



DON MILLS

THE NEW EUROPE,
THE NEW WORLD ORDER,
JAMAICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



Preface

Three years ago, the Grace, Kennedy Foundation Lecture became a reality after long months of discussion. The purpose was to examine the many and varied problems of the Caribbean region which were crying out for constructive analysis leading to viable solutions.

The Directors of this Foundation felt that if some of their resources were devoted to serious consideration of major issues by persons competent to evaluate them, their money would be an investment in the future.

Three years is perhaps too short a period to create what may be called a tradition. But surely this lecture, following as it does in the distinguished train of lectures one and two has established an indelible trend of excellence which is now the hallmark of the Grace, Kennedy Foundation Lecture.

We are honoured that Ambassador the Honourable Don Mills felt that the considerable time needed to prepare this lecture represented time well spent. In following the Honourable G. Arthur Brown and Vice Chancellor Alister McIntyre, Mr. Mills has helped to establish that trend of excellence now associated with the Grace, Kennedy Foundation Lecture. In his treatment of the subject 'The New Europe, The New World Order, Jamaica and the Caribbean', he has generously shared with us the wealth of his extensive knowledge and experience in international affairs, garnered over more than a quarter of a century.

A cardinal element of the concept of the GKF Lecture is its wide dissemination to aid continuing discussion at all levels of society. The lecture is broadcast on radio, committed to print in the national press and now, more substantially, appears in this book. The 1991 lecture will also be given publicly to a large audience before it is

broadcast. It will be broadcast and published by the media in other territories of the English-speaking Caribbean through the Caribbean News Agency (CANA).

The Directors of the Grace, Kennedy Foundation are happy to offer the content of Mr. Mill's lecture for further study to all who wish to have an informed view of the challenges and opportunities which face the developing nations of the Caribbean.

Rev. C. Samuel Reid
Director, Grace, Kennedy Foundation
Chairman - GKF Lecture Committee



The Hon. Donald O. Mills, O.J.

Ambassador the Hon. Don Mills has spent a lifetime - more than fifty years - in public service; the first four decades as a full-time civil servant and ambassador.

Joining the Jamaican civil service at the beginning of World War II, he served mainly in the old Colonial Treasury, later as Deputy Director of the Department of Statistics, and subsequently in the Central Planning Unit. He spent the last six years of service locally (1962-68) as Director of the Unit.

It was however, during the closing years of the 1960s that Mr. Mills moved in directions destined to lend greater distinction to his career, extending his experience beyond these island boundaries into wider regional and international dimensions. These were reflected first, in his three-year secondment to the Bahamas as head of the Ministry of Development in response to a request from Prime Minister Pindling to the then Prime Minister Shearer. Following this, he moved to Washington DC as Alternate Executive Director of the IMF, representing Jamaica, Barbados, Bahamas, Canada and Ireland.

His career and reputation reached a climax during the 1970s when he assumed the position of Jamaica's Permanent Representative to the United Nations and (non-resident) Ambassador to Argentina. At the UN, Mr. Mills became President of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Security Council, also Chairman of the 'Group of 77' (the caucus of developing countries). For a number of years he held a prominent position as a leading spokesman and negotiator for Jamaica and generally for developing countries, in conferences and committees concerned with a variety of Issues, including the North-South negotiations and the proposal for a New International Economic Order.

Although he retired from his formal position in the public service ten years ago, Mr. Mills continues to be very active. His advice and the benefit from his experience are still sought locally and by regional and international organisations as participant in and consultant and speaker on issues concerning international economic affairs, peace and security, the environment, science and technology.

He serves currently as member or chairman of numerous local and international councils and boards covering a wide variety of subjects, including amongst others, the Privy Council; the Judicial Services Commission; the Mona Campus Council of the UWI; Chairman-designate of the Natural Resources Conservation Authority; Vice President, Society for International Development and a Vice Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on Environment and Development. He is also Executive Chairman of the recently created Jamaica Centre for International Affairs, having been responsible for its design.

Outside these areas of interest and expertise, Mr. Mills has throughout his life been a devotee of the arts. He plays the piano and took part in early pantomimes. Among his prized possessions

is a collection of musical instruments, several very old and quaint, acquired from a range of countries. He is Chairman, Board of Management of the School of Music; member of the JAMI Awards Trust, Council member of the Institute of Jamaica, and of the Board of Directors of the Art Foundation.

Born in Chapelton in 1921, he was educated at Jamaica College and, like the two previous Foundation lecturers, holds an honours degree from the London School of Economics. For a number of years he has been part-time lecturer at the UWI and the Administrative Staff College of Jamaica. In 1979, Don Mills was awarded the Order of Jamaica by the Government.

*Prof. the Hon. Gladstone E. Mills, O.J., C.D.
Chairman, Grace, Kennedy Foundation
February 14, 1991.*

Introduction

The world has for some time been witnessing a series of extraordinary events, some of them unprecedented and many totally unexpected. These events have come swiftly, crowding one another, and interacting in a seemingly endless chain. And new phrases, or echoes of old ones from the distant past, are coming into the language: 'the new Europe'; 'a common European home'; 'the Pacific Rim'; 'the Peace Dividend'; an 'era of peace and prosperity'; 'a new World Order'; 'Holy War'; 'deregulation'; 'sustainable development'; 'global warming' - and the like.

News of these events and the processes which have been bringing them about, or which they in turn have generated, is communicated with great speed across the world through the magic of the new communication technologies, and sometimes triggers action or reaction in quite different parts of the globe. With all of this has come a growing realisation that regardless of the differences in their characteristics or their conditions - their race, culture, language, economic or political circumstances - the people of this planet are being drawn closer together, their fate, their future more and more linked, their lives more and more affected by the actions of others.

In this lecture I will attempt to examine and comment on some of these events. In particular I want to look at some of their implications for Jamaica and countries such as ours. The task is made more fascinating and more bewildering by the fact that the picture I am seeking to examine and describe changes continuously. Between the preparation of this paper and its delivery to you today, many more developments have taken place, but that is in the nature of such a task in these circumstances. It is rather like having to write an extended commentary on a cricket match after having been forced to leave halfway through the game.

The world was taken by surprise by the dramatic events of late 1989, amounting to a virtual revolution in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European States. But there had been significant earlier developments. There was the development of trade union activity and political protest, led by Lech Walesa and Solidarity in Poland, and the emergence in the mid-1980s of Mikhail Gorbachev and the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Then there was the fantastic episode in China, 'the Peking Spring', when demonstrations in favour of democracy commanded the attention and sympathy of much of the world - only to end in tragedy in Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 symbolised the disappearance of the Iron Curtain as the revolution-in-reverse rolled forward, all but sweeping away the dominance of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

The year 1990 saw the liberation of Namibia from the clutches of South Africa, the freeing of Nelson Mandela after twenty-seven years of imprisonment and, in December, the return of Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, after thirty years of exile. The pressures imposed on the South African regime by the black peoples of that country and their supporters and by the international community, have also led to the gradual dismantling of elements of the system of Apartheid In that unhappy country.

Closer to home, in Trinidad and Tobago, the Prime Minister, Ministers of Government and Members of Parliament were held hostage and terrorised in the Parliament building for several days. These terrible events elicited a great wave of sympathy and deep concern for security for Jamaica and other countries in the region.

A development of particular Interest for Jamaica has been the intensification of the processes taking the twelve member countries of the European Community to a new level of cooperation by way

of the proposed establishment of a single market at the end of the year 1992.

This will have considerable consequences for the English speaking Caribbean and for the world in general. It is already giving impetus to other regional integration movements, including that involving Jamaica and the other English-speaking Caribbean states, and is stimulating the creation of new groupings in different parts of the world as regionalism becomes a major factor In international affairs.

The critical issue facing Jamaica and the Caribbean countries is how they can retain for as long as possible the advantages enjoyed in trade with Britain and Europe while exploring those available through the Caribbean Basin Initiative and the prospective Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, proposed by United States President George Bush. Bilateral opportunities must also be pursued. All of this must be done within the context of the developing Caribbean system of relationships - altogether a formidable programme for small countries.

Increasingly, in recent years, donor countries and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have taken control of the broad economic strategies of developing countries, which are dependent on these sources of finance. Their prescriptions, which include structural adjustment and the deregulation of the economy of the countries in order to reduce drastically the role of governments and to leave the way open to the private sector and market forces, have virtually become the new ideology, the new dogma. Jamaica has had to accept these conditions and to implement these programmes; regardless of the social costs, in the expectation that as a result the country will be taken 'from poverty and inefficiency to dynamic growth and prosperity.'

The prospects of close cooperation between the West - the United States and Canada and Western Europe - and the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, have led to expression by some leaders heralding the dawn of a new era of peace and prosperity - a New World Order. For a while, there seemed at last to be some real possibility that the world would be relieved of the threat of global war, and particularly of nuclear war, and that disarmament would release considerable resources for development and other peaceful purposes.

But in August 1990, Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait. These events severely dislocated the oil market, critically affected the entire world economy and brought the world back to the brink of war. In addition, it put on hold realisation of the 'Peace Dividend'. Then in mid-January a multinational force, led by the United States, went into action against Iraq, and full-scale war was on.

The expected emergence of Western Europe as a potential economic superpower, the rapprochement between East and West, the decline in the power of the USSR leaving the world with a single superpower, the formation of regional trading blocs, the widening acceptance of the ideology of the market system, the conflict in the Gulf with its far-reaching implications - these then are among the outstanding developments of the times. But other developments have been taking place which, in the final analysis, could have as much influence - or more - on the shaping of any New World order. These movements come under the broad heading of people's action and they express the determination of ordinary people around the world to have some say in the shaping of their lives and destinies. Among them are the separatist movements demanding autonomy or independence from existing nation states - even as many of these states move into larger configurations on a regional basis. In many cases, the demands are based on nationalist sentiment or on ethnic factors, which are

becoming increasingly powerful forces in human affairs and in international relations.

There is the movement of people, the migrations across national borders, if necessary In defiance of restrictions and official requirements, as people escape hardship, persecution or war, and look for safety or for economic opportunity.

There are the activities of the informal traders, here in Jamaica referred to as Informal Commercial Importers, who are demystifying the systems of trade regulation, foreign exchange control, travel and internal distribution and commerce. There is the determined demand for democracy, which involves, in more and more countries, the call for the end of one-party political systems. There is the rapid growth of non-governmental organisations with their increasing range of interests, revealing the large areas in human affairs beyond the competence of the state and the commercial sectors. There is deepening concern about the continuing degradation of the environment, which could eventually make Planet Earth incapable of supporting life. The environment movement has become one of the most powerful forces in human affairs as the call for sustainable development becomes more imperative.

All these events, and more, demonstrate that the world is entering a new era - the era of the people.

These manifestations occur at a time when Jamaica, other countries in the Caribbean, and many elsewhere, have been going through a particularly difficult period. The 1980s have been characterised as the 'lost years of development', and Jamaica is not the only country to enter the 1990s in a mood of deep anxiety, as internal factors and still very difficult International conditions press upon them.

How, then, can we in the Caribbean give the full attention which it is absolutely necessary for us to give to international events if we are to come to an understanding of their meaning and their implications for the country? Can we find the wit and the means to fashion this community and its actions so that we may meet this new age, with its challenges and its opportunities, with success?

It must be recognised that many of these recent events have been long in the making, in particular, while the economic forces at work and the resulting changes in that sphere are of the very greatest significance, other factors, specifically the political and the cultural, may well be seen as the driving force behind those changes.

A New World Order is, in fact, evolving. But the outcome is likely to be quite different in many respects from the perceptions of those who have used that phrase.

These, then, are the issues, which I will address here. And in examining them, I intend to pay special attention to the ramifications for Jamaica and the Caribbean.

Europe '92 and All That

The Earlier Years

It may be useful first of all to look at the events, which have been taking place in Western Europe. In particular, the movement toward a single market is expected to have very important consequences for Jamaica and the Caribbean. Interest and concern in the region have deepened considerably since other events; notably those in Eastern Europe are clearly going to open new possibilities in the European situation and in the concept of the single market in Western Europe.

In order to get a clearer view of the developments which have been unfolding in Western Europe, we need to go back in time.

Out of the death and destruction of the Second World War there came a new determination, particularly in the Western world, to try to ensure that peaceful cooperation would take the place of the bitter rivalries and enmities which had resulted in economic chaos and ended in war. The establishment of the United Nations, including the Bretton Woods system - the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) - was the first great step towards achieving the aim, outlined in the Charter of the United Nations, of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

But hopes for a peaceful world were quickly dashed as the former allies in the war became enemies, and the enemies allies, with Western Europe, the USA and Canada and Japan in one camp and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the other. The Iron Curtain, an expression coined by Winston Churchill, came to symbolise this division of the world into two opposing ideologies. Their rivalry dominated international affairs for much of the post-war period.

In addition, the revolution in China brought the Communist regime to power in 1949 and with it what some referred to as the Bamboo Curtain.

The Caribbean and the Third World

The Caribbean has been greatly affected by what came to be described as the Cold War. This effect was reinforced after Cuba, following the revolution of 1959, established a Communist regime and became a close associate of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries and a member of COMECON. And so with the inevitable reactions of the United States and most Latin American countries, together with other factors, the Cold War was brought into the Caribbean.

