I - From the Political Perspective

Why the Era of East Asia?

The Philosophy of the Rule of Virtue
That Will Rescue Western Democracy



Shigenobu Inoue Commentator Foreign Affairs

A. Neither Communism nor Capitalism Can Offer Any Hope

In October 1982, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, winner of the Nobel Prize in literature, accepted an invitation by a Japanese radio station to visit Japan. For Solzhenitsyn, one of the greatest thinkers modern Russia has produced, it was his first trip abroad since he moved to the U.S. in 1975. Thus, a common topic of conversation at that time was why Japan and the Republic of China were chosen for his first visit. Another topic which occupied journalists in Japan was his disappearance just after arriving in Japan. It was later learned that he was traveling in the countryside of Japan for study. What was in the rural districts of the Far East, especially Japan, that interested him at all?

Solzhenitsyn explained later that he was disappointed in communism as well as current Western democracy. He tried to seek a new hope in the Far East where he thought there would be no influence from Western civilization, especially in the rural districts that he secretly visited. In fact, he said the following, in a symposium entitled,

"Crisis of Collapse of Oriental and Occidental Civilization," held by the Yomiuri newspaper on Oct. 17, 1984.

Now in the whole world, every nation, every people and every system lacks something morally creditable. All of humanity is, so to say, ill. In both systems, the USSR and the USA, a common situation called "collapse" is going on; collapse of family, loss of will to work, degradation of education, etc. That is because each of the two different systems is originated from humanism without religion. As long as we fail to grasp something perfect and supreme, our world can in no way avoid collapsing even without the menace of communism.

The Reverend Sun Myung Moon made the following comment in the conclusion of his statement submitted to the public hearing on "Religious Freedom" of the Constitutional Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Judicial Committee.

Now half of the world is under the totalitarian system of communism, while the free world departs from God to be confronted with a crisis to fall down to egoism and atheistic humanism. The world of materialistic communism gives no hope to humanity at all, while the free world cannot offer any hope without God. In fact, I not only oppose communism but also firmly realize how worthless capitalism is without God.

The communist world, based on atheism, has failed to fulfill the human dream. The free world, on the other hand, has become materialistic and forgotten God and is helpless in the face of the grave world crisis. The world is dark with confusion. A new vision must emerge—a new world view centered on God. I am teaching that world view, based on God's heart of love. I call it "Godism." I proclaim that this ideal will provide a new solution to the world.

It is amazing how much the comment of the Rev. Moon resembles that of Solzhenitsyn's. There is, however, a distinct difference between them. The Rev. Sun Myung Moon proposes 'Godism' as a new solution for the world. Godism, is based on God's heart of love, the Supreme Being of the universe, advocating sacrificial relations of love centered upon God. On the contrary, Solzhenitsyn is more likely to seek after a key solution for the collapsing current civilization in the somewhat sound traditions of Oriental culture such as the family system or the spirit of self-control which still remain in the countryside of Japan.

B. The Birth of the "Third Wave" and the "New Mediterranean Civilization"

The 20th century ends in 15 years. It is well known that not only Solzhenitsyn, but a number of Western intellectuals now express their expectations for the beginnings of a new civilization from the Orient. Edgar Morin, a French philosopher, recently indicated that a vast and immense core of a new civilization is forming in the North-Pacific region including: the West Coast of the U.S., Japan, Hong Kong and perhaps in the future, China. He called it the birth of a 'New Mediterranean Sea' and added, "As one from the Old Mediterranean Sea I shall pay much attention to this fact." The one hundred years of the 20th century may represent the end of Western culture's role as the center of the world and the course toward the start of the East Asian Era.

What is its political and economic aspect? Westerners' view of the Far East has been drastically changing since entering the 80's. A leading French weekly magazine, L'Expresse, made a special edition on "the Challenge of the Pacific" as the new global center in its April issue of 1984. It stated that the global center seems to be moving towards the Pacific Basin, including Japan and Korea, where there is a remarkable development of frontier industries. And perhaps China as well, the giant of "tradition".

Alvin Toffler, an American sociologist, described the coming of the age of information and popularization in his famous masterpiece

The Third Wave. It says when the world's pivotal factors change from iron, coal, railways and petroleum to that of the computer, communication and the jet plane, then the vastitude of the Pacific Ocean that once was an obstacle, is now in an advantageous position for development. The Pacific Basin, and especially the Far East, yields an ideal scene for the 'Third Wave'. The vast expanse of Pacific water has now become the 'Mediterranean Sea' on the global scale. Not only is the Pacific Basin deeply-rooted in its own traditional culture but it also absorbs all the best things from the entire world. The Far East is now able to draw out the best things from its diversity. This is what L'Expresse emphasized.

