkey

February, 1986

*The Impact of the Lebanese War on  
the Educational System*

Beirut, Lebanon

October 18, 1985

## **NORTH AMERICA**

### **Canada**

*Is Peace Workable Across  
Ideologies?*

May 28, 1983

### **United States**

*American Foreign Policy Options  
Washington, D.C.*

September, 1981

*The Worldwide Impact of Religion  
on Contemporary Politics*

Washington, D.C.

October, 1982

*PWPA and the Quest for Peace and  
Understanding*

Washington, D.C.

November 26, 1982

*Crossing the Border: Latin  
American Immigration to the  
United States*

San Diego, CA

January 31–February 2, 1985

*The Hot Peace: The Sino-Soviet-US  
Triad*

Los Angeles, CA

February 15–17, 1985

*Peace in Europe*

New York, NY

March 22–23, 1985

## **OCEANIA**

### **Australia**

*Interdisciplinary Approaches to  
Peace I*

August 29–30, 1983

*Interdisciplinary Approaches to  
Peace II*

November 2–4, 1984

### **New Zealand**

*Executive Committee Meeting*

May, 1983

# Variety of Publications Currently Available from PWPA

The proceedings and papers from many PWPA-sponsored conferences throughout the world are being published, as well as single-authored volumes, journals and newsletters. The following is a partial list of presently-available titles. Those which include a price are presently in stock and can be ordered by writing to: Professors World Peace Academy, Publications Office, GPO Box 1311, New York, NY 10116.

## AFRICA

### **Paix et Developpement**

Proceedings of a regional conference of the Central African PWPA, held in Kinshasa, Zaire (in French), 1982, 109 p. \$2.00.

### **The Role of African Academics African Development**

Proceedings of the fourth seminar of the Eastern, Central, and Southern African PWPA, held in Zambia (in English), 1983 88 p., ed. (\$2.00)

### **The University and the Challenge of Rural Transformation in the 1980's and Beyond**

Proceedings of the fifth seminar of the Eastern, Central, and Southern African PWPA, held in Zambia (in English), 1984, 81 p., ed. (\$2.00)

### **Ecole, Education et Developpement au Zaire**

Deuxieme Seminaire Regional, Afrique Central, Zaire (in French), 1985, ed.

### **Education pour la Paix et le Developpement**

Proceedings of a regional conference of the North African PWPA, held in Paris (in French), 1982, 142 p., Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, ed. (\$3.00)

### **La Science et la Technologie**

Colloque du Seminaire Regional de l'APPM, PWPA-West Africa, held in Togo (in French), 1982, 133 p., ed. (\$2.00)

## ASIA

### **Japan**

#### **Books and Conference Proceedings**

##### **Challenging the Future**

PWPA-Japan (in English). 1982. 112 p.

##### **Strategy for Peace**

Proceedings of the 5th ICWP, (in English). 1975. 229 p.

##### **The Pacific Era—Issues for the 1980's and Beyond.**

Proceedings of the 8th ICWP, (in English). 1978. 620 p.

##### **Emerging Asia—the Role of Japan**

Proceedings of the 11th ICWP, (in English). 1983. 307 p.

#### **Research Projects**

##### **Japan at the Turning Point—Prospects for the Coming Decade**

Summary report of the three-year research project on Japan's national goals, conducted from March 1976 to March 1979, PWPA-Japan (in English). 1981. 123 p.

#### **Journals and Magazines**

##### **Chishiki (Knowledge)**

The organization magazine of PWPA-Japan, published quarterly.

##### **The Academician**

A journal of Japan's views and visions, addressed to overseas readers, published by PWPA-Japan. Published quarterly. *Single issues available for \$ .75*

##### **The Academy News**

A monthly newsletter which reports on the Academy in Japan.

## Korea

#### **Books and Conference Proceedings**

##### **Future Aspects of Asia in the Changing World**

Proceedings of the 4th ICWP, (in English). 1976, 201 p.

##### **National Culture and World Peace**

Proceedings of the 6th ICWP, (in English). 1977, 189 p.

##### **Korea: A Model Semi-Developed Country**

Proceedings of the 9th ICWP, (in English). 1980, 612 p.

##### **Vision for Asian Peace in the Eighties**

Proceedings of the 12th ICWP, (in English). 1982, 332 p.

##### **Ecole, Education et Developpement au Zaire**

Deuxieme Seminaire Regional, Afrique Centrale, Zaire, 1985.

#### **Research Projects**

##### **Research on Peace Thought**

A collection of papers on ideas about peace from the *Academy Journal*, edited by PWPA-Korea.

#### **Journals and Magazines**

##### **Forum**

A monthly magazine distributed to Academy members, libraries and universities, published by PWPA-Korea.

##### **The Academy Journal**

A yearly collection of members' academic papers, published by PWPA-Korea.



## Bangladesh

### Study of Technology Transfer and Development

An appraisal/evaluation of the transfer of technology research & development capabilities of various R&D institutions, a project of the Planning Commission, Government of Bangladesh, published by PWPA-Bangladesh (in English), 1984, 97 p.