Parallel to all of this was the emergence of the Third World, as more than one hundred countries, most of which had been colonies of European states, obtained their independence. They entered the international community, became members of the United Nations, and began to challenge the position and the power of the industrialised countries on some matters. The Nonaligned Movement was formed as a direct response to the Cold War and the dominance of US/Soviet rivalry in international affairs.

The period between the 1950s and the early 1970s saw the greatest economic boom in history. The economies of the Western industrialised countries grew rapidly, and the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, emerging from the devastation of war, gradually established themselves as dominant economic powers, second only to the USA. Jamaica and many other countries in the developing world benefited greatly from this boom, and from the relationships, which continued into the independence period, particularly those with the metropolitan countries - the United Kingdom in the case of the Commonwealth Caribbean. These

advantages, particularly those in the field of trade, were reinforced in the early 1970s when the Lome Agreement between the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the ACP countries - the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific - went into operation.

European Cooperation

During the four and a half decades since the Second World War, the countries of Western Europe have gradually drawn together into increasingly close relationships. The wartime association, when most of them were allies, gave a significant impetus to this movement and after the war, the former enemy states of Europe, West Germany and Italy, came into this relationship. What followed has been a remarkable story of a search for forms of cooperation among these countries, inspired by the dream of a fully united Western Europe.

The concept of one Europe, or for that matter, Europe under one ruler, is not a new one. It has long been a dream and, at times in history, a partial reality. The Romans, the Turks, Napoleon, and Adolph Hitler, all had versions of that dream. An article in the *Baltimore Sun*, reproduced in the 20 November 1990 issue of the *Jamaica Record*, puts the matter in this way:

Europe's yearning for a unity that leaves room for all the rich splendours of its linguistic culture and intellectual diversity is as old as the millennium. Charlemagne's vision in fractured form has endured, often painfully, during a thousand years of European civil wars.

Major elements in the European aspiration have been the desire for Power and Influence in world affairs, and for other benefits of cooperation. It has been said that the foundations of today's movement towards what Mr. Gorbachev has called 'a common

European home' was laid centuries ago. Two views on this matter illustrate the point.

The central feature of world history between 1500 and 1815 was the expansion of Europe and the spread of European civilisation throughout the globe.

Times Atlas of World History Ed. Jeffrey Barraclough

The significance of the period between 1500 and 1763 is that it paved the way for Europe's domination of the globe in the 19th century. *A Global History of Man*, ed. Lefton Stavrianos

But the Second World War brought an end to the empires of the European States. Today, Europeans have discovered that the empire within, the coming together of these countries into one unified community offers the greatest opportunity of all for development and for the exercise of cultural and economic influence, as well as for the securing of peace.

Along the way towards Europe '92, many steps have been taken, including the establishment of a number of programmes, fora and a variety of institutions. Among these are: the Marshall Plan, initiated by the United States in response to European efforts towards recovery from the devastation of war, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) established by sixteen European countries in 1948 in order to channel the Marshall Aid resources provided by the United States; this was the forerunner to the Organisation for European Cooperation and Development (OECD). In the late 1940s also, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, embracing both Eastern and Western Europe, was the first of a number of such regional commissions to be established by the UN. Its first concern was the reconstruction of Europe.

Among the other regional organisations were: the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), to control the production of coal and

steel; the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) (1958), to promote cooperation in the production and use of nuclear energy in the states which formed the European Coal and Steel Community; the European Assembly, the Parliamentary body for the Coal and Steel Community and for EURATOM; the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) for joint defense; the European Payments Union, the European Exchange Rate Mechanism and the Monetary System all designed to foster cooperation in monetary matters.

The Treaty of Rome in 1958, signed by six countries - Belgium, France, Netherlands, The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Luxembourg - laid the foundations for the European Economic Community and eventually for the single market which will come into existence In 1992. The accession of six other States - the United Kingdom, Eire and Denmark in 1970, Greece in 1980, Spain and Portugal In 1986 - eventually brought the total membership to twelve.

The Single Market

The twelve countries, which will form the single European Market, have a total population of 320 million and stretch from the North Sea and the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas. Within these borders there will be free movement of goods and services, of people and capital. There will be an extension of the powers of the European Parliament and the role of the European Commission.

And what does this great Community expect to achieve? It is anticipated that the many benefits will include the raising of the level of the Community's output of goods and services, and of employment. There are different views as to the extent of the likely impact on long-term growth rates but the anticipated benefits and advantages will without doubt be significant. Europe will

become the largest trading bloc in the world and will be in a position to exercise considerable influence in global affairs.

Persistent Difficulties

While the movement towards one Europe has been on the whole successful, it has not been without difficulties, some of them very serious indeed. We in the Caribbean should pay special attention to these difficulties as we move into closer association in CARICOM. The protection of their farming sectors by some countries made the special provisions of the Community's agricultural policy imperative, since without these there would have been no Common Market and no Europe 1992. Difficulties have persisted within the Community.

The existence of farm subsidies has also created difficulties in the relationships between Europe and the United States, as the system discriminates against US products in favour of European farmers. It is in the context of the Uruguay Round of negotiations, designed to bring a further significant reduction of tariff and other barriers to International trade, that these difficulties have become critical. The United States along with a number of other countries, in particular, Canada, Australia and Argentina have demanded a drastic reduction of 75% in farm subsidies in the EC. The eventual offer, after hard negotiations in the Community, of a 30% reduction over a period of ten years from 1986 was seen as unacceptable by the USA and others.

The failure to reach agreement in these trade liberalisation negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in time for the December deadline for their completion could possibly result in a trade war, especially among industrialised countries. Such a failure could indeed reinforce what some see as the possibility of the creation of

'Fortress Europe', a retreat by the Community behind protective trade barriers.

Monetary Union

There have been serious difficulties also on the question of the introduction of a European Monetary System. Britain eventually agreed to link the pound to the Exchange Rate Mechanism, but has continued to regard a single European currency as unacceptable. The UK considers a full measure of unity in this area, with a European Central Bank, to be unthinkable in terms of the retention of sovereignty by the United Kingdom.

The then British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, never missed an opportunity to express herself very strongly on this and other matters concerning the European community. She saw some of the proposals, including those for a single European currency and a Central Bank as well as the moves in the direction of political union, as threats to her country's sovereign rights and powers and therefore quite unacceptable. She characterised those wishing to move in that direction as living in cloud cuckoo land.

Margaret Thatcher's position on these and some other issues elicited strong reactions, including that of Mr. Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. He stated: 'If we are afraid to sacrifice some sovereignty we should never have started on Monet's plan forty years ago.'

Mr. Geoffrey Howe, Deputy Prime Minister of Britain, resigned from his position and signaled the deep differences within the British government on the issue of European unity. The underlying feeling among some people in Britain who are not entirely happy about the growing closeness with Europe - a feeling which for some years kept that country out of the Common Market - surfaced in rather pungent form with uncomplimentary remarks made by a

British Minister expressing fears of German domination. He was forced to resign, but there was sympathy with his views in some high places.

Eventually, in a most extraordinary development, Mrs. Thatcher herself fell from office in December 1990 as a result of moves made by leading members of the Conservative Party who were really upset by her attitude to the European relationship and her style in dealing with the issues. The new Prime Minister, Mr. John Major, has adopted a very different tone in his meetings with members of the Community, and this, together with his promise that Britain will play a positive and active role in Europe, has given rise to some hope of progress on the issues to be resolved. But this change does not mask the fact that significant differences do remain. Moreover, Britain is not alone in having reservations on some important issues.

Critical Problems

The Community faces a critical question, namely how to balance the movement to economic integration with appropriate developments in political cooperation. Discussions late in 1990 resulted in the setting up of an Intergovernmental Conference which is intended to tackle the question of how a considerable broadening of Community relationships may be achieved. The Conference will deal with the problems of developing a common foreign policy and security policy, extending the range of Community cooperation, and improving the decision-making process. Significant differences exist and it will not be easy to arrive at a consensus.

Some observers see the movement towards political union as being accelerated by the changes in Eastern Europe. It is possible that other developments, including the efforts to establish a free trade grouping between the USA and Canada, and possibly Mexico, as

well as President Bush's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, might be contributing factors.

Reactions to the movement towards a single market in Europe have varied considerably. There have been some, who felt that member countries would not be able to maintain such close contacts. Others fear the eventual emergence of 'Fortress Europe' - a single market with high tariff protection against goods from elsewhere. But many accept the logic of the move. Giovanni Agnelli, Chairman of Fiat, Turin, in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, fall, 1989, stated:

The current unity of Western Europe is not so much the result of a Utopian dream as it is the political recognition of economic reality; the reality of global markets, the reality of economic interdependence, and the reality of competitive pressures... The reason that the project has continued to progress and defy the odds against it is that it does not depend entirely on political goodwill. Ironically, it was politicians who in 1957 first conceived the idea of a Common Market -often over the objections of the business community. Now the situation has been reversed. It is the entrepreneurs and corporations who are keeping the pressure on politicians to transcend considerations of local and national interest.

One of the hoped-for benefits, and a major one, from European unity is the removal of any prospect of war between member states. They will be so interwoven, so involved in one another's social, cultural and economic affairs, that it is at this point almost impossible to envisage a war among them.

It is important to note that Europe has reached out to join with other industrialised countries and regions in pursuit of economic advantage. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development includes among its twenty-four members Western Europe, the USA and Canada, Japan and Australia and New Zealand.

The Trilateral Commission

But there is another organisation with a similar reach but of a different order. This is the Trilateral Commission, founded in 1973 by David Rockefeller, the Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank in the United States. The Commission was described as 'a group of concerned citizens interested in fostering greater understanding and cooperation among international allies'. It was designed 'to seek a private (i.e. non-governmental) consensus' on the problems examined by it and 'to educate attentive audiences in the three regions so that public opinion In Japan, North America and Europe will come to reflect the private consensus'.

By 1980 the Commission had a membership of some three hundred persons representing a cross-section of interests. Its establishment was justified on the grounds that 'because of their technological and economic interdependence these areas (regions and countries) have sufficient common interest to make up a community in fact if not in form'.

Some of the members occupy or have occupied very prominent positions in their own countries. This was particularly so in the 1970s when many were in the Carter Administration, and President Carter himself was a member of the Commission.

Recent developments have come close to creating a new and more explicit relationship between the countries linked in the trilateral system. In an article in the International Herald Tribune of 7 May 1990, entitled 'For the Tripolar World A Big Three Steering Committee', David Green referred to an observation by Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, some six months earlier that the world was divided into two triangles of power, 'a political triangle consisting of the United States, the Soviet Union and China, and an economic triangle

consisting of the United States, Europe and Japan, with the United States the only player common to both, and therefore still reigning preeminent'.

'Suddenly, unexpectedly,' David Green asserts, 'we are down to one triangle; with Soviet Communism disintegrating and Chinese Communism on a mad detour, it is increasingly clear that Europe, Japan, and the United States will dominate the world's economic and political life.'

Future Prospects

There is, of course, much more to come as far as the story of European unity is concerned. A number of countries have already either applied for admission to membership of the Community or have indicated their interest in obtaining membership in the future. Of particular importance among these are the members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) - Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland. It is likely that all will join. Sweden, for example, which long held to its nonaligned status will follow the inescapable logic of entering the Community. As one commentator from that country pointed out, 'Now that East and West are no longer enemies what is there to be non-aligned about?'

The EFTA countries have attempted to obtain some voice in the making of key decisions in the Community in return for accepting the application of EC law. But the Community has ruled that only members can participate in the determination of new legislation.

Others wishing to be admitted are Turkey, Cyprus and Malta. It is not expected that any new members will be accepted before the establishment of the single market. But the major question at the moment is: How will the inevitable impact of recent events in Eastern Europe affect Western Europe? I will examine this later.

Some effects are already clear and far more will follow. The countries most likely to be considered for association of some sort or eventual membership in the Community are Poland, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Republics, formerly Czechoslovakia. But first they will be required to complete the transformation of their economies to the free market system.

The Caribbean and Europe

It is a coincidence that the year 1992, the year of the coming into being of the single market, will also be the five hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas. The consequences of that arrival were, of course, very considerable, particularly for Europe, for the Caribbean and for the Americas. Some of these consequences remain with us today, and while Jamaicans and many other peoples acknowledge the significance of the anniversary, not everyone is inclined to see it as an occasion for rejoicing.

The Caribbean region's relationship with Europe, and most particularly with Britain, has been a very long one. It has, in the main, been defined by European interests. There was a time when Jamaica, for example, was of very special importance, in economic terms, more so than many much larger colonial territories. And the Caribbean itself has been one of the stages on which European competition and bitter rivalry were played out by way of open warfare or other means.

The history, the shape and the character of the Caribbean community have been determined to a great extent by the lengthy connection with Europe, and with Great Britain in particular. The entry by Britain into the European Community has had, and will continue to have, great consequences for the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Over the years, however, the Caribbean region has come more and more into the American sphere of influence. With the achievement of independence, these countries have extended diplomatic and other relationships considerably, establishing contact with a variety of countries in Latin America and in Africa, as well as in Eastern Europe. But the connection with and, to a degree, the dependence on Europe has remained very significant. The Lome Agreement originated as an extension into the era of independence of the colonial connection linking the Caribbean, the countries of Africa and the Pacific with Europe.

The Caribbean and the Single Market

The concerns of the Caribbean at the approach of Europe '92 centre on a number of areas - and in particular on the prospects for the region's export products such as sugar, rum, bananas, citrus and rice, manufactured goods, the tourist industry, as well as the prospects for investment flows and development aid.