Foreign Policy (winter issue, 1984) made a special edition titled, "The Dawn of circum-Pacific Age", insisting the center of the world economy is moving from circum-Atlantic to circum-Pacific. The U.S. News and World Report (Aug. 24, 1984) emphasized that the miraculous economic development of the circum-Pacific nations, originating in Japan, now spreads on to Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Therefore, it requires that the focus of U.S. diplomacy move to the circum-Pacific region that arches the Pacific coast from Korea to New Zealand.

The Far Eastern Economic Review (July 14, 1983) ran an article titled "Pacific Age=Reagan and Nakasone's Plan for Co-prosperity". It stated that the White House considers U.S.-Japan relations as not the only key for the Pacific but a key for the 21st century. The U.S. regards the economy of Japan as high-savings, with the world's unique store of surplus capital. In fact, behind the current trade disputes there is a complementary economy progressing in the field of "frontier industries".

C. A Placid Revolution in the Asian Policy of the U.S. Government

The U.S. government recognizes the importance of its Asian Policy within world economics. As President Reagan was on his way to visit Japan in November 1983, he made a speech in Anchorage, Alaska. He used the expression 'Pacific Age', implying his intention to convey the importance of the Far East. The meaning of this 'Pacific Age' was later made more clear when the president presented a speech to the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies on April 6th, 1984. In it he called attention to the fact that the quantity of U.S. trade on the Pacific side now exceeds that of the Atlantic side. He emphasized the importance of cooperation between Japan and Korea in particular saying, "The U.S. and the Pacific nations have good prospects for the future."

George Schultz, the secretary of state, delivered a speech in San Francisco, March 5, 1983, to the Council for World Problems. In it he described his Asian Policy in great detail. It was George Schultz who originally expressed the new view of Asia for the Reagan administration. His view is based on the negation of the former understanding of international affairs: the three poles of US, PRC and USSR, which became evident following the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy. It is estimated that since the initiation of this Asian Policy there is a placid revolution at the present time in the U.S. government.

This sensational speech from the secretary of state enumerated the following articles as "valuable precepts for the U.S. on Asian policy."

- (1) The Asian region needs to be viewed not merely as a region but from a global veiwpoint.
- (2) Despite its great diversity, a community of common interests is growing in the Pacific region.
- (3) The expansion of political and economic freedom has an indispensable importance for the future of the Asian nations.
- (4) The U.S. should play a unique and decisive role in the Asian region.

As for the first point, "the necessity to view the Asian region from a global viewpoint", Schultz's speech emphasized the following three points:

1) With the continual growth of the Asian economy, whitch is having a global spreading effect, is indispensable for the revival of the U.S. and Europe.

2) The maritime traffic routes, as well as the resources of Asia, are extremely vital for the defense of the Indian Ocean, East Africa and the Middle East.

3) Japan is playing an important role in naintaining free trade and in strategic assistance.

With reference to the second point, "the growth of community in the Pacific region," Schultz recognized the Asian free nations of ASEAN are now leading the world in economic growth. The economic growth is generating a new added weight to the world's economy.

In spite of the diversity among the Pacific Region nations, they are strengthening their mutual cooperation because of the common necessity for an open world economy and the common recognition of the military menace of the USSR, Vietnam or North Korea. The Secretary of State made his evaluation of this economic move for a regional union based upon the support of freedom and anticommunism.

As for Japan, Prime Minister Nakasone visited Korea with the hopes of opening a new market and to establish a commitment to bear some of the heavy burden for defense, etc. In Schultz's speech, he also made recognition of this point.

Regarding the third point, "the expansion of political and economic freedom", he also emphasized the importance of political and economic freedom as the base of security.

He also highlighted the fact that economic growth in the Pacific region has indicated the effectiveness of a free market.

D. Out of the USA-PRC-USSR Tripolar Strategy towards an Econo-dynamic Policy

Concerning the last point, "the unique role of the U.S.", Schultz emphasized the responsibility of the U.S. as one of the Pacific nations. He suggested that the necessary future policy for the U.S. is not only to encourage the Asian and Pacific nations to bear larger responsibilities, but also to maintain peace and prosperity in this region by organically uniting the power of the U.S. with the power of the Asian

and Pacific nations.

Schultz's speech has been evaluated as proof of the U.S. government's interchanging lens for Asian policy (*The Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 21, 1983). The scope of lenses range from the Kissinger-type wide angle lens, emphasizing the strategic view for Asia based on the USA-PRC-USSR Tripolar structure to the Schultz-type zoom lens, emphasizing the economic dynamics of the Far East.

