

President Leopold S. Senghor, right of the Republic of Senegal receives the 1979 International Book Committee Award in Dakar from

Theodore Waller, IBC Chairman and Executive Vice President of Groller Incorporated.

The stumbling giants on the present dangers

(Continued from P. 1 Col. 6) hated symbols of foreign interference and of impotence.

The Russians face their own Vietnam, another case of great power self-entrapment. Just as the U.S. lost power, prestige, selfconfidence, and its economic health in the Vietnam debacle, so the Soviets now run the risk of causing their own encirclement. If the world were simple we could take satisfaction in the Russians troubles. But the mounting insecurity of the Russians threatens our own security because it brings with it the danger of a direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation in the area. The poverty of political imagination in Washington and Moscow is such that all the bumbling giants can think of as a remedy is the organism that caused the disease--mindless military escalation.

and recriminations surrounding SALT, the European missles, and the meaning of the Soviet and proposed U.S. build-up could be avoided.

Beyond a moratorium, survival in the nuclear age will require a minimum understanding of our historical moment. The pace of political change in our time has accelerated madly, and it is hard for anyone to understand what is happening. For Americans the very notion of having to take account of complex forces in the world beyond our control is a very new idea, so new, in fact, that it has yet to penetrate the national security establishment. Our leadership is panicked and the Kremlin leadership is panicked by the belated discovery of militant Islam. Since World War II, especially, U.S. foreign policy has rested on the

dignity to billions of people has unleased a profound spiritual reaction--a raducak rejection of the dominant international culture.

The American Century only lasted a generation. It is dubious that the Russians, though they seem to be trying to imitate American strategy, will ever have a Russian century. They have the bad luck to acquire military power at a moment when the nation state system is waning and uncontrollable cultural forces are on the rise.

We call these forces "nationalism" but it is frequently a misnomer. The popular impulse is not so much to build a "nation" in the nineteenth century sense of the word as to restore a sense of cultural and religious autonomy and to achieve an identity which, as in the case of the Kurds, for example, may be transnational. But the power of popular passions is real, and in the corridors of power it is hopelessly misunderstood. The official American worldview ignored Islam in Iran until the mobs were in the streets. The Russians are cleaverer in recognizing popular passion as a major political phenomenon of our time, but they too are so bound by the traditional geopolitical view of the world that their only response is to try to crush it.

The U.S. must accommodate itself in the 1980s to the process of breakdown of the old imperial order now reaching its climax. The essence of U.S. policy in the Third World should be non-intervention. The U.S. should withdraw its support for authoritarian regimes and should challenge the Soviets to a policy of non-intervention as well.

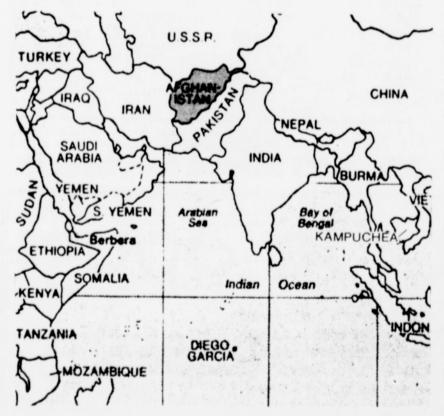
The task of U.S. statesmanship is to convince the Soviets that they will be no more successful against forces of popular liberation than the U.S. has been. With their experience in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and the prospect of a prolonged guerrilla war in Afghanistan, they should not be hard to convince. Intense political pressure should be mounted to obtain Soviet support for new ground rules which apply equally to both superpowers in the Third World.

A second and equally critical task is to establish new ground rules governing the relations of the industrial countries and the developing countries. These must provide for a fairer distribution of world resources and for a rationalization of the world production system that can better reconcile the increasingly competing interests of rich countries and poor.

We do not lack ideas or even well worked out schemes for moving to a new and safer world order.

The problem is that we have lost faith in rationality. Twenty years ago we had the hubris to think the big problems had been solved. Now we despair of finding the intelligience, insight and moral courage to solve them. There are promising avenues to a better security system, but they have been labeled "utopian." We march to annihilation under the banner of realism.

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The giants are being sucked into a vortex. But perhaps, as in the Cuban missle crisis, the enormity of the danger may cause the superpowers to draw back from the brink and comtemplate alternatives to destruction.