In the case of sugar, the availability of a quota for exports shared by the countries of Africa and the Pacific under the Lome Agreement is qualified by the fact that Europeans are now producing a surplus of beet sugar for export. In any event, Caribbean exports have been falling below the level of their quota. Moreover it is feared by some that the call for reduction of farm subsidies, including those being applied by the United States, could put the continued existence of the sugar protocol, which covers the quota given to the ACP countries, in jeopardy. In addition, the price received from the Community has remained at much the same level for some time and well below that requested by the exporting countries. In all of these circumstances, the debate continues as to whether or not it is time to rationalise agricultural production in Jamaica and the Caribbean, and in the process to reduce the area's dependence on sugar.

In the case of bananas, the Caribbean will have to face competition from other producers, some of whom grow fruit judged to be of higher quality. This then is the product, which is regarded as most severely threatened, having had a safe market in Britain. The situation is particularly critical since so many Caribbean countries depend to an overwhelming degree on banana exports to Britain. Jamaica is not in that position, though banana exports are a significant element in the country's trade.

The protection provided for bananas from ACP countries is covered by the Lome IV Convention. This is due to expire in the year 2000. However, the problem facing the Caribbean is to find ways of ensuring that the undertakings in respect of bananas continue to hold good in the face of developing circumstances after 1992. But as Edwin Carrington, former Secretary General of the ACP group of countries, has stated, 'At the end of the day, competitiveness is the only real guarantee and Caribbean banana yields are already considered to be no more than 40% of that of their Central American neighbours.'

What is particularly sad is the fact that even where the Caribbean countries have guaranteed access by way of quota they have not been able to take full advantage of that opportunity. The assurances, which have been given, for example by the United Kingdom concerning continued special arrangements, have not removed Caribbean fears on these matters.

Mr. Roderick Rainford, Secretary General of CARICOM stated:

During the negotiations of Lome IV there was generally agreement between the ACP and the EC that the benefits currently enjoyed by ACP banana producers should not be eroded after 1992, and there are various Declarations and Protocols expressing that shared interest. The UK in particular has given repeated commitments at the highest level that it will stand by its commitment to protect the Caribbean

banana industry. However, the concrete mechanism to be used to achieve this protection has yet to be put in place. 1

On a visit to the Caribbean in December 1990, Mr. Lennox Boyd, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the UK, gave the assurance in Kingston that the advent of the single market will not in any way reduce Britain's trade commitment to Jamaica and the other Caribbean countries.

Effects on Traditional Markets

But whatever may obtain in respect of these products today and in 1992, there is an underlying fear that the basic philosophy of the single market - the abandonment of any arrangements which inhibit the free circulation of goods among the countries concerned - will eventually prevail, to the detriment of these Caribbean exports.

Speaking in Barbados, Christopher Stevens of the UK Overseas Development Institute said that Europe '92 will result in the erosion of the traditional protection of Caribbean exports. He argued that the general failure of Caribbean countries to use the opportunities offered by the Lome Agreement to diversify their exports, particularly in respect of manufactured goods, will put them at a disadvantage in respect of the single European market.

It should be noted that a team from the EC visited the Central American countries in July 1990 and stated that the European Community can and will take exports from Central America, but urged that region to diversify its exports, i.e. away from over-dependence on coffee, cotton and bananas. A grant of \$120 million was approved to assist those countries.

The Uruguay Round, directed towards the further freeing of world trade, is the cause of much concern in some quarters in the developing countries. It would result, it is feared, in increased pressure to remove still existing preferences.

While much of the focus, particularly in news reports concerning the Uruguay Round of negotiations under the GATT, has been on the row about farm subsidies, there are other issues which have been raised in some of which Jamaica and many other developing countries have a very special interest. Developing countries seek the opening of the markets of industrialised countries to their tropical products; national resource based exports and textiles. They also wish to curb the dumping of surpluses by some countries.

Jamaica has a strong interest in the export of textile products. The decision that the textile trade is to be liberalised and eventually come fully under the free trade GATT regime would be of real benefit. According to a statement by Ambassador Peter King who represents Jamaica in those negotiations, the 807 programme has been responsible for an increase of 70% in exports under the Caribbean Basin Initiative. He pointed out that whereas in the period 1983 to 1989 the value of Jamaica's non-traditional exports moved from US\$43 million to US\$287 million under the CBI programme, exports of those products to EC countries over the same period had moved only from US\$25 million to US\$38 million.

But while the new situation developing in Europe again casts doubt on the viability of the Caribbean sugar industry, rum sales might well benefit. Tourism interests also are anticipating that the single market might bring benefits to the industry.

How the matter comes out will depend, of course, very largely on the degree to which Caribbean governments, Caribbean producers,

and especially exporters, the private sector in general, and the trade unions come to a realistic understanding of the extent to which we must raise the levels of efficiency and productivity.

Among the assurances given by European interests in an effort to allay the fears of developing countries concerning the impact of the single market is that by Dieter Frisch, Director General for Development in the Commission for European Countries, in October 1988:

The liberalising effects of the completion of the single market, its greater dynamism and the harmonisation of standards and procedures will also offer benefits for developing countries. Naturally, this will depend not only on the economic structure and the level of development of individual countries but also on their own initiatives and their will and capacity to seize the opportunities. Thus it will be primarily the developing countries with flexible production capacity that will take advantage of the enlarged market and the new opportunities it will offer for increased earnings. Increased demand in the Community for raw materials will chiefly benefit those developing countries that can offer competitive and flexible supplies. The increased demand for consumer goods will be of greatest advantage where the process of Industrialisation is well advanced. And the opening up of markets for services and financial transactions will also primarily benefit the developing countries that are already in a position to meet Community demands.

True words! Ominous words? Encouraging words? Jamaican and Caribbean interests should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest them. They come from the horse's mouth.

But Mr. Frisch also feels that the Community should continue the special agreements in favour of developing countries, continue to promote private investment and at the same time help them to learn how to deal with the new situation in Europe.

An editorial in the *Daily Gleaner* of 18 December 1990 sounded a clear warning to Jamaica. It spoke of the approaches necessary to deal with the post-1992 unified market in Europe and continued: 'What appears to be absent is the dynamism in the form of action to reform industries that lack competitive advantage.' This comes at a time when, once again, much is being said in Jamaica about the inadequacies of the public sector, claiming by implication the superior efficiency of the private sector.

The evidence, the signs, are clear. The European bloc forming the single market, with new members and associates gradually joining, will be a very significant element in any New World Order. It will be, in important respects, a different world. Jamaica and others are being told that they can join in the game. But the rules are becoming more and more uniform and the special arrangements, the preferences, are withering away. The race is for the swift and the strong, as well as those who endure.

Lessons from the European Experience

The European experience in building relationships within the Community over the past forty years has lessons for the Caribbean. There are some close parallels between the two situations but, of course, there are deep differences also.

The European process has been inspired, over a long period, by a dream of a single unified community.

The road to realisation has been a long one, full of obstacles, of difficulties, of complexities of all kinds. It has taken an enormous amount of effort, of skill, of forbearance, and of compromise to arrive at the stage now reached.

It has meant the dismantling of a host of procedures, legal and otherwise, related to trade, travel, finance, monetary affairs and

investment, and in other spheres, as well as major changes in attitude. Over many decades, a variety of organisations have been established, designed to deal with different aspects of the relationships and the provision of the necessary human and financial resources.

It has involved the effort to balance the sovereign rights of each country against the requirements of effective regional integration, not only in economic activities but also in areas such as security, defense and foreign policy -and the benefits from cooperation in these fields.

The question has arisen repeatedly as to whether and when to admit new members, and the relative advantages of widening the membership as against deepening the relationship between existing members at each stage.

All interests have been involved in the process - governments, the private sector, non-governmental interests, educators, the media and more.

Differing positions taken as between different national political parties, as well as within individual parties, have been an important part of the story - and there have been more than a few political casualties on the way.

The countries of the Community in the coming years will be faced, as they were in the past, with the issue as to whether they should admit to membership, or any other form of association, countries which have been regarded virtually as enemies.

There are more difficulties ahead. But the advantages are becoming increasingly evident. Moreover there will come new generations of Europeans most of whom will take European unity for granted. The Community is acting positively in this matter. For

example, at the European School in Brussels there is a unique curriculum including the learning of four languages with teachers from different member countries. Nine schools have been established for the children of Community

Officials. The aim is to achieve 'a cross-pollination of cultures'.

The people of the Caribbean can see in many of these difficulties and achievements elements which have parallels with the circumstances in this region. But the main lesson is clear. Whatever the problems attendant on movements toward total regional collaboration and integration, the Caribbean countries have few alternatives, if any. The final surge towards Europe '92 has spurred these countries to move to more urgent action in attempting to overcome some of the obstacles, which have delayed the process. To some degree, the success of the 1990 CARICOM Summit in Jamaica can be attributed to that pressure. A number of decisions were taken notably the agreement to bring the Common External Tariff, the Rules of Origin and the Caribbean Stock Exchange into operation in early 1991.

The application of the same level of tariffs by each CARICOM country in respect of goods from non-member countries is expected to stimulate the growth of output in the Community and in trade between its members. This, along with the establishment of the Stock Exchange will advance the process of regional integration.

Eastern Europe and All That

The recent collapse of the Communist system in the countries of Eastern Europe has taken the world by surprise. It has been the equivalent of a revolution, comparable in scale and significance to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

There had of course been some clear signs that these countries were in deep trouble. In both the economic and the social spheres they were experiencing, to varying degrees, deep difficulties and tensions. But the systems had become so much a part of the fabric of the lives of people and of the international scene that a total collapse, whilst devoutly wished by many, was not something that was at all expected.

There were those who had long wished that the political systems in the Socialist countries could be swept away. But in this nuclear age, the cost of intervention from outside by way of war would have been far too high. It would have brought disaster for the entire planet. Indeed the world, and particularly the people of the West, lived in fear of nuclear holocaust. Much of the Western world's view of the international situation was based on the assumptions of continuing rivalry or outright enmity between East and West, and the danger of conflict.

Implications of the Collapse

The distinguished contemporary historian, Sir Michael Howard, had this to say

The event, or series of events, that have now occurred within the Soviet Union may change the course of history as profoundly as did events in Britain and France in 1688 and 1789, or in the US in 1776. 2

The collapse was unprecedented, the consequences immeasurable. For just as the existence of that system has so profoundly affected the entire world, so its virtual disappearance equally would have the most far-reaching implications. Some of these implications and effects have been apparent from the moment of the dramatic events of 1989. Others will take longer to appear. But it is clear that the world today faces a totally new situation, and one, which has led to the voicing of expressions and hopes, some of which will no doubt be fulfilled. But others may end in serious disappointment. One thing is sure. The Iron Curtain has collapsed - this barrier which divided the world, not just the world of Europe but the entire global community. The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 was the dramatic symbol of this collapse.

What has been most spectacular is the release of the hidden feelings of so many people in the Eastern European countries. True, there were attempts in some of the countries to suppress this movement, to counter this force. But the interaction between events in the different countries as the news flashed from one to the other added to the accumulating potency of the emotions generated.

Just as these events in Eastern Europe represented the culmination of forces and feelings, which had been operating for years, so they are not the end of the processes, which brought them about. The chain reaction will continue for a long time, and no country and no community will remain unaffected by them. The voices of dissent which one hears more and more, the separatist movements all over the world, and the demand for democracy and the end of one-party rule in a number of countries are expressions of some of these forces. It is the decade of the transfer of power to the people.

Forces of Change

The importance of the activities of Solidarity in Poland over the past ten years under the leadership of Lech Walesa cannot be over-emphasised. Pope John Paul II, who has of course a special interest in Poland, has stated that those events were the key factor leading to an end of the division of Europe into two opposing blocs. The world watched with great interest the struggles between

Solidarity and the authorities, aware of their deep significance not only for that country but also for the entire political system in Eastern Europe and for the world itself.

Another event which has proved to be of historic importance and which has had the greatest influence on current events is the emergence to high office of Mikhail Gorbachev. And indeed not only his rise but also his continuing survival in the face of the sweeping changes, which he has sought to bring about, represent a remarkable phenomenon.

There are in the record of the past few years many indications that major changes were taking place in the thinking in high places in the Soviet Union. Two words, which have become a part of the language of the world, expressed the nature of these changes - glasnost and perestroika - openness and restructuring.

Many officials, apart from Gorbachev himself have expressed this new thinking. For example, in 1988 Edward Shevardnadze, then Soviet Foreign Minister, in an article in the *Soviet Journal, International Affairs*, had this to say:

It is the new political thinking that is paving the way for disarmament. The awakening of scientific thought to the discrepancy between traditional views and present-day realities led to a system of fundamental philosophical, moral and political principles as we embarked on our perestroika- it was perestroika that provided new political thinking. Born of the necessity for internal renewal, new thinking became a working Instrument of perestroika in international affairs as well.

In the same article he refers to the new Soviet policy as outlined at the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament at which reference was made to the prospect of 'a common European and universal home'.

There was clearly a growing realisation during the 1980s that the world was changing and that the Soviet Union was being left behind in economic and social development and technological progress. This, it is claimed, was explicitly recognised through the process of glasnost and self-criticism over the period. And so Alexia Iziunov and Andrei Kortunov in an article In *International Affairs*, 1988, stated:

Suddenly we began to realise that the image of our country began to lose attraction. There was a widening gap in technology between the Soviet Union and other industrially developed countries and we felt a lack of realism in our traditional appraisal of our success in the economic and social spheres. All these circumstances, known to the world public, sometimes shocked people who had grown accustomed to regarding the Soviet Union as a model of Socialism.