Schultz's speech clearly shows a negative attitude towards the former view of the USA-PRC-USSR Tripolar structure. He neglects to emphasize the role of China in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China. He made the following comment.

"As a remarkable change marking Asian and the Pacific region in recent years one can perhaps point out the rising importance of China as one of the constructive powers; however, it is not just China that will bring success in that region."

The words 'global' or 'strategic' were often used during the Nixon-Kissinger administration to modify the role of China. Whereas, Schultz said in his speech that "China begins to seek a constructive regional role in the efforts to fight Vietnam, Cambodia and so on." This means that he regards China as still a poor nation with a global idea on security but with real power on a regional level. As for Japan, he requires her to have a global view of trade issues and foreign aid. He points out "the more Japan grows in importance, the heavier her responsibility grows." Briefly, Schultz believes that China is no more than a regional power but with an idea of a global power. Whereas, Japan is a global power but with an idea of a mere regional power.

At the Council for Diplomatic Issues held in Honolulu, July 18th, 1984, the secretary of state made another speech. He insisted that "in order to grasp our future we must understand the Pacific." Three months later, on Oct. 19 at the Council for World Issues in Los Angeles, he revealed that the U.S. government now puts its longterm diplomatic goal on the creation of the 'Pacific Community' with Japan, Korea, China and the ASEAN nations.

Zbigniew Brezinsky, former National Security Adviser to Carter,

was another witness to the Pacific-oriented new tendency of the U.S. Government. In his report at the 25th Anniversary Seminar of the Harvard International Center, June 1983, he stated that "the centrum of U.S. diplomacy has removed itself from Europe to the Pacific centering on Japan."

E. The West Loses Confidence while the Far East Raises Its Head

It was L. S. Eagleburger, the former undersecretary of state who resigned on March 1st, 1984, that explained clearly the background of why the U.S. changed its diplomacy from Europe to the Far East. Six days after his resignation, i.e. on March 7th, he made a speech titled: "The Longterm Prospect for Pacific Relations" to the American Press Association at the Department of State. He also spoke about the Far East issues five weeks earlier on Jan. 31st, at a conference held by the John Davis Lodge International Center. The content of both speeches can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The reclamation of America reached the West Coast in 1819. Since then a majority of the population has been advancing westward as population censuses show. This westward march will continue, hand in hand with the centrum of state policy that also keeps going west.
- 2) The Asian economy is one of the most prosperous in the world. One can find and purchase an automobile, steel or electronic products of Japanese make anywhere in the world. The dynamic market economy of ASEAN, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong produce high-quality goods with enough competitive power for the world market.
- 3) Since 1979, U.S. trade with the circum-Pacific nations has exceeded its trade with Europe. Moreover, only a couple of giants, i.e. the U.S. and Japan, account for about one third of the world's total GNP. Japan was second to Canada in importing American products last year.
- 4) Now the West weakens its confidence for the future. Its vision is degraded from the global criterion. In addition, the number of Western

young people who doubt the effectiveness of the present system and means which have formed the basis of NATO is increasing.

- 5) The increasing introversion in Western Europe makes them think only of their own issues and economic difficulties. Therefore, it cannot walk in step with the U.S. any longer in talking about international security.
- 6) With its centrum moving American diplomatic policy is now headed for the Pacific, and Japan is expected to play a vital role in the world economy.
- 7) At least for the very near future, the U.S. and Japan are going to play the most important role in the field of "frontier industry."
- 8) Perhaps the West will drop behind more and more in the competition for technical development. The future lies indeed in frontier industries, when viewed from the world economy. We are confronted with a couple of problems; one is the U.S.'s proceeding alienation from Europe, while the other is how to treat the relations of increasing complexity with the Asian and Pacific nations. Our interest is more and more attracted to the Pacific, so as to seemingly go over the perplexity of whether to compete with Japan or to cooperate with her.

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936, German philosopher) prophesied the fall of the West half a century ago. Today, West European nations are losing vitality. Their "high-tech" development dropped far behind the U.S. and Japan. This strengthened the introversive tendency day by day. To simply sum it up, with the contrast of the falling West vs. the rising East, the U.S. cannot help but move the centrum of her diplomacy towards the Far East.

F. Japan as the Key for High-tech & Pacific Strategies

As previously mentioned by the U.S. government officials, the reason why the Asian and Pacific region, the Far East in particular, has become a great interest to the world can be summed up as follows:

1) The centrum of world's economy is moving from the Atlantic to the Pacific basin. Especially the free nations of the Far East, with their vital economic dynamics, further increase in global importance.