A new world security system is urgently needed. Before the nation marches to the new consensus down a familiar and tragic path, we must have a debate about the assumptions behind the present strategy and a hard look at alternative paths to survival in a dangerous world.

Nothing in the 40 year history of the nuclear arms race suggests that there is any technological solution. Each weapons development simply begets a counter-weapon. Safety, therefore, can not be achieved by the next round of the arms race. Surely what is needed now is just the opposite: a moratorium on the testing and deployment of all nuclear weapons which would apply to the U.S. and the USSR.

Before going ahead with new weapons systems the U.S. should press the Soviets to accept such a moratorium for at least three years. Were they to accept such a proposal the dangerous misunderstanding proposition that control of political and economic development in other countries is necessary and even desirable. The Kissinger "structure of peace" was explicitly based on massive technological support of authoritarian regimes. In theory, vulnerable, grateful dictators would tailor economic, military, and resource policies to the needs of the United States. In practice, their inevitable failures also became the failures of the United States, which turned into the hated symbol for oppression, misery and incompeten-

The failure to understand the power of popular liberation ideologies has proved to be the fundamental weakpoint of the old ideology. In one sense we are at the "end of ideology." Neither "communism" nor "capitalism" remain credible philosophical systems for organizing society in the contemporary world. There is growing suspicion of all ready-madesystems. The existing models are too much beset by internal divisions, contradictions and failures. They mean too many things. The failure of both "socialist" and "capitalist" regimes to bring liberation or

ce of the local regimes.

Senghor receives Book Award

Leopold S. Senghor, president of the Republic of Senegal, has been named recipient of the 1979 International Book Award. Theodore Waller, chairman of the International Book Committee and executive vice president of Grolier Incorporated, made the presentation in Dakar on December 20,

The award is given each year in recognition for outstanding services rendered by an individual or institution to the cause of books--in such field as authorship, publishing, book production, translation, librarianship, and the promotion of the reading habit.

In making the presentation, Mr. Walker pointed out that "this is the first time the award has gone to an author or to an African or to a chief of state."

Mr. Senghor, in addition to being head of the Republic of Senegal, is a noted poet, essayist and teacher.

The award was inscribed: "In profound homage to Leopold Sedar Senghor for enormous services which the poet-president has rendered to the literary world and for his perservering efforts in the promotion of the book in Senegal and in all of Africa where he has tirelessly worked in the cause of reading and the struggle against illiteracy."

Mr. Walker added: "Your vast body of written work, ranging from provocative sociological, cultural and political studies, to your book for elementary school children in Africa, has been a source of inspiration to us all. Translated into many languages, these works provide an invaluable source of understanding and appreciation for the world at large."

Mr. Senghor was also cited for his efforts in the founding of the Black cultural journal, "Presence Africaine," in the 1940s, and more recently, "Nouvelles Editions Africaines."

In recognition of the event, President Jimmy Carter sent a message which lauded Mr. Senghor's "persistent efforts to promote literacy in Africa...through your work in the world of literature and culture, you stand as a symbol to all peoples of the world that literature and culture can promote understanding, cooperation and peace among nations.

Previous winners of the International Book Award have included two national librarians (from Belgium and Venezuela), two individuals engaged in publishing (from Japan and Great Britain), the former head of UNESCO's book program, and the USSR National Committee for International Book

In accepting the 1979 International Book Award, Mr. Senghor

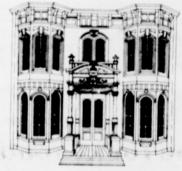
your rich sensitive poetry, to your emphasized his belief that the economic development of nations can best be achieved through the cultural domain. "It is evident," he said, "that a lack of culture, due to low literacy, is a source of prejudice and constitutes the most serious obstacle to international cooperation and a peaceful world, an atmosphere necessary to the fully integrated development of the human race to which we all belong."

The International Book Committee, which sponsors the annual award, is an outgrowth of the International Steering Committee for International Book Year begun in 1972. Staffed and supported by UNESCO, the IBC acts in a broad advisory capacity to UNESCO book programs.

Membership in IBC includes persons representative of various major publishing countries and the international non-governmental organizations of the book world: authors, publishers, booksellers, translators, librarians and documentalists.

In addition to the International Book Award, IBC programs include measures to combat illiteracy; literacy maintenance; the promotion of wider distribution of books originally published in lesser known languages; the international study of communication problems; and liaison with UNESCO's regional book centers.

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