The Collapse

As these processes took place in the Soviet Union, other Eastern European countries were experiencing their difficulties. There were significant differences from country to country but all were under the pressure of a popular majority determined to bring about change, with varying degrees of resistance on the part of the authorities. When the moment of collapse came, some governments more or less conceded, as in 'the velvet revolution' in Czechoslovakia. In other cases, Romania for example, there was bloody confrontations. At the centre of some of these situations was a challenge to the monopoly of power held by the Communist parties and, in some cases, popular pressure to remove them totally

from the government. Inevitably there was a preoccupation with the political system itself and a conviction that fundamental change was necessary.

It soon became evident that the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, were afflicted with very serious economic problems which now threaten to deprive them of the fruits of what is seen by many as the political victory and to plunge them into a period of great instability and social unrest. This indeed is the view expressed in an early 1990 report of a study conducted by the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

The report stated that Eastern Europe's journey into a free market economy is likely to be risky, long and laborious. Recession will only deepen in the region's emerging democracies before reforms bear fruit. The immediate prospects for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are bleak. If hopes for a rapid recovery should be dashed, 'governments would risk an explosive social situation'.

The report proposed 'an evolutionary approach rather than shock treatment' and said that Western nations should focus on technical advice and help to build the legal, financial and institutional infrastructure necessary for a competitive market economy.

The task facing these countries is an enormous one. They are not only in process of transforming their political systems from authoritarian single-party rule to open democracies with multi-party involvement, but also at the same time they seek to move from a state-planned and state-dominated economic system to one in which the free market prevails.

Differences about the nature and pace of change in the economic sphere, in particular in the Soviet Union, have led to deep conflicts and to strong challenges to the position of Mikhail Gorbachev

himself, as well as large demonstrations in favour of radical reform.

Another factor presenting the countries of Eastern Europe with particularly difficult problems is the degree to which degradation of the environment took place over the years. Descriptions of these conditions strongly suggest that economic necessities, or pressures of one sort or another, overrode consideration of proper environmental management and protection. The cost of remedying this damage will be enormous.

Assistance from the West

In the early stages of the changes in Eastern Europe, such was the readiness of the Western world to respond to the obvious opportunity of gathering these countries into the Western fold and into the market system, that all sorts of proposals were put forward and promises made. The Western countries appeared to be prepared to go to very great lengths indeed to provide resources and technical assistance to rescue Eastern Europe. This generated fears in Jamaica and other Third World countries that aid flows in their direction would be reduced and that the entire focus in respect of opportunities in the areas of trade, investment and the like would be turned away from the Third World toward Eastern Europe.

Offers of assistance from the Western countries have been more or less willingly accepted. The spectacle of Western interests moving in to help and perhaps to rescue the economies of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries is something so far removed from what one might have expected just a few years ago that it is a measure of the revolution which has taken place in world affairs.

The extent to which the Soviet authorities have been prepared to go in the interest of rescuing the economy and opening it to the

world is indicated by the announcement in early October 1990, of a radical overhaul of foreign investment in the country. The intention was to allow foreign interests to invest freely, to have full ownership in such investments in the country as well as control of management and the freedom to repatriate profits. But some prospective investors have said that they do not know with whom they should make trade deals, whether with Moscow or with individual republics in the Soviet Union.

In some respects there were serious underestimates certainly in the earlier stages, of the enormous difficulties involved in both the political and the economic transition. In the economic sphere, people both inside and outside the countries involved are coming to understand the vast differences between the planned and state-controlled economic system and the Western market system. Totally new patterns of thought and skills have to be introduced at all levels in such matters as the role and responsibility of management, pricing systems, entrepreneurial approaches and actions, credit systems, advertising, and consumer choice.

A news item indicated that the Soviet Union had demanded tough new regulations against blackmarketeers. The article stated: 'The Government, warning that half the consumer goods produced in the country now reached buyers through the black market, said that such speculators are rapidly taking control of the disintegrating economy.'

In late October 1990, it was reported that two North Americans visiting Jamaica for the purpose of training Land Valuation officers were to go to the Soviet Union in 1991 to conduct a programme of training in principles and procedures for implementing site value taxation and the collection of land revenue. This, it was said, was in line with endeavours to develop a market-oriented economy in the USSR. Such training would become necessary with the proposed removal of restrictions

against private ownership of land. This represents a tremendous break with the past, especially in light of the fact that ownership of land was one of the major issues in the revolution of 1917.

The relationship between the political and economic systems was examined by Paul W. McCracken who stated:

The democratic political order... for which people may yearn even more intensely than for a better real income, does clearly presuppose a liberal market-organised economic system. The latter does not assure democracy, but it is a necessary condition. No nation with a Government-managed, command economy has had a democratic political system . . . The countries of what we here in America have traditionally called Eastern Europe are engaged in an effort of absolutely cosmic proportions. One searches the annals of history for an era of comparable significance. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 would perhaps come to mind but what we see taking shape today is of vastly greater portent than this structuring of Europe that took place now almost two centuries ago.³

A number of the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, have indicated their desire to come into the Bretton Woods system. If these applications for membership are accepted, they will have profound implications for the systems operated by those institutions, for the world economy and the conduct of international economic affairs.

One of the most fundamental changes made in the Soviet Union is the passing of the law effectively granting religious freedom by banning Government interference in religious affairs. This applies to all.

Dangers of Disintegration

Of all the troubling circumstances facing many of the countries of Eastern Europe, the most difficult are those related to nationalist aspirations and ethnic differences with the tensions, conflicts and potential dangers attendant on them. In the case of the Soviet

Union, there is serious danger of disintegration into separate states. Many of the fifteen republics forming the Union have indicated their determination to establish their autonomy. In addition, many communities within various republics have demanded separation and in some cases this has led to open conflict between ethnic or nationalist groups.

It was Lithuania, followed by the other Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia that first challenged Mikhail Gorbachev and threatened the beginning of the breakup of the Soviet Union. His efforts to head off the secession by peaceful means were watched very closely by the other republics and by the world in general. In this connection, a rather sharp comment was made by *The Economist* in its issue of 13 January 1990 in an article entitled 'Gorbachev's Bolshi Republics':

The Union is not an association of States whose members have voluntarily joined together as equals, ceding sovereignty as they did so: it is an agglomeration of subject peoples with little in common except that they had been forcibly brought under Muscovite rule by a succession of Tsars from Ivan the Great (1462-1505) to Alexander the Third (1881-1894); and then the Red Army and Stalin. In this respect Lithuania and Azerbaijan are little different from Poland or Rumania.

Apart from anything else, the break-up of the Soviet Union would mean that the world would be faced with a number of separate states, many with their own armed forces and their own nuclear capability. The fact that the Soviet Union is a collection of disparate communities in ethnic, religious, linguistic and other terms presents, in the current circumstances, a serious possibility of

disintegration and a grave challenge to Mikhail Gorbachev and the authorities. All the skills at their disposal will be required to maintain some form of association among the countries.

But in early November 1990, a news report from Moscow stated that Mr. Gorbachev, 'struggling to hold the country together in the face of increased nationalism and hostility to Moscow's dominant role, proposed relaxing the ties between the centre and the periphery'. He wanted, it was stated, to turn the country into a confederation in which finance, defense and transport would remain in the hands of the Kremlin. But many of the republics, including the two largest, the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, and the three Baltic Republics had already declared their independence.

The official statement declared that Moscow would not try to oppose such separatist trends. But the hope was that the independent states would sign the Confederation Treaty, because without that the move to a market economy system would not succeed.

Other Eastern European States

However, it is necessary to repeat that a very difficult period is ahead for many of the countries of Eastern Europe.

Czechoslovakia, one of those better off, has been facing serious political tensions and economic problems, while the Slovak community demands more autonomy, in response to these demands, the name of the country has now been changed to the Czech and Slovak Republics. In Poland, in the middle of 1990, Lech Walesa stated that the country still lacked a political blueprint for the fragile democracy that had replaced Communism. He told Solidarity members of Parliament: 'One gust could sweep you away.' In December, Walesa won the election and became President of Poland.

Albania, long isolated from the world, has been deeply affected by the forces, which have been operating in Eastern Europe. Large numbers of refugees sought asylum in foreign embassies in the

capital city and the Communist government was forced to agree to their leaving the country. By the end of 1990, the government allowed those wishing to leave the country to go, and the rigid communist system, after forty-five years of 'Stalinism', was yielding to the forces, which had so affected Eastern Europe.

In East Germany, there are high levels of unemployment and growing disillusionment. It will take a considerable time before the promised benefits of unity materialise. In a 'man-in-the-street' set of interviews in October 1990, responses indicated that some people thought that it would take years to bring East Germany up to the level of development and standard of living of West Germany. As one person is reported to have said: 'The borders are gone, but they will stay in the head for a long time - the differences will remain.' Inevitably, then, out of the dramatic changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe, there will be great benefits. But there will also be very serious difficulties. It is best to be realistic about this.

The USSR in the Global Power System

One very interesting implication of the recent changes relates to the position of the Soviet Union in the global power system. For example, one senior person in the Soviet media acknowledged that that country could no longer act as a superpower in light of its critical internal situation. The Soviet Union is obviously a very strong power with a considerable arsenal of weaponry. But there has been a change in terms of the relative power positions. Disintegration of the Soviet Union into different republics would leave the world with one superpower. The consequences of that could be enormous.

A second interesting comment was made by a Soviet official in answer to a question as to whether Mr. Gorbachev in his summit meeting with President Bush in September 1990 would show

readiness to give material support to the United States forces in the Gulf. His reply was along the following lines: 'When you ask that, as so many correspondents do, you must remember that the Soviet Union is now a democracy and Mr. Gorbachev must go to the Supreme Soviet on such a matter, as Mr. Bush would go to Congress.'

As 1990 drew to a close, the crises in the Soviet Union deepened. The chronic shortage of consumer goods in general brought frustration, anger and protest demonstrations. Even more serious was the development of a major food crisis with the possibility of famine in some areas. This may well have been due more to serious inefficiency in distribution and storage than to an absolute deficiency in production. Western countries, along with some developing countries, moved quickly to provide emergency supplies of food in response to an urgent appeal by Gorbachev. The situation is full of irony, not least since stocks of food stored during the blockade of Berlin by the Soviet authorities in 1961 were drawn on in the effort.

Political problems have plagued the country and Mr. Gorbachev. His apparent skill in overcoming obstacles at each encounter continued to win him the admiration of Western countries - and they fervently wished for his survival as the only hope for bringing the USSR through to a stable democracy with an economy based on the free market system. Gorbachev was awarded the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize.

Eventually, in order to put himself in a position to cope with the urgent problems of the economy and the pressures of the demand for independence or autonomy from many of the republics, Gorbachev sought extraordinary powers from the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. These were granted. Among them was the right to govern by decree, which made him the most powerful leader in the history of the Soviet Union.

As the crucial struggle between 'reformists' and 'reactionaries' proceeded, the outcome of which would no doubt determine the road which the country would take, news came of the sudden resignation of Gorbachev's friend and major ally, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. This was a great blow and caused deep anxiety, especially among Western leaders. Shevardnadze is credited with having spearheaded the implementation of the policy of glasnost, which precipitated the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe. He also carried through the changes in foreign policy and supported the movements to bring further reduction in armaments and the unification of Germany.

Western leaders feared that Shevardnadze's resignation might seriously weaken the position of Gorbachev. The danger facing his country as a result of the combination of economic and political problems led Gorbachev to say in mid-December that if they were to persist 'disorder will grow worse and there will be a raging of dark forces, a disintegration of the state'.

On the question of the location of overall power in the country, an interesting comment was made in December by a member of the Central Committee. 'Many believed that the party would simply put up a cross in its own memory and depart from political life. Believe me, it hasn't happened.'

But in January 1991, the position of Mikhail Gorbachev rapidly deteriorated in the Soviet Union itself and in the Western World as far as regard for him was concerned. This has been due in large part to the use of the military to deal with demonstrations in the Baltic States, and to what has been regarded as a return to harsh authoritarian methods in other situations. As a result, there have been threats from the United States and Western Europe to cut supplies of food or credits to the country and to review their relationships.

Further Prospects

Other East European countries have presented a mixed picture in terms of the position of the Communist parties and the state of the economies. Clearly, some will move more positively and with greater success than others to the establishment of full democracy and free markets.

But the dangers in these situations have been clearly described in the following terms:

The unstable conditions in most of the countries are sure to have consequences for democracy. A number of newly elected governments are reluctant to embark on the necessary changes in view of the social repercussions of swift change. They would prefer to alleviate the consequences but lay themselves open to the charges of being either neo-communist or ineffective. The result is a vicious circle that might well lead to the return of authoritarian governments. In the transition from a centralised economic planning to a market economy neither experience nor theoretical guidelines exist.⁴

An obvious comment is that this 'toe in the water' approach has been observed in other situations, far removed from Eastern Europe, where drastic measures are applied timidly for fear of the repercussions.

In February 1991, the weekly business paper, *Kornmersant*, commented on the USSR Government: 'Every step it takes . . . [in economic reform] . . . is so fraught with loopholes that it amounts to standing still.'