2) The Asian-Pacific region is also very important in view of traffic and communications for the upcoming information-popularization age.

3) The Far Eastern free nations excel in their economic growth rate. They are adundant with human and natural resources as well as a prospective market. They are potentially capable of reviving the West. which is presently suffering from a longterm depression.

4) Among the Asian-Pacific nations, regardless of their diversity, they are developing cooperative relations due to a common recognition of the communist menace, as shown in the ASEAN nations.

5) It is not China but Japan that has the key for the future development of the Asian-Pacific region. Japan is not only a cornerstone for the Asian-Pacific strategy of the U.S., but also a key for global strategy throughout the 21st century.

6) Japan is capable of offering economic and technological power for the upcoming high-tech and information-popularization age. Its frontier technologies and industrial foundation have decisive importance in pending alternative points of competition or cooperation with the U.S.

7) Japan is also important for supporting the free international economic system. In the eyes of the U.S. Government the key for recovery of the world economy is maintaining and developing the free trade system. From this point of view, Japan is regarded as a better ally for the U.S. than EC nations because they are opposed to protectionism.

8) The growing U.S.-Japan intimacy in economic and technological cooperation is expected to stimulate introversive European countries. This would contribute to the vitalization of the entire Free World including NATO as well as Security Pact linked U.S. and Japan.

9) The trend of China yields a great influence to political, military and economic situations of the world.

10) The USSR has recently risen as one of the Pacific states with military reinforcements in Siberia and Vietnam. Japan has a strategic and geopolitical importance on two points. First, Japan is playing the role of a U.S. advanced military base. At any time the American military force is capable of advancing to the outskirts of the Eurasian Continent. Secondly, Japan is occupying a strategically vital position with three straits that enclose the Soviet Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Japan.

Traditionally, the Soviet Union is predominant over the U.S. in the quantity of military power and weapons. The only way for the U.S. to offset the Soviet Union is to achieve the qualitative predominance of a weapon system of armed forces. Because of that, the Pentagon expects a lot of technological cooperation with Japan's advanced high-tech and many Japanese contributions to SDI.

G. Human Civilization Is Advancing Westward

Included with the above-mentioned material is the fact that the economic dynamics of the Far East, is from the cultural sphere of Confucianism. Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Singapore are characterized by their eagerness for youth education. They have developed a strong sense of a family bond, diligence and a high public morality. As shown at the outset of this paper, it was Japan and the Republic of China in the sphere of Confucian culture that Solzhenitsyn chose as the site for his first visit abroad. It was likely that he would seek a key to revitalize Western democracy because it is on the "rocks" at the present time. Thus, the Far East plays a vital role for the sake of offering a way for the recovery of Western democracy.

Civilization has advanced westward ever since its beginnings at the basins of four great rivers, the Yellow River in China, the Ganges. the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile. From these basins civilization went west to form the Mediterranean civilization, Greece and Rome, People began migrating across the Alps to begin the European civilization. From there people went to the New Continent to form the Atlantic civilization.

The Atlantic civilization seems to have entered into the state of decline. Today's America already displays a stage of overripeness. American democracy has been thrown into a situation of being criticized as an "ailing democracy", due to moral corruption, frequency of cruel crimes, wide-spread of drugs, and collapse of family and education. The penetration of liberalism and individualism, as well as the complication of society, has diversified the view of value so much that people are losing their discretion between good and evil, or right and wrong. On early morning television programs one can see people disputing the problem of incest. This tendency is symbolized by the outbreak of the peculiar disease 'AIDS' (Acquired Immune Deficiency

Syndrome).

The highest outbreaks of AIDS are first, the United States; second, West Germany; and third, France. There is an indication of an eschatologic phase where western democracy is degrading into an 'AIDS Democracy' and the Atlantic Civilization into an 'AIDS civilization'. It was the AIDS crisis that made Solzhenitsun speak out on his visit to Japan. He said, "In my eyes the decay of the West is more dangerous than communism, whose penetrability is by nature limited to some extent of the world."

H. "AIDS Democracy"—Decay of the Atlantic Civilization

On June 8th, 1978, Solzhenitsyn presented a speech at Harvard University. He stated the following points as ailing conditions of the Western democracy:

- (1) Society ruled by law. The West built its society based on written laws; right or wrong is decided by the law system. To be lawful is enough, and nothing more will be required. This attitude has paralyzed the noblest human being and has thrown society under the rule of mediocrity.
- (2) Abuse of freedom and commercialism. This permits the liberty of doing evil to prosper, more than that of doing good. In the West, where people are given destructive and limitless liberty, inferior movies such as porno or ones that portray horror or crime are regarded as part of freedom.
- (3) Excess of welfare state. The birth of modern nations in the West was carried out with the declaration of the principle that the Government is

to serve the people. They are endowed with liberty to pursue happiness. It was followed by the advent of the welfare state; however, it was also accompanied by a moral degradation. Possession of fortune, money and leisure leads youth to enjoy almost limitless liberty. Should a system dare people to expose their fortunate life towards that of danger for the sake of maintaining the common value? Even biology teaches us that excessive continuous safety and fortune does not yield a good influence on a living body.