## Australia

### Interdisciplinary Approaches to Peace 1983, 131 p.

## EUROPE

### England

**West European Pacificism and the Strategy for Peace.** PWPA-England. 1983.

### France

#### Youth Attack on Values

Proceedings of an ICF symposium in Nice, France. 1978.

#### L'Esprit et la Science

edited by Jean Charon (in French). 1983. 474 p.

## Philippines

### The Ninoy Aquino Phenomenon: Its Significance to the National Search for Peace with Justice

Proceedings of a conference of the PWPA-Philippines (in English). 1984. 64 p. \$2.00.

## Republic of China (Taipei)

### Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on World Peace

PWPA-Republic of China (in English), 1984, 339 p., (hard cover).

## Germany

### Technologie Transfer

edited by A. Clesse and W. Massberg (in German). 1984. 166 p. *This book contains papers of PWPA-Europe conference "Transfer of Technology," Rome, May 20-24, 1982.* \$10.00.

### Proteste fur den Frieden—Sorgen um die Sicherheit: Die Friedensbewegungen und die Zukunft der Westeuropaischen Vesteidigung

edited by A. Clesse and W. Molinski (in German). 1983. 204 p. This book contains papers of a conference of PWPA-Europe and PWPA-France in Paris, Sept. 24-25, 1982 on the theme, "Pacifism, Nationalism, Neutralism, in West-Europe." \$10.00.

### Die Selbstgefahrdung der offenen Gesellschaft

edited by Lothar Bossie and Gerard Radnitzky, PWPA-Germany (in German). 1982. 264 p. \$8.00

### Die I-Waffen

Information im Kraftespiel der Politik, Herbig Verlagsbuchhandlung, PWPA-Germany (in German), 1982, 304 p. \$10.00

## Italy

**Significato e Forme Della Cultura** edited by PWPA-Italy (in Italian), 1983, 43 p.

## MIDDLE EAST

### Trade and Peace in the Middle East

Proceedings of a conference of PWPA-Middle East, held in Rome, Aug. 2-4, 1984. (in English). 160 p. \$16.00.

## SOUTH AMERICA

### Argentina

#### La Universidad

?Espejo o Modelo? Proceedings of a conference of PWPA-Argentina (in Spanish). 1984. 118 p. \$3.00

## CARIBBEAN

### The Role of Technology in the Development in the Caribbean

\$3.00

## UNITED STATES

### Books, Conference Proceedings and Monographs

#### Global Policy—the Challenge of the 80's

by Morton Kaplan. From the proceedings of the first annual conference of PWPA-USA. 1982. 51 p. Available on request. (Entire proceedings available on request from the Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy. 1984, 272 p., Morton A. Kaplan, ed.)

#### A Proposal to End the Danger of War in Europe

by Morton A. Kaplan. 1982. 18 p. Available on request.

#### United States Foreign Policy and the China Problem

by Morton A. Kaplan. 1982. 31 p. Available on request.

**To Fight Communism: Why and How?** by Alexander Shtromas \$3.50

**The San Francisco Peace Movement: A Survey** by Joan Marie Steffy \$5.00

### Journals and Magazines

#### International Journal on World Peace

A scholarly, multi-disciplinary, and cross-cultural publication dealing with all aspects of peace from both theoretical and practical perspectives. Edited by Panos Bardis. Published quarterly. *Subscription* \$10.00/year.

#### The ICF Report

A bi-monthly newsletter covering activities of ICF and PWPA. Published by ICF in New York. *Available on request.*

To obtain copies, write to: Professors World Peace Academy, Publications Office, GPO Box 1311, New York, New York, 10116, USA.



## **Forthcoming Publications**

### **Economic Imperialism: The Economic Approach Applied Outside the Traditional Areas of Economics**

edited by Gerard Radnitsky and Peter Bernholz.

This book analyzes the role of economics as a general social science in explaining the behavior of living systems. *Approx. 500 p. Suggested price \$12.95, Publication date: autumn 1985.*

### **Violence and Aggression: A New Perspective**

by K.E. Moyer.

A discussion of the problems and possible solutions to the negative aspects of aggressive behavior in individuals, from a physiological perspective. *Approx. 350 p. Suggested price \$27.95, Publication date: late 1985.*

### **The Middle East City: A Harmonious Environment for Modern Man**

edited by Abdulaziz Saqqaf.

*Approx. 250 p. Suggested price \$12.95, Publication date: late 1985.*

### **The Strategic Triangle: Sino-Soviet-American Relations in the Post-War World**

edited by Ilpyong J. Kim.

Proceedings of a PWPA conference held in Los Angeles in February, 1985. *Approx. 500 p. Publication date: mid 1986.*

### **Crossing the Border: Latin American Immigration and the United States Interest**

edited by Jacquelyn Kegley. Proceedings of a conference held in San Diego in February, 1985. The paperwriters are from both the United States and Central America. *Approx. 300 p. Publication date: mid 1986.*

### **Conflict Between Communities**

by James A. Schellenberg.

The author discusses American county seat wars, relating this type of conflict to more general patterns of social conflict. *Approx. 250 p. Publication date: late 1986.*

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by Stewart E. Fraser.

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