This most crucial point about the attempt to make the transition in Eastern Europe has very important lessons for Jamaica and for the world. Whatever the virtues of the new systems prescribed, they are most difficult to attain or to maintain, whether in Western

Europe or elsewhere. Henry Kissinger's apt comment was that it took two hundred years for the West to evolve fully in respect of the market system, and therefore for Eastern Europe it will be very difficult.

Implications of Developments in Eastern Europe

For the Western World

The great changes in Eastern Europe have come just as Western Europe is on the final run towards the establishment of a single market in 1992, with all the anticipated benefits of this historic union. Clearly events in Eastern Europe have already had an enormous impact on Western Europe and there is more to come.

Very positive comments have been made about the possibilities, which the new European situation has opened. Mrs. Thatcher, for example, declared that 'a new age is dawning'. The Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) stated at a meeting in 1990 that NATO could look to the USSR and Eastern Europe as potential partners and friends. But he warned that the USSR still has considerable military strength. NATO leaders at that meeting considered ways of making their organisation less military and more political.

They entertained the hope that Gorbachev would survive and be able to continue the reforms he had initiated. The United States came around to the view, held before by the Europeans, that the West must make concessions to Eastern Europe. The consensus at NATO was that what was required was 'a new bridge of friendship between East and West'.

The view expressed by many of the member countries of NATO at a meeting in November was that The Warsaw Pact has already become superfluous as a military bloc. It is anticipated that the alliance will soon be dissolved.

The Charter of Paris put forward at the historic 1990 meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which has over the years brought the countries of Eastern and Western

Europe together, spoke of 'a new era of democracy, peace and unity In Europe'. President Mitterrand of France said: Thirty-four states share from now on a common vision of the world and a common heritage of values.'

A number of the leaders of both East and West issued warnings of the danger that what would emerge would be a Europe divided no longer between East and West, but between rich and poor!

It should be recalled that the European Community has long recognised the 'North-South' gap between the more advanced and the less advanced member countries of that group, and has instituted a series of programmes addressed to the issue. This situation, of course, is a reminder of the imbalance between industrialised and developing countries. The response, in the Eastern European case, has been and will be quite different from that which came in the North-South negotiations with developing countries.

At the summit meeting of the Group of Seven Western Countries in Houston, Texas, the Seven committed themselves to working together with the Soviet Union in a bid to ensure democracy in that country. They welcomed the move in that direction.

Superpower Collaboration

President Bush, in September, spoke of the possible cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in respect of the oil industry. He referred to it as 'a unique superpower swap'. This would involve American state-of-the-art oil technology being provided for the Soviet Union in order to assist in the exploration of its vast untapped resources of crude and would apply to drilling and seismic work and to production in general. The oil produced would then be available to serve the needs of both countries. The

Soviet Union is the second largest producer and the largest exporter of oil.

This proposal demonstrates the possibilities of superpower collaboration in the economic field. When those are added to the collaboration already taking place in the political and related areas it is clear that there are unlimited prospects. This is not to suggest that everything will be smooth sailing, but it all points to the development of a quite new situation, a signal of what the New World Order may bring.

An article, which appeared in an issue of *Development Forum* published by the German Foundation for International Development (DSE) In Berlin, put the matter clearly.

This development (i.e. in Eastern Europe) opens up enormous chances for Western Europe. The economies of the East can only be modernised and saved from imminent collapse if the West provides the necessary capital and technology. An effort similar to the postwar Marshall Plan is needed to help the nations of Eastern Europe to get back on their feet. For the economies in the West, a huge market would be created right at their doorsteps and this at a moment when they are just about to form a huge single market in Europe comprising 320 million consumers. No wonder that these prospects fire the imaginations of politicians and business leaders in Europe. No wonder, also, that developing countries fear that they will be left out in these rosy plans for the future.

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President Bush saw the collaboration between the Soviet Union and the West in the Gulf crisis, as 'a turning point in world history'. He said, 'Our management of the world today will determine the peacefulness of the world for decades.' He stated that a united world stand against Iraq could spell a new era of peace and prosperity.

Mikhail Gorbachev, in referring to his action in Moscow in initialing the Treaty which brought East and West Germany together said he saw this union as facilitating his desire for 'a common European home'.

On her visit to Czechoslovakia in September 1990, Mrs. Thatcher held out the prospect of membership of the European Community to many of the countries of Eastern Europe. She envisaged a Community reaching from North America to the Soviet Union, with a Magna Carta containing the principles of democracy and freedom.

For the Third World

As has been evident from the outset, the impact of events in Eastern Europe on Third World countries will inevitably be considerable. The first clear signs came as Western countries moved rapidly to grasp the unexpected and unprecedented economic and political opportunities, which seemed to be opening to them. Their readiness to pour massive resources into the Eastern European countries in the form of loans and investment capital and to promote trading and other arrangements created real fears in developing countries that this would result in a significant movement of interest and involvement away from the Third World. These possibilities were also recognised in Western countries, and some sought to reassure developing countries that relationships with them and the flow of trade and other resources in their direction would not suffer.

However, the political, cultural, and economic significance of a drawing together of Europe into a 'common home', and the greater degree of cooperation with North America as well as with Japan is enormous. The position and prospects of Third World countries will be greatly affected. There are fears that those countries, which are unable, for one reason or another, to seize the advantages,

which will come from these developments and from a revival of the economies of Eastern Europe, will be marginalised. The exploitation of such opportunities as might emerge will require alertness and a degree of sophistication, which will put countries such as Jamaica to a hard test.

But perhaps most significant for the countries of the South in the long term is the cultural aspect of the unifying of the peoples of Europe in the way already envisaged by some leaders. This could mean reinforcement of Eurocentricity and of attitudes, which developed in the centuries of European dominance in the world.

The Soviet Union and the Third World

The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in general have led to expressions from those quarters about far-reaching changes in their attitudes and policies regarding the Third World. Soviet spokesmen have conceded that a major element in their foreign policy has been the promotion of 'anti-imperialist' regimes in developing countries and ideological competition with the United States. Jamaica and the Caribbean in general experienced the full impact of this superpower rivalry in the 1970s and the 1980s. Certainly, in the case of Jamaica there were repercussions on the country's internal social and political life as well as on its relations with other countries in the region and with the United States. A major element in all this was the relationship with Cuba.

Declarations, particularly those by the Soviet Union, about major changes in attitudes and policies toward the Third World bring an altogether new situation into international affairs. The Caribbean expects to benefit from this.

Attempts to establish open political systems on democratic lines in Eastern European countries have added significantly to the pressure within many developing countries to end one-party rule in

favour of multiple party systems. A parallel situation may well be arising in the case of human rights. In the past few years the pressure from the Western world, and particularly the United States, on the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries and Cuba in respect of human rights has increased significantly. As evidence of the positive response mounts in those countries, there will no doubt be an increase in the pressure already being applied to other countries, and particularly a number of developing countries.

The Soviet Union and Jamaica

Jamaica had the opportunity of demonstrating its own readiness to move into the new era of relationships with Eastern Europe with the visit of a high level team from the Soviet Union in October 1990 which resulted in far-reaching trade agreements and other forms of economic cooperation. This as a report in the *Daily Gleaner* stated, would 'revolutionalise their narrow low-level relations, previously confined to bauxite, Lada motorcars and pimento'. The new agreement proposes the establishment of a truck assembly plant in Jamaica along with two motor mechanic training schools. The Soviet Union has also shown interest in the improvement of the Jamaica Railway Corporation and in energy generation in Jamaica.

The negotiations took place through a joint USSR/ Jamaica Commission, which involved many Ministries of Government, and private sector interests. The Agreement is expected to put the bauxite trade between Jamaica and the Soviet Union on a firmer basis.

A Joint Trade Agreement between the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry was signed and a trade delegation is expected in 1991. Its main aim

will be to interest Jamaica in a range of consumer goods produced by the Soviet Union.

One possible effect of the changes taking place in Eastern and Western Europe is that competition between those countries for trading and other opportunities across the world might bring improved terms in such matters as joint ventures.

It will be interesting to see what happens in respect of the economic cooperation programmes, including aid flows, which existed between Eastern European countries and the Third World. While these programmes were nowhere as large as those involving Western Europe were, they had their own significance. But they are likely to be affected both by considerations of the economic circumstances of Eastern Europe and the ideological change.

Emigration from Western Europe

Developments in Eastern Europe are having and will continue to have a considerable impact on labour and the movement of peoples. As those countries move towards a market economy, large numbers of workers who had been employed over and above real labour requirements have been losing their jobs. In fact, one of the consequences of the changes is that large numbers of Vietnamese who had been working in Eastern Europe have been sent back to their country.

Because of this, as well as other economic difficulties in much of Eastern Europe, many people will wish to move in order to obtain jobs and improved standards of living in Western Europe and countries such as the United States of America. The growing movement of people from the South, especially from Africa, to Europe for jobs, a movement which has in many instances drawn sharp reactions from racist elements in the European countries to

which they go, could be curbed by the availability of Eastern European labour.

A particularly troubling possibility, and one which came into the news in the early stages of the break-down of the political systems in Eastern Europe, was that many persons from those countries wished to migrate to South Africa. In fact, the South African authorities showed a very real interest in this prospect. This could do nothing but aggravate the already dangerous situation in that country.

Another result of the changes is the opening of doors for Jewish emigration. Large numbers of Eastern European and Russian Jews are going, and presumably will continue to go, to Israel. Towards the end of 1990 the migration to Israel reached the level of one thousand a day and it was anticipated that, at that rate, by the end of 1992 something like one million would have arrived.

Whatever the benefits of this may be, it will clearly add a further complication to the already critical situation in the Middle East. To the extent that the Israeli authorities see this immigration as a means of reinforcing not only their population numbers but also their hold on the occupied territories, only tragedy can follow. Palestinians have been in despair about this new development. There does not seem to be much that the world can do, but the US Government at the end of October 1990 held up the delivery of a very large amount of aid promised to Israel for the settlement of Soviet Jews, seeking assurances that they would not be settled in the occupied territories. It was reported that President Bush regarded the Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip as an obstacle to peace. Ninety thousand Jews are living among 1.75 million Palestinians who continue to wage a revolt already more than three years old.

It is interesting to note that the movement of Ethiopian Jews to Israel is reported to have started once more and they were expected to arrive at about the rate of one thousand a month, starting in January 1991.

The Far East

In the Far East, the rapprochement between West and East and the unification of Germany are having some effect on the divided Korean peoples. Pressures for improvement in the relations between North and South Korea, and even for reunification, have increased, and high level meetings have been taking place.

The Vietnamese situation, long a very difficult one, is also benefiting from the disappearance of the Iron Curtain. Steps towards improvement in the relationships, between Vietnam and the United States of America in particular are well advanced. And there is hope that with the assistance of the United Nations the long drawn out civil war in Cambodia may come to an end. Vietnam's desire for rapprochement with the United States, the West, and with the ASEAN countries has certainly been influenced by the reduction in aid funding from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries.

The situation in China is of a different order. No doubt as a part of the same phenomenon, the same wave, the same popular feelings which are evident all over the world, Chinese students sought by peaceful demonstrations to bring about a major change in the political system and processes of that country. The tragic ending of that demonstration in Peking's Tiananmen Square, which so affected all the world has put a stop for the time being to the pro-democracy movement in China.

The Cuban Situation

Of most particular significance to Jamaica is the situation of Cuba in the face of these developments. For thirty years, and particularly since the Cuban missile crisis of 1961, the Caribbean was deeply affected by the Cuban presence and ideology, and that country's relationship with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These, and the very strong reactions to them by the United States, has been a most powerful influence not only in Jamaica and other English-speaking Caribbean countries, but also throughout Latin America. In recent times, many Latin American countries have returned to cordial relations with Cuba, but some of them appeared to be retaining a cautious attitude in this matter.

The events in Eastern Europe and the growing rapprochement between East and West have left Cuba in a somewhat awkward position.

The Caribbean, the United States, Latin America and the world in general have waited with considerable interest to see what would happen in Cuba following the sweeping changes and the popular feeling in the Eastern European countries. President Castro's first response was that the revolution would be maintained at all costs, even if every other communist country abandoned the ideology. In the early stages of the great change, a few Cuban citizens sought asylum in the embassies of Spain and Czechoslovakia, and while this created some embarrassment it did not develop into a mass movement of people as had happened elsewhere.

While there are those who confidently predict that the regime in Cuba will be swept away by mass feeling and action, there are others who argue that Fidel Castro, who led the revolution, still remains leader and has considerable popular support. In their view, it would therefore take some time before popular feeling developed to the point of seriously threatening the regime.

Nevertheless, Cuba is inevitably going to face increasing hardships as Soviet aid and supplies of oil are reduced and Cuba's trade with Eastern Europe runs into difficulty, if only because of the hardships which those countries themselves are experiencing.

It will be interesting to see what attitude the United States authorities take as the Cuban situation develops, and what influence that attitude will have on Jamaica's position and on that of other Caribbean countries. Jamaica broke off relations with Cuba early in the 1980s but resumed diplomatic relations, in the summer of 1990 in the midst of the speculation about the effect that developments in Eastern Europe would have on that country. A resident ambassador took up his post in Kingston.