The fundamental reason for the Western democracy to be degraded to 'AIDS democracy', as Solzhenitsyn states, is humanism (from his speech at Harvard University):

The root of the mistake lies in the basis of human thinking during the past centuries. I am speaking about the predominent world view in the West—a world view that first came into being during the period of the Renaissance. Then it was adopted into politics after the period of Enlightenment. The erroneous world view formed a basis of politics and social science and gave rise to so-called rational humanism (human supremacism) or human independency. This declares and forces human independency from the superior being to man. It may be called anthropocentricism, a way of thinking to view man as the center of all the existing beings.

"Godless humanism" denying a higher being than man, established itself in Western democratic society. This is the materialistic selfish tendency of worshiping man and material needs. In *The Brothers Karamazov* by J.M. Dostoevski, there was a statement that if man does not recognize the existence of God, in the world there can not exist the idea of goodness and evil, and man must be able to do anything. But if one recognizes the existence of God as the Creator, and assumes that he is a creation of God, there can be an unlimited amount of freedom as in Western democracy. There is a physical law in the world and there should be a moral law too. If one follows of one's own will the moral

law, which is in accord with the purpose of creation, then he is truly free.

I. Communism and Democracy Have the Same Source of Humanism

Then, what about communism? A. I. Solzhenitsyn stated that present-day humanistic democracy has the same basis as communism. Both are materialistic, as he says in his Harvard speech:

Marx said in 1844 that Communism is a kind of humanism. One finds the same cornerstone at the basis of spiritless humanism and every form of socialism. It is insatiable materialism, liberation from religion or religious responsibility. It is a seemingly scientific approach. There is some common characteristic in the thinking and way of life both the present-day Western bloc and the present-day Eastern bloc. It is natural because they both originate from materialism. There is a certain calamity which has already been going on for a long time. I'm speaking of a terrible disaster that is derived from the spiritless, religionless and the human-supremacist consciousness. For such a consciousness, every human being is the standard for judging and estimating everything of the world. Then man is not liberated from narcissism, self-respect, jealousy, vanity and dozens of other defects.

Communism and capitalism have no absolute standard of value. Communism of the East is atheism and democracy of the West is "Godless Capitalism". Therefore, there is the current phenomenon of the collapse of both systems, the United States and the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn stated it as a call to all humankind in the conclusion of his speech at Harvard:

We cannot but inevitably change the basic definition of human life and human society. Is it true that man is above all things? Is there in existence any spiritual being (God) superior to man that is above him? . . . Can it not be said that the world is coming close to its end? Indeed, it is approaching an important turning point in history. This important turning point is comparable to that of the change from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. It will demand from us a spiritual uplift like raging waters. We have to stand up towards an unprecedented lofty vision and an unprecedented high-level life. This ascent will mean a climb of mankind to another stage. For the living, there is no other way except but to rise up."

J. Materialism and the Principle of State Power-"the Culture of Military Rule"

Solzhenytsyn visited East Asia as a new land of hope for mankind. The points that he emphasized in Japan were:

- (1) Japan has a firm family system and education to form the basis for the healthy development of the people.
- (2) The quality of the Japanese people, that the outside world should learn, that there is no tendency of the omnipotence of law as there is among Europeans and Americans. There is the ability of self-restraint.
- (3) Japanese people try hard to absorb Western civilization, and are, at the same time, enthusiastic for the preservation of their national character.
- (4) Truth, goodness and beauty are the three world-wide principles, and Japan is a typical country to accept the aesthetic standard.
- (5) Western civilization started from the Christian principle, but its spirit has now perished. There remains only its form. Now the main stream of Western civilization is vulgarity and pleasure, but the Japanese people are persistently resisting this danger. The Japanese culture maintains its national tradition and emphasizes a moral aspect.

The above words of Solzhenitsyn are the manifestation of his disillusionment with the humanistic and materialistic "Atlantic civilization". He hopes for its reversal: the "East Asian civilization" that attaches importance to the moral and spiritual aspect.