Cuba has been taking very active steps towards building up its tourist trade. Its success in this direction will bring a new dimension to the industry in the Caribbean, and its recent admission to membership of the Caribbean Tourist Organisation will bring it closer in that sphere to other countries in the region. The question is whether in this as well as in some other matters, Cuba will prove to be a major competitor, to the disadvantage of English-speaking Caribbean interests.

The *Barbados Advocate* in July 1990 suggested that the result of Cuba's full entry into the tourist industry in the region would be empty hotel rooms and reduced tourist dollars in many West Indian islands. The paper argued that the Caribbean countries should not welcome Cuba into the Caribbean Tourist Organisation and other regional organisations until they were certain that that country would not use its membership of these organisations to subvert them and to try to spread the gospel of Communism. It also argued that if the United States were to begin to take Cuban sugar the quota for the CARICOM countries would disappear.

These are rather extreme views. Cuba's existence in the region is a fact of life. It cannot be wished away. The Caribbean countries, in the view of many, have benefited from the restrictions imposed over the years on that country. But the realities are coming home to Jamaica and the CARICOM countries, and they have to be faced. If it is a case of competition, whether in respect of tourism or sugar or anything else, Caribbean countries must gear themselves for competition. At the same time they must look for opportunities to cooperate with a Cuba emerging from this isolation. Other territories in the region are doing so, and the English-speaking countries will be left out if they do not find a way of moving with the new currents.

The announcement in December 1990 by Mr. John Issa that the Superclubs chain of hotels in Jamaica was opening a two hundred and fifty room hotel in Cuba early in 1991 in anticipation of that country's emergence as one of the major tourist destinations in the Caribbean was therefore particularly interesting. What is more, at about the same time, charter flights between Cuba and Jamaica were instituted in order to transport visitors between the two countries.

Cuba's situation is clearly in some respects quite different from that of the Eastern European countries. But whatever the positive factors, would have made Cuba less prone to the immediate rush of popular feeling of the kind which resulted in the overthrow of governments in those countries, it is inevitable that change must come. The pressures, both internal and external, will increase. The forces, which have affected Eastern Europe so deeply, are evident elsewhere in the world. Indeed, reports in October 1990 stated that the Cuban Vice President had announced that a dialogue has been opened with moderate exile groups about a transition of the country to democracy. According to the report, Carlos Raphael Rodrigues' words were broadcast after a coalition of these exiles

publicly invited discussions aimed at democratising the Communist nation.

President Fidel Castro may indeed be moving on a track of 'rectification' - his own version of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Reports in November stated that Cuba was keenly wooing new investors and traders, especially from Western Europe and Latin America. It must be noted that COMECON countries accounted in the past for 70% of Cuba's trade. Observers feel that the country has significant trade and investment potential but recognise the difficulties, including what are seen as the political risks involved. But according to the Cuban Chamber of Commerce, while the country will offer flexible and generous terms to interests from outside, it would not abandon its centrally planned socialist economy.

The changes in Eastern Europe are the outcome of an accumulation of feeling expressing itself in a demand for sweeping changes in the existing political ideology and economic systems. The consequences of all this are reaching out to many other parts of the world and will inevitably be felt in the Caribbean.

For the CARICOM countries, the proximity to Cuba has been a critical factor, as was so evident in the 1970s and 1980s. They now face the delicate task of moving to a new and positive relationship with Cuba, one which takes account of the political realities including the position still maintained by the US in respect of that country.

The Gulf Crisis

The Annexation of Kuwait

The dramatic and far-reaching events in Eastern and Western Europe are of such magnitude and have such considerable implications that they would have been enough to keep the world, and Jamaica along with it, fully occupied for some time in analysis and speculation and in sheer curiosity. But there was more to come.

Even in this age of surprises when almost every day some new development occurs, the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq stood out, drawing much of the attention of the world away from Europe. Iraq's actions brought the danger of a Middle East conflagration with repercussions far beyond that region. In addition, the seizure of Kuwait and its oil fields resulted in a steep rise in the price of oil, and this delivered a shock to the global economy, putting Jamaica and great many other countries into economic disarray.

As a result of the invasion, the United States of America, along with a number of other countries, built up a large military presence in the Gulf area, particularly in Saudi Arabia. The situation has been unique by reason of the fact that the Soviet Union has stood shoulder to shoulder with the United States and other Western countries in their determination to oppose Saddam Hussein, the President of Iraq. Had such an event taken place just a few short years ago, the situation would have been very different indeed. As a long-standing friend of Iraq and in an adversarial position vis a vis the United States and others in respect of Middle Eastern affairs, the Soviet Union could well have been on the other side. In 1990, however, for the first time in the postwar years, the two superpowers joined to form a solid front in opposition to an aggressor.

The Soviet Union voted positively on the Security Council resolutions, but has sought to play a diplomatic role designed to achieve a peaceful settlement while at the same time not mincing words about its opposition to the action of Iraq and its determination to see the reversal of the take-over of Kuwait.

The New World Order

The united stance of the Soviet Union and the United States of America in this matter led President Bush to make the most far-reaching statements. In an address to Congress in September 1990, he spoke of the emergence of 'a new partnership of nations, which stood aligned against Iraq's occupation of Kuwait'. He continued: 'We stand at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, is a rare opportunity to move towards an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, a new world order can emerge, a new era - freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, east and west, north and south, can prosper and live in harmony.' He spoke further of 'a world quite different from the one we have known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognise the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak. This is the vision I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki.'

This extraordinary statement demonstrates the impact of the developments, which have been taking place, embracing those in Europe - both East and West - and in the Gulf.

In the months following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait the world turned to the United Nations. The Security Council held a large number of meetings on this crisis and approved more than twelve resolutions

condemning the action of Iraq, calling for its withdrawal from Kuwait, opening the way to the use of force by the United States and other countries.

In the face of the forces opposing him, Saddam Hussein held the large number of Westerners in Iraq and Kuwait hostage, in order to use them as a human shield against attack. This caused great distress and anger. Their sudden release later stunned the world.

As the coalition countries built up forces in the Gulf area a procession of prominent personalities, some current, some former leaders, traveled to Baghdad in search of a peaceful solution to the crisis, or in hope of obtaining the release of some of the hostages.

Then, on 16 January 1991, after the expiration of the deadline set by the UN Security Council for the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, the allied forces went to war - the first major conflict of the post Cold War era.

Impact on the World in General

I can only give here a brief summary of some of the considerable implications of this war. For the world to be brought back to such a juncture has been a matter of deep disappointment, the more so since the hopes for peace had been considerably boosted by the ending of the Cold War.

This explains the persistence of the peace movement, and the demonstrations against war, which have been held, particularly in the Western World.

The vast financial and other resources being consumed by the war represent a bitter irony as the world seeks to muster the will and the resources to tackle more purposefully the problem of growing poverty, the critical situation of Africa, the suffering of tens of

millions of children, the dangers posed by the continuing degradation of the environment, and the spread Of AIDS across the globe.

Developing countries are the main losers by way of this diversion of resources. Moreover, there has been talk of a Marshall type plan for the reconstruction of the Gulf region at the end of hostilities.

The world faces an escalation of what are labeled 'terrorist' incidents inspired, It is assumed, by the call by Saddam Hussein for attacks on the interests of the members of the coalition. As a result, extraordinary security measures have had to be instituted by these countries. The truth is that war can no longer be defined in conventional terms. The weak will seek their own ways of striking back no matter what the judgement may be concerning those methods.

There is the sobering fact that weapons and other devices sold to Iraq by Western states and the USSR might well be used against the coalition forces. These sales amounted to an estimated US\$6 billion between 1983 and 1988.

The technological sophistication of the weapons and other devices being used in the conflict has led to it being characterised as the 'Nintendo war'. Related to this is the US call for restrictions, which it is hoped would also be applied by its allies, on the export of chemical and biological materials and missile technologies to Third World countries. The fear of proliferation of nuclear and biological weapons, including missiles, is very real. It was also reported in the *New York Times* of 21 January 1991 that some experts now warn that establishing new restrictions on so-called North-South trade between industrial and developing countries would heighten mistrust of the West among emerging countries. The restrictions would apply to some dual-purpose technologies with both military and commercial applications, for example,

computer systems and software, and technologies for increasing agricultural yields. In February 1991, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada called for a global summit to stem the flow of high technology arms and weapons of mass destruction to countries such as Iraq. He plans to propose this to the UN Secretary General and to ask for further follow-up meetings.

In addition to all this, deep concern has been expressed about the possibility of a major ecological disaster resulting from use of chemical or nuclear weapons or by way of damage to oil installations. In fact, a major oil spill has occurred, with each side accusing the other of being responsible.

Impact on Foreign Workers

The opportunities offered by the presence of oil in the Gulf area meant that, over a long period, hundreds of thousands of people arrived from Asia, Europe and elsewhere - including skilled workers and professionals. In some instances the immigrant populations seemed likely to outnumber the host citizens. A long-term problem was taking shape, in any event, centering around the civil and political rights of these workers and their families. But their sudden departure as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait created a major refugee problem, entailed much suffering and also left great nervousness and sensitivity. People from Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Vietnam and other developing countries, as well as from the West, rushed to escape as the prospect of war loomed, and as the Iraqi forces took over, literally crushing Kuwait. How many would wish to return when things calm down is a matter for speculation. The attractions are great, but so are the dangers. And, in general, a consciousness of the instability of the region will remain.

Most of the refugees lost their employment and their property, while their families abroad lost the massive remittances sent to

them by the estimated half a million workers. The home countries now face the terrible problem of receiving and resettling these workers. Most of these countries already have critical unemployment problems and will be faced with serious difficulties with the return flow.

We can imagine what would happen to Jamaica if large numbers of past emigrants were suddenly forced to return. Indeed, the return of Jamaicans in the 1930s, the years of the great depression in the United States, is regarded as being one of the factors in the upheavals of that period.

The UN and the Crisis

The UN was regarded in the earlier stages of the Gulf crisis as having come back to centre stage, especially in respect of the area of international peace and security. The organisation was seen by the US, the Soviet Union and others as showing its ability to occupy that position in world affairs for which it was originally intended.

But as the war has proceeded there has been growing doubt in some quarters. Feelings have been expressed that the UN was coerced into giving a license to the US and its allies to wage unlimited war on Iraq or that the attacks have gone beyond what was implied or intended in the Council's resolution.

These feelings have been sharpened by the effects of the heavy bombardment by allied forces and the seeming reluctance on the part of the Council to meet, once the war had started. When it did meet the session, at the insistence of the US and others, was a closed one.

In considering these views, and there are of course many who support the UN in this situation, it is well to recognise that that

organisation is not an independent entity, capable of making its own decisions but an intergovernmental body in which decisions are made by its members. The Security Council's resolutions were approved by a majority of the fifteen members of that body. But, of course, this is not to deny the possibilities of the exercise of influence or of pressure on members.

The West and the War

While the coalition partners in the Western world have in general maintained their solidarity and their support, there are signs of uneasiness. These have become more evident as the intensive bombing of Iraq has continued and as news reports speak increasingly of civilian casualties. The launching of the ground assault by the allied forces would lead to increased casualties adding to the concern in the countries of the alliance and giving greater impetus to the anti-war movement.

It appears that the position of the European Community has been significantly affected by the conflict. A sharp comment on this was made in the New York Times of 25 January 1991 by Craig Whitney who stated that the Gulf war has halted the momentum toward political unity in Europe, breathed new life into the special relationship between the United States and Britain, and raised widespread concern about pacifism in Germany. Basing his article on the views of diplomats, Government officials and strategic experts in London, he stated that the EC is seen as virtually irrelevant in this crisis. He quoted the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, which now occupies the Presidency of the EC, as stating that the political insignificance of Europe has been shown up by the war - and also by the Belgian Foreign Minister's comment to the effect that 'Europe is an economic giant, a political dwarf and a military worm'.

Impact on the Region

The Persian Gulf and the Middle East has been for a very long time a most sensitive region. There has been a lengthy history of tension and conflict in which Western powers have been involved. In fact, the story goes at least as far back as the Crusades, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Those wars to preserve the Holy Places of the Christian religion and to protect the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre were in their time Holy Wars. Today Saddam Hussein calls on the Believers to fight a Holy War against the Western countries - 'the infidels'- and the United States in particular, who have dared to send their armies to the Gulf area.

The persistence of the concept of a Christian Holy War is demonstrated by the fact that Christopher Columbus seems to have had ambitions about the use of the gold he had discovered in the New World to finance an army which would free Jerusalem - an idea which was supported by Queen Isabella of Castile but which failed to materialise.⁴

In more recent times there have been many other factors apart from religious differences affecting that area. These include the creation of the State of Israel, the tension between Arab and Israeli populations leading to open war on a number of occasions, the dispossession of the Palestinians, their persistent demand for a country of their own, and the rise of Islamic Fundamentalism.

There has been continuing superpower interest in the region as well as interest on the part of other Western powers, based both on the large oil resources there and on other geopolitical considerations. All these factors constitute a most complex situation, and one, which has been greatly aggravated by Saddam Hussein's annexation of Kuwait.

For the countries of the Gulf region, the Middle East and the neighbouring area, the impact of the crisis has been considerable. It has resulted in deep divisions in the Arab world with some supporting Saddam Hussein while others have actually joined the coalition against Iraq. As the war has proceeded, however, and as the impact of the continuous bombing has been more devastating, popular feeling against the action of the US-led group has risen - in some countries of the coalition as well - as has a persistent call for an Arab solution.

The Palestinians have found themselves forced by their situation to support Iraq, the unacceptable alternative being to favour a coalition, which, in effect, includes Israel. As a result, the Palestinians have lost ground in the West, which they had gained in the recent past.

The missile attacks directed at Israel by Iraq constitute an attempt to draw that country into open war. But Israel has curbed the strong natural and justifiable urge to strike back in deference to the Western view that this could endanger the coalition as far as Arab countries involved are concerned.

The war has resulted in massive destruction with Kuwait first being visited by devastation and death and then Iraq, as the allied forces struck. These events, the public demonstrations and the application of the techniques of continuous news casting by satellite must bring fundamental changes to the region. This was tersely put by the Minister of Information in Bahrain who stated that he believes that the new sense of openness would be translated into increased popular participation in government decision-making in the Gulf which is ruled by hereditary royal families. 'There is no way you can go back once you give the people something you can't take back. You've given them participation in public thinking and in thinking on what's good for the country.' (Jamaica Record, 4 February 1991)

There are other major considerations in respect of the future. It is possible that instability in the Gulf area will continue for a long time. So sudden was the action of Iraq, even though there were signs that trouble was coming, that it confirms the fears which had always been present that the area is in danger of serious upheaval.

These fears stem from a number of causes, one of the main ones being the Palestinian question. Saddam Hussein, in answer to the charges made against him, has tried to link the Palestinian question with that of Kuwait. In his view, a view shared by many, including some who do not support his action, the Western countries have been inconsistent in moving so quickly, both in the UN and on the ground, against the annexation of Kuwait, while they failed to do more than pass resolutions and make critical remarks concerning Israel's virtual annexation of the territories it occupied as a result of war. Unless a satisfactory way can be found of settling the question of the Palestinians, a settlement which would take into account the interests of Israel and its need for security while at the same time satisfying the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, instability will remain a major feature of that area, continuing to pose dangers to international peace and security.

The Gulf crisis has created pressure, evident in some Western countries and elsewhere, for more purposeful attempts to resolve the Palestinian Issue. The terrible danger in that situation was described by Israel's Defense Minister, Moshe Arenz, when he stated that a reservoir of hatred had been created between the Israelis and Palestinians, which will make any reconciliation extremely difficult in the near future.

The Impact on Jamaica

Jamaica has been deeply affected by the Gulf crisis and the ensuing war. The issues involved have been the subject of wide

coverage on television, on radio and in the newspapers. Much has been said in radio call-in programmes and in meetings held on the subject of the crisis. People have expressed deep concern about and even opposition to the expedition led by the US and has called for an end to the war. However, Professor Carl Stone's poll, the results of which were published at the end of January, 1991, showed that 71% of Jamaicans were in support of the US and her allies, 4% supported Saddam Hussein and 25% were opposed to the war. (*Daily Gleaner*, 30 January 1991).

The Government of Jamaica has given full support to the decisions taken by the UN Security Council. The reasons given by the Prime Minister Manley in a statement to Parliament on 9 January 1991, shortly before the coalition went to war, were:

1. Support for the right of all countries to be secure within their borders;
2. Jamaica's self-interest as a small country without the means to effectively defend itself, and therefore dependent for its security on acceptance by the international community of this basic principle.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, the Hon. David Coore, expressed the view that the crisis would undoubtedly set back the evolution towards a new order in international affairs created by the ending of the Cold War.

In an attempt to achieve full focus on the possible effects of the Gulf crisis on Jamaica, a number of steps were taken. These included the establishment of a Cabinet sub-committee, a task force, and a bipartisan approach involving the Opposition Jamaica Labour Party. Meetings were held by the Prime Minister with representatives of churches, the private sector and other interest groups as well as with diplomatic representatives of other countries in Jamaica. Contingency plans were announced to deal with anticipated problems, and Jamaicans were urged to recognise that

since there was absolutely no shortage of petrol, of kerosene, diesel oil, imported food and drugs there was no need for the panic buying which was becoming evident.

Perhaps the deepest concern has centred around the possibility of steep increases in the price of oil. In fact, immediately following the annexation of Kuwait, oil prices rose very sharply and Jamaica and other countries dependent on imported oil supplies were seriously affected. It was felt that the Jamaican economy could be virtually ruined, as the country would find itself unable to meet the foreign exchange costs for oil and other obligations, including various imports and debt payments.

Steps were taken in an effort to secure adequate supplies of oil. Discussions were held by Prime Minister Manley with the President of Venezuela and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, concerning assistance expected from those countries. At the same time, the Government announced that it was considering the granting of incentives for energy conservation and the use of alternative energy sources. The utility company, the Jamaica Public Service Company, stepped up its energy conservation campaign.

The outbreak of open war involving the allied forces did not bring the large increases in oil prices, which had been anticipated. In fact, prices have been lower and have tended on the whole to decrease a far different situation from that which obtained at the outset of the crisis. The cost then doubled, resulting in considerable price increases in a wide range of products and services. There have been deep differences in international circles on the question of what would ultimately happen to oil prices. OPEC countries stated in mid-1990 that some members had increased their output to make up for the loss of supplies from Iraq and Kuwait due to the application of the sanctions approved by the UN Security Council. Since Western countries continued to maintain large stocks of oil,

it was argued that there would be a major oil glut when the Gulf crisis was eventually resolved, with the inevitable collapse of prices. Some time later, the International Energy Agency instituted a programme to release regular supplies of oil from the reserves. This must have had a significant effect on prices.

Jamaica suffered very damaging effects from the oil shocks of the early and late 1970s but that experience did not lead to the full implementation of policies proposed to encourage the conservation of energy, economies in the use of oil, and the use, as far as possible, of alternative sources of energy.

A New York Times report made telling comment that the increase in oil prices will create greater hardships in a large number of Third World countries - even greater than those suffered in the 1970s because their economies are in far worse shape than they were at that time. This was attributed to poor performance in trade, the burden of debt and the fall in commodity prices.

Jamaica and other Caribbean countries dependent on imported oil supplies face a double hazard in this respect. For the risk of continuing instability in the oil market and the possibility of significantly higher prices come at a time when the economies of the United States and Canada are in recession. This, along with the crisis in the Gulf and the fears generated by threats of terrorist action, has resulted in a decline in the number of visitors coming to the Caribbean. A serious shortfall in foreign exchange receipts from tourism in combination with the significant increases in the foreign exchange requirements for the importation of oil would deal a crippling blow to the economies of these countries. It is in this context that *A Daily Gleaner* editorial pointed out that 'the consequences will not only be at the economic level but will be socially disastrous for the country'.

A decision was taken at the International Monetary Fund to the effect that provision should be made for additional loans to countries requiring assistance to help them overcome the problems created by the oil crisis. Jamaica is hoping to receive assistance from this new facility. The lesson is clear. Energy is the life-blood of the economies of the countries of the world, whether rich or poor. The Gulf crisis has served to force this once more upon our attention. It remains to be seen whether, on this occasion, Jamaica follows through with the far-reaching recommendations which have been made concerning energy and with the implementation of the energy plan which was drawn up following the 1979 oil shock.

News reports in February spoke of critical problems arising from a chronic shortage of foreign exchange and stated that this would possibly result in the restructuring of some businesses and the lay-off of workers.

On the question of food supplies, the Government's emergency food production programme was expected to make an important contribution in the event that the Gulf crisis resulted in some shortages. In addition, Jamaicans have been encouraged to start their own food production drive and this, it is suggested, would include backyard production by householders.

In the face of information to the effect that there was a number of Jamaicans in the Gulf region, the Government called on relatives of such persons to register their names at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This would allow the authorities to take whatever appropriate action might become necessary.

Finally, the Gulf crisis has resulted in some reaction from Jamaicans whose roots go back to the Middle East. It is a measure of the very deep feelings generated by the crisis that it has elicited more open statements from that section of the Jamaican community than other turbulent events of the region in the past.

Jamaicans, of whatever origin, have managed over the decades not to 'import' the continuing Middle East crisis into community and political affairs. But one should not, by reason of that, underestimate the strong feelings, which exist – feelings, which can only become even stronger in the face of events in the Gulf region.

A New World Order and Whose?

The statements made by Western leaders about the emergence of a New World Order have been inspired to a great extent, by the major occurrences discussed here. But the vision presented by those leaders is, frankly, largely the product of Western experience and Western aspirations. The reference to 'a common vision of the world and a common heritage of values' shared by these countries indicates this clearly. It is well, however, to understand that there are other currents, other movements of a fundamental and far-reaching nature which are bringing major changes in the world and in the relations between peoples - in short, in the world order.

A World at Peace?

An essential requirement in any such order is peace. This holds for the people of Jamaica as well as for the rest of the world.

It cannot be said that we have been living in a peaceful world. War is not a new phenomenon at all. However, the Second World War, with its global scope, demonstrated the worst aspects of such conflicts in the destruction and the loss of life which resulted. True, there has been no world war over the past forty-five years. Nonetheless, many conflicts have taken place in that time, most of them in Third World countries, but often with the close interest or involvement of outside powers, and with weapons provided by them. Millions have died in these wars. In 1990, although a number of wars came to an end, as many as thirty-eight conflicts, mostly civil wars were in progress in different parts of the world. And now, the situation, which has arisen in the Gulf, has once again brought the world back to the reality of a multi-national war.

We must understand the complex requirements for a peaceful world. Jamaica has had to face the awful reality of internal conflict and death, brought about by a mixture of fanatical emotions,

sharply opposed views, a growing tendency to resort to violence - all this in the context of the availability of weapons of war.

The observations of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, on the requirements for international understanding and peace and the obstacles to achieving this apply, in part, to our own community.

Obstacles to understanding are created by a variety of factors - lingering racial and cultural prejudices, wrong perceptions of national interests, stubborn adherence to certain positions for fear of losing popularity or influence, and the domination of vested interests - to name only a few. International understanding requires a great deal of empathy, appreciation of the sources of insecurity of nations and also their legitimate aspirations. It is only on the basis of such empathy that a conscious effort can be made to reconcile differences, avoid needless collisions, and resolve conflicts.

The phrase, which described the aspirations and hopes of the world when it seemed that peace was on its way, was 'the peace dividend'. This phrase expressed the many benefits, emotional, psychological and material, which could come were we truly to enter a period of peace in the world. But the Gulf conflict has postponed realisation of the peace dividend.

How secure can peace be in a world, which is stocked with a massive quantity of armaments of all sorts, including nuclear weapons? Certainly, the ending of the Cold War will inevitably accelerate the process of disarmament, especially for the two superpowers. But the countless smaller weapons, including assault weapons, could present a very special problem. Inevitably, some of them will end up in the possession of arms merchants, who are responsible for a great part of the weapons trade. There will be many willing buyers, including governments and private individuals, especially if the prices fall significantly.

It is worth noting that in some quarters there is great concern that the end of the Cold War and of the threat of hostilities between the superpowers could well increase significantly the possibilities of conflict elsewhere. As the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (RISCT) in London has pointed out, particularly in reference to nuclear, chemical and biological weapons:

Extreme nationalist groups and small nation states could pose a major threat to global security through the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, joining a number of customers in the Middle East and the Third World.

Throughout the years during which so many people have dedicated themselves to the purposes of achieving general disarmament in the world, one of the hopes has been that some of the massive resources being devoted to the production of armaments would be diverted into development, with the Third World countries benefiting greatly. But the Gulf conflict, of course, has severely affected all hopes of extensive disarmament.

For Jamaica, all of this has very special implications. These relate both to the whole issue of security in the Caribbean, an issue which has no doubt led to the strengthening of Jamaica's defense establishment over the years, and to the internal situation where the illegal inflow of weapons, including sophisticated assault weapons, has caused such great problems.

Clearly some of the energies which have been devoted to promoting disarmament should now be turned towards preventing the illegal flow of arms into the possession of individuals, many of whom are fighting no wars of liberation but merely using such weapons for robbery or murder. Jamaica, it is all too clear, is greatly in need of an effective internal disarmament programme.

If there is to be a new order in the world it will surely have to be based on the achievement of peace for the whole world. Twin requirements for such a peace are development and disarmament. Development, as the world was told by Pope Paul VI, is the new name for peace. It is the foundation without which there will be no lasting peace between peoples and between nations. The existence of widespread poverty in the world is a constant source of potential conflict.

And it is appropriate also to recall in this context the opening words of the Charter of UNESCO: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.'

These are lessons that Jamaica must take to heart.

World Movements

Four movements overlap in the sphere of world affairs: first, multilateralism, along with the process of globalisation - bringing the world together and viewing much of human affairs in global terms, requiring global attitudes, global approaches and global solutions, but hopefully supported by action at the regional and the national levels; second, the original integration movements, and the new regionalism, bringing groups of countries together into trading blocs; third, the establishment of special relationships such as the CBI, the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, and the Lome Agreement, between a number of developing countries and one industrialised country or group of countries; fourth, the search by particular peoples for separate statehood - the separatist movement.

We in Jamaica will have to understand the implications of all this. Already our association with other Caribbean countries in a closer community requires greater attention from us, greater knowledge

and sensitivity in respect of the peoples of the other countries, and the sacrifice of some elements of sovereignty.

From the Nation State to Globalisation

For a long period of history the conduct of international affairs has been based on the acceptance of the nation state as the primary actor on the world's stage. The Charter of the United Nations confirms this - and membership of that body is confined to such states. Developing countries, and in particular those which achieved independence in the years following the Second World War, saw the move to nationhood and the claim to sovereignty as their ultimate aspiration.