The Euro-American way of life at present, under the "Atlantic Civilization", is a value system rooted in humanism, as Solzhenitsyn described. It seeks after insatiable self aggrandizement and satisfaction of material needs. In short, it is egoism. The Atlantic Civilization gives rise to an excessive consuming culture centering on Euro-American society. Subsequently, there is a problem with the environment and rapidly drained natural resources. The aggrandizement of the national ego gives rise to the danger of nuclear war.

It can be said that both capitalism and communism came from the same root, human supremacism and insatiable materialism. Capitalism produced the democratic system which places weight on human freedom. The system enables the mass production and mass consumption of materials. On the other hand, communism established a totalitarian system. It places weight on the efficient and systematic structure of production of materials and the fair distribution of wealth. Both aimed to create the structure for mass production and a mass consumption from the power of science and technology; however, the way of placing the weight is different. Godless Capitalism and communism try to pursue an excessive reliance upon human supremacism, science and technology, and the satisfaction of unlimited human needs. These are connected to utilitarianism and the principle of the state power. Its aim is to build cultures of military rule.

K. Centered on Morality— "the Culture of the Rule of Virtue"

San Yat-sen delivered a speech in Kobe, November 1924, titled, Great Asianism. He stated:

The culture of the East is the rule of virtue, while the culture of the West is military rule. To speak of the rule of virtue is to assert morality, and to speak of military rule is to assert utility and state power.

San Yat-sen explained, "morality is to influence other people with righteousness and self-evident truths". He also explained, "utility and state power are to oppress other people by using guns and cannons. The rule of virtue is following nature." I think that to follow nature is to follow heaven and stand on the principle of "virtue".

What is the rule of virtue in international politics? To cite an instance, Mr Chiang Wei-kuo, vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Strategy, criticized the Machiavellian theory of geopolitics and the balance of power. This is the political style of Kissinger. Mr. Chiang Wei-kuo presented his view at the 10th International Conference on World Peace in Taipei, August 1980:

The Western civilization of materialism lacks the ultimate sense of purpose because it is lacking a philosophical background to pursue the supreme aim of human culture. Since they are in an atmosphere of not knowing or considering the essence of their enemies, they have no firm position of their own, nor can they distinguish from one another. For this reason they lack the concept of a wide perspective in politics as well.

The report of Chiang Wei-kuo, in short, criticized the Machiavellian strategy of Kissinger as lacking morality, and emphasized in its place the need for an Oriental strategy with the focus on a "moral force." In other words, according to Chiang, "realism" is regarded as the American ideology of foreign affairs in Kissinger's period. It is "nothing but the policy of limitless appeasement to the enemies, intended to appease the ambitions of the communist nations. Therefore, turning their back on principles and righteousness." A good example of "realism" lacking ideology is the Russo-American detente policy of the Carter Administration in the 1970's. That policy caused the present buildup of Soviet nuclear power and has thrown the United States into a difficult situation. "The policy of the balance of power", Chiang Wei-kuo stated, "would buy temporary, illusionary peace by giving up the initiative voluntarily, evading the war in fear and finally paying the price in pain or collapse of other countries." He was

speaking about the Carter Administration's cutting off the Republic of China.

The "strategy centered on morality," taking the place of the policy of the balance of power, can be described as that which has succeeded the tradition of Sun Yat-sen's "rule of virtue." It emphasizes that mankind cannot be rescued (saved) by means of a materialistic strategic theory without righteousness.

L. Obedience to the Trans-human

President Reagan is carrying out a foreign policy based on the rule of virtue. In the past the geopolitics of Kissinger was lacking morality. This caused the United States to lose credibility among other countries. As a result of past policies, several allied nations began to doubt the United States' promise to fulfill their defense commitment. This led to the present situation of ideopolitics (politics attaching importance to ideology) and religiopolitics (politics attaching importance to religion).

Thus, the president declared that the right of freedom is a universal right of mankind (March 11, 1981), and that freedom is the cause of God (to fight against communism and to serve for the freedom of man is to serve God, July 30, 1983). Regarding the Soviet Union as "an evil empire", President Reagan developed a foreign policy based on his ideological, religious conviction of rejecting any Machiavellian deal with Moscow. This is extremely interesting. In the field of domestic politics, American democracy is in a critical situation. President Reagan stated (Aug. 23, 1984) that the foundation of morality and ethics is religion, and that without God there is no morality, and society will become desolate and democracy cannot last. It should be noted that President Reagan is the first political leader in the West who attempts to get rid of politics without the "rule of virtue" (morality), i.e. military politics. The rule of virtue, exceptional in American politics, has now flowered.

Now the rule of virtue, the thought of following Heaven or virtue is peculiar to traditional Oriental thought. What lies at the base is the thought of seeking to live with a "greater self" and giving away the "smaller self." This is done by obedience that is transcending in man. It is self-effacement in the culture of the rule of virtue as opposed to self-aggrandizement in the culture of military rule. There is a beautiful phrase in the orient, "transcending one's self and becoming one with the universe".

What lies at the bottom of self-effacement is not the separation of man and nature as the West views it, but it is a conception to regard man as a part of nature. It seeks for a harmonization between nature and man and between man and man. The traditional culture of the rule of virtue in East Asia is opposed to the culture of military rule, which is centered on an intellectual, antagonistic and the analytic method. It tries to seek a harmony with nature and society by an emotional and an intuitive method. As opposed to Euro-American society, which is individualistic to the bitter end and centered on law (contract), the area of the Confucian culture, especially Japanese society, is a society centered on concensus and emotion. An emotional contact, or family-like connection between man and man, is more important there than a cold legal contract.

Euro-American individualism says that human life is heavier than the earth. Materialism, scientism and legalism are spreading in the East Asian nations as well as the cities of Japan. And yet, there still remains in the countryside of the East Asian nations an influence of Confucian thought. Confucian thought views man and nature as one. Families, parents and children, and brothers and sisters are viewed as one. There is a heart of respect and gratitude towards the transhuman, and the tradition of Oriental moral principles such as humility, harmony, moderation, and the order of young and old.

M. Towards a Pacific Civilization that Preserves the Strong Points of Both East and West

An international symposium on the "Fall of the Soviet Empire" was held in Geneva, August 1985, under the auspices of the Professors World Peace Academy. On that occasion Uladislav Krasnov (professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies in California, researcher of Solzhenitsyn and in exile from the Soviet Union)

emphasized that democracy came into its excellence only in Japan in the area of the Confucian culture of East Asia.

According to Krasnov, Euro-American democracy has turned into "Godless Capitalism." Something that has lost the standard of its moral values and degraded itself into a "democracy in need", "selfish democracy", and "materialistic democracy".

On the other hand, Japanese people made "Godless democracy" flower excellently into a "democracy that has a moral standard", with the Japanese traditional culture, including their spirit of reverence toward a transhuman being, familism, justice and charity.

In this way, Krasnov pointed out that what Japanese democracy showed to the world is the fact that democracy can work effectively even without the tradition of democracy. Also, he expressed his hope to establish in Russia after the fall of the Soviet empire, a new democratic society of a national unity that will combine all the people within the country.

East Asia, including Japan, may be described as the star of hope in the future world in many ways. It is expected that the next civilization in the 21st century may be a Pacific Civilization on a higher dimension that will preserve the strong points of the two civilizations. With the unity of the Atlantic Civilization, which will have crossed over the Pacific Ocean, and East Asian Civilization, including Japan, Korea and other countries, a new culture will emerge. The Pacific Civilization will be unified with the accomplishment of the analytic thinking from the Atlantic Civilization. It was Atlantic Civilization that developed science and technology and brought the present-day material prosperity to mankind. The East Asian Civilization developed the thinking of harmony and obedience to the ways of Heaven, which gave rise to a rich spiritual culture, thereby, it will lead mankind to more balanced civilization of a higher level in both material and spiritual aspects.

N. The East Asian Role in Providential History

There are high expectations on East Asia from the Reagan administration as well as from intellectuals in Europe and America.

For this very reason the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, founder of Unification Church, spoke about the role of East Asia in providential history. In his speech commemorating the "Day of the Victory of Heaven" in New York on October 15, 1985, he made the following comments:

We must know the fact that history will turn at this point. If Jesus had not died and the twelve tribes had been united centering on Jesus, the present Arabic world would have been unified at that time. If the Arabic world had been unified it would have confronted the Roman Empire; it was His original Will (plan) for the Arabic world, on the foundation of uniting with Indian and Chinese civilizations, to form a worldwide culture and absorb Rome. Nevertheless, it entered Rome but failed to absorb Rome and followed the path of persecution, opposite to it's original path. Without the unity of the Arabic world the path was that of indemnity. Now, it has come to the American culture and has come to turn to Asia.

It has come to the end of the world, and the reason why the young people in the Western civilization long for the Asian civilization is that there is such an inevitable historical direction because of a providential background. This is a turning point, both civilizations meet and watch each other. Japan is made as it is, because it is an island country connected with the Asian civilization, and can become the center for unity, through which Western people can be connected to Asia.

O. What is Korea and Japan's Responsibility?

The responsibility of Japan is to be one of the pillars that supports the era of East Asia. What is the role which Japan should take in East Asia? Our country is a unique country that has succeeded in modernization in the Euro-American style in the material aspect ahead

of other East Asian nations. In Japan's modernization, harmony with the traditional Japanese culture has remained. Therefore, the portion of responsibility for Japan in East Asia would be the following four points:

(1) To provide other Asian nations with knowledge about Japanese modernization to help their own modernization.

(2) To contribute to the buildup of the other Asian nations themselves and to fulfill its own responsibility of defense.

(3) To participate in making a joint scenario for the development of the East Asian economy.

(4) To deepen cultural exchange and deepen cooperative relations based on mutual understanding while respecting the diversity of the East Asian nations.

A premise for Japan to fulfill such a role is for Japan itself first to realize its own responsibility as a key nation in East Asia. With respect to responsibility, the Rev. Sun Myung Moon pointed out in his speech at the Little Angels School in Seoul on December 12, 1985 that:

(1) Japan needs to overcome its past brand as an "aggressive nation" and the dishonor of being an "economic animal". Japan needs to take a joint step with Asia when Asia unites and forms a block of nations.

(2) Japan has the urgent task to produce men who will try to rescue the world transcending their own nation for the sake of the world.

(3) A large global idea is impossible without centering on the permanent absolute standard of value.

The Rev. Sun Myung Moon spoke about the way Korea should proceed, at the Banquet,"Welcoming the Victorious Home Coming of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon" held at the Hilton Hotel in Seoul on December 11, 1985. He said:

The root of the universal order of existence is 'living for others or for some purpose.' The trials given to the Korean people are dispensational, and it is only possible to settle them in the connection with the world, rather than by themselves. The Korean people should go over the hardship by following a person sent by God with a purpose to guide the spiritual realm of the world. God's blessing upon Korea will come into fruition only when they come to live for the world

The first step in the formation of the East Asian Community is to establish the true cooperative relationship between Korea and Japan. They are the core of Confucian culture and occupy a vitally important position strategically, politically and economically. It is reasonable to proceed then toward a coalition with the East Asian nations, including China and the Southeast Asian nations.

The Rev. Sun Myung Moon's speech can be understood to be an appeal to the Japanese people. The Japanese people need to be awakened to their international responsibility as the central nation to live for others in East Asia. They need to appeal to the Korean people. to open their minds wide to the outside world and have a worldwide perspective in the providential history beyond nationalism.

P. Let Us Establish the Basic Values Centered on God

The Rev. Sun Myung Moon expressed the Basic Values of God in his speech on the "Day of Victory of Heaven" as follows:

Satan does such things as opposing the unity of Japan and the United States and their linking to Asia.

God tries to unite Asia and the Western Civilization: whereas Satan stands in the way and tries to make that intention fail. The Rev. Moon must, centering on this, bring the core of the Asian Civilization to America, lay a foundation in this place which is divided, and graft it to the United States. Now, only Korea and Japan are not within the influence of communism. Almost all the other areas are under the influence of the communist bloc. You must know that we are fighting to link Korea and Japan and the United States, because only Korea and Japan are free from the influence of communism. And how can we win China over on our side? And how can Communist China come back before God? For that purpose I proclaimed the Highway system and have prayed for it, and now it is being answered. You must know now the gate to the era of a history of hope is opened.

History already enters the time when the philosophy of the Asian civilization and Western civilization cross each other. Nobody in the world knows the fact that the initiative of Western civilization has passed away. It has passed on to the era of the new Asian culture of a unified area centered on God.

This indication by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon can be understood to be a suggestion that there will soon come the "era of the Pacific Civilization," and that the coming 21st century will be the "century of East Asia". East Asia will be the central pillar of the coming civilization. For this very reason Soviet maneuvers to separate Japan and the United States, Korea and the United States, and Japan and Korea are expected to be intensified from now on.

At any rate, the period is soon coming when, instead of "Asia in the World", in which Asia is subordinate to Europe and the United States, Asia will become the center of political, economic and cultural dynamism, leading Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union. An era will emerge that can truly be called the era of "the world in Asia."

Now the way is being paved to the new Unified civilization, namely the Pacific Civilization centered on East Asia. It will take the place of the Western Civilization, which has reigned over humankind in the past.

Thus, for the future of Japan, the spirit of "serving for the public good of the world transcending the nation with a global ideology is necessary as was stated in the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's speeches. It is the spirit of "living for others or for some cause". The basic value for it must be based on the truth of the universe. It is the absolute value centered on God, the Creator of all things in the universe including mankind. And that can become, at the same time, the basic value for the East Asian Civilization, and even the Pacific Civilization to come that is capable of rescuing mankind.