The multilateral system, forming links and associations among nations, with the United Nations as its main foundation, has been for nearly half a century a most powerful and influential factor in human affairs. Without the United Nations the world would have been a very different place. Certainly the process of decolonisation, which resulted in over one hundred former colonies achieving independence, would have been more difficult and more prolonged. In addition, those newly independent countries would have had little chance of participating actively in international affairs and influencing them.

The UN has brought the world together in a system of cooperation in the interest of peace, security and development. Both its achievements and failures, in large part, have resulted from the actions or inaction of the member countries. It can be said truly that the UN has symbolised the movement toward the achievement of a world order based - as the Charter states - on 'faith in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, in equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small'.

If there is to be a New World Order, one of the critical questions is: What role is the UN to play in this? First, it seems, it will have to hold the balance between the Western powers led by the US, which has assumed even greater power in the global sphere, and the rest of the world - a requirement the more critical since there are those who seem to envisage a New World Order based on the perceptions and interests of the Western Powers and presided over by them.

The United Nations will have to help in the painful processes involved in the transitions in Eastern Europe, and in the countries in Africa and elsewhere which are seeking to adopt new political and economic systems.

A number of issues, not necessarily new, have now come to the top of the global agenda, or have remained there, and the UN must find the means to play a significant role in dealing with them. Among these are the tensions and conflicts arising from nationalist and ethnic differences and the separatist movements involved in some cases; the need to strengthen understanding of the value of cultural diversity, and to conserve it; the new urgency in respect of dangers to the global environment; the drug crisis; the devastating spread Of AIDS the phenomenon of globalisation; and, of course, increasing poverty and the widening gap between developed and industrialised countries.

To meet these responsibilities, to be an effective instrument in the search for a New World Order the UN, and that really means the member countries, must insist on a far more rigorous process in the selection of those who will head its major agencies and programmes.

It should be recognised that if the UN did not exist we could not now invent it. There would never be agreement.

Running parallel to the UN system are the non-governmental organisations with a global reach, representing a variety of interests - business, political, professional, academic, trade union, religious, and others. In addition, to an increasing degree, world trade, finance and other activities such as travel, communications and information are becoming globalised, reaching well outside the jurisdiction or even the adequate scrutiny, of national official bodies.

The revolution in technology, particularly in the area of communications, and the increasing movement of people for vacation or other purposes has contributed to the development of 'the global village' - the concept of one world, one human family. An aspect of this is the trend toward an increasing standardisation of tastes, of products, of cultural expressions, notably in the case of popular music. The appearance and popularity of American-type fast foods, and the firms that produce them, in places such as Japan, China, and for that matter, France, are a measure of the degree of standardisation, or what is now called cultural penetration, which has been taking place.

Regionalism

Regional integration, particularly for economic purposes, has been a major world development over the past few decades. Just as the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean have come together in CARICOM, so have many other countries in both North and South. The potential advantages of such integration are considerable. Among them are the economic gains, which can be derived from the free flow of goods and services in the wider community, the benefits which come from bringing people together who have much in common in cultural or other terms, and the achievement of greater security as well as greater influence.

The advance towards Europe '92 has served to stimulate action in other parts of the world. It has heightened the sense of urgency in the Commonwealth Caribbean concerning the movement towards full integration in the region. Partly in answer to Europe '92, Canada and the United States have established a free trade area, and there are plans to bring Mexico into that association. But there are other examples of this advancing tendency, which is now becoming such a major factor in world affairs.

It is evident that a number of Eastern European countries will become more and more closely associated with the European Community.

Again, during 1990, there were reports concerning the possible formation of the Pacific Rim Association, which would involve the United States, and Canada, Japan and a number of countries of Asia. Australia and New Zealand, which have already moved to establish their own free trade area, would certainly be a part of any such arrangement.

Another recent group is the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Group, formed in early 1990, and no doubt inspired by the progress towards Europe '92. That group will be holding a ministerial meeting in 1991, and they plan to invite the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong to attend.

Towards the end of 1990, Malaysia sought to persuade countries in that region to form a Southeast Asia trade bloc, starting with the ASEAN countries.

In Europe, the Pentagon Initiative is another such move intended to bring together Italy, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia for purposes of economic and cultural cooperation. As was said when it was first announced: 'The crumbling of the Berlin Wall, the overthrow of the Communist regime, and the

emergence of a united Germany make this initiative even more relevant.'

In Latin America, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay have also signed an agreement to establish a free trade zone, and Uruguay is expected to join them.

Multi-bilateralism

Another set of developments, which has taken place in recent years, would appear to contradict somewhat the regionalism movement and the multilateral or global systems.

In the 1970s especially, when most of them were newcomers in the multilateral system, developing countries sought to make major changes in the economic relationships between themselves and industrial countries in such fields as trade, investment and the transfer of technology. But the negotiations in these issues, under the title of The New International Economic Order, brought meager results.

The US policy, and that of some other industrialised countries, of dealing with separate groups of developing countries as opposed to the global approaches and negotiations of the UN system, was a deliberate response to that experience. In the face of the harsh economic circumstances of the 1980s, developing countries have accepted this change.

It should be noted that the Lome Agreement which links a large number of developing countries with the members of the European Community in a cooperation scheme, came into operation in 1973 at about the same time as the push by developing countries toward the New International Economic Order. The Lome Agreement continues in force, whereas the global negotiations at the UN have been halted for a decade.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative and the CARIBCAN arrangement were designed to set up special relationships between the developing countries of the Caribbean and the North American States of the USA and Canada respectively in the areas of trade, aid and investment. To the extent that under the CBI the Caribbean countries have been dealt with individually, that is, on a bilateral basis, by the United States, it will be interesting to see how that relationship evolves as the Caribbean countries come more closely together in CARICOM.

President Bush's proposed 'Enterprise for the Americas Initiative' represents a major extension of this approach, involving a relationship between the US, Latin America and the Caribbean. The main elements in this will be trade, investment and debt reduction, and some resources are likely to be directed toward environmental management. A team from the United States, led by a senior US official, visited the Caribbean in order to identify countries with the greatest possibilities of early implementation of provisions under the Initiative, and Jamaica was examined on that basis. At the end of the visit, the US announced that Jamaica might be an early beneficiary.

Prime Minister Manley has stated that there is no conflict involved in Jamaica entering into these bilateral arrangements under the EAI while being a member of CARICOM. It was not in Jamaica's interest, he said, to wait until the complex issues in CARICOM were worked out, and he hoped that what was being done between Jamaica and the United States could be broadened to include other countries of the region.

Separatism

At the same time that sovereignty is yielding, to some degree, to the requirements of multilateralism and the development of

regionalism, there are, in many parts of the world, communities in which people are demanding a separate identity, based on national feeling or language or religion, or other characteristics. Ethnicity, and the attitudes often surrounding it, has long been one of the most explosive forces in human affairs. In the past a number of wars as well as many communal conflicts have been waged because of such differences and the very strong feelings generated.

The list of countries, which, in varying degrees, have experienced serious upheavals arising from the presence of communities of persons with different ethnic characteristics within the population, is a long one. It includes India and Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Burma in Asia and countries such as Spain and Belgium in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of Eastern European countries such as Yugoslavia and Albania. There have been, and still are, numerous examples in Africa including Kenya, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Sudan and Liberia.

In Canada a recurring issue has been the separatist demands of the people of Quebec. It has required the greatest skill and forbearance on all sides to prevent it from leading to a virtual dismemberment of the country.

Perhaps the country in which nationalist feeling and ethnic tension are likely to have the greatest repercussions across the world is the Soviet Union. That country faces a real possibility of disintegration.

The position of the Palestinian people is a special case. Moreover, developments in the Gulf have sharpened the feelings, already very strong, which have been expressed in what has been termed 'the Islamic Revival' as well as the resurgence of Arab nationalism.

Indigenous peoples from many different parts of the world are expressing themselves more and more strongly. They are coming

together in conferences and seeking to overcome the neglect or the actual dispossession, which they have suffered.

The United Nations in the 1990s, and in the twenty-first century must face the implications of these developments. In particular it seems necessary to reexamine and redefine the concept of self-determination in the sense in which it has been used in the UN Charter. The sovereign state, inviolate in so far as its boundaries and its sovereignty are concerned, is a decreasingly valid concept. When people already in such a nation state demand the right to a separate existence, as is happening in so many places, the world will have to pay attention, and help to find adequate solutions.

Race

Many separatist movements are based on differences in race. The world is still plagued by the existence of racial prejudice and the practice of racial discrimination. This is a subject in which Jamaica should have a very strong interest. The composition of our population, the history of our country, makes this unavoidable. The expressed desire of Jamaicans is to move to a situation where the national motto, out of *Many One People*, fully applies. That stage has not yet been reached. The imperfections are obvious, but there is no doubt as to the difference between Jamaica and many other countries in this respect.

If the New World Order is to be a more peaceful one, it is most important that the techniques, the social engineering, the other devices for the gradual removal of the poison of racial and cultural prejudice from the human mind should be applied. Many people evade these issues, arguing that they are exaggerated in many cases. That may sometimes be so. But racism is a most potent factor in the relationships between people across the world, and a destructive force.

Happily, there are many very commendable efforts in place aimed at identifying and gradually removing prejudice of all kinds. One example of this is the report, tabled in July 1990 in the European Parliament, of an enquiry, which it had commissioned into racism and xenophobia in Europe. None of the countries involved has come out well on this examination, and it is an acknowledged fact that the increased migration to Europe - first from the countries in the south of that continent, and then increasingly from developing countries - has led to an increase in racism in many European states. It is hoped that action will follow.

As the countries of Eastern and Western Europe move closer together on the basis of the logic of their cultural similarities and the economic advantages to be gained, it is imperative that they develop in that 'common European home' a deepening understanding and respect for peoples of other cultures and races. Fortunately there are those in Europe who are aware of the danger of a rise in Eurocentricity.

The truth is that there is hardly a country or region in the world which is free from the taint of racism and cultural Prejudice. The world has South Africa as the clearest example of racial prejudice in its most vicious form. A strong movement towards the eradication of the Apartheid system is under way, but major elements of that system remain. It is difficult to imagine that they could continue for much longer.

President de Klerk has announced that he will put before parliament proposals for the abolition of the remaining legal foundations of Apartheid - the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act. But there have been few practical steps involving changes in the situation on the ground and justifying the easing of sanctions. However, it will require great skill to maintain stability in that country in the years that follow. A measure of the complexity of the phenomenon of ethnic and racial

feeling and the conflicts to which they can give rise is the continuing 'Black on Black' fighting in South Africa as rival groups clash at the same time that White extremists are stepping up their attacks in opposition to the Government's actions.

The disappearance of Apartheid will leave exposed to harsher light the continued manifestations of cultural and racial prejudice elsewhere. It will underline the great need for the world to face these issues, including problems of open ethnic conflict, and to find the means of bringing peace and harmony to the people involved. These conflicts could become the main sources of trouble in world affairs, as other forms of confrontation and conflict diminish.

As we contemplate the new order in world affairs, therefore, the question again arises - a new order for whom? For there is much that needs to be done if such a new order is to embrace the interests and aspirations of all the peoples of the world.

'People Action'

Migration and Population

Ordinary people are taking action in many ways. One is by way of migration. This is by no means a new phenomenon but it has been taking on a new impetus and new forms. Such migrations take place legally, if that is possible, or illegally, if there are barriers of one kind or another in the way. For example, following the waves of persons who went from Southern Europe to the more affluent countries of the North as the economies of the latter grew rapidly in the past thirty or forty years, more and more people have been coming in from outside Europe, from Africa and elsewhere.

Migration from the South to the North, from the poorer to the more affluent countries is also evident in North America where people

from Asia, Latin America and from the Caribbean are going in increasing numbers and finding ways around regulations if they are barred by official requirements. The brain drain continues to take large numbers of people from developing to industrialised countries.

But people move for other reasons - because of oppression or hunger or other forms of deprivation, and especially because of war. So the world is faced with a massive problem of refugees, with Africa having the largest number. The total number of war refugees worldwide is now in the vicinity of twenty million.

As I said earlier, the upheavals taking place, in particular in Eastern Europe, and the Gulf crisis, have resulted in a considerable movement of people. Fears have been expressed that millions will wish to join the movement from Eastern Europe to the West. Then there are those who are interested in migrating to South Africa, or to Israel. Each of these movements has considerable implications. The relevant fact is the major imbalance in population numbers between the rich and poor countries of the world. The people of Europe in the days of their poverty and hardship migrated in vast numbers to the North American continent, Australia and South America. There are no longer opportunities available for settlement on that scale.

Today, the industrialised countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe, form a decreasing proportion of the total world population. Most of the world's population is located in the South, where it is increasing at a much faster rate than in the North. This has many implications. One of them is that, in spite of major changes in technology, there will be a continuing increase in the demand for labour in the industrialised countries, and there will be a tendency for people to continue to move into those areas looking for opportunity.

In recent years, in the face of immigration from Jamaica and other countries, Britain has come to accept that it is now a multiracial community. Many countries of the Western world, to varying degrees, are being faced with this reality. Only the most drastic action could stem these developments. The world of the future will reflect the results of this gradual mixing of people, already increasingly evident in the United States.

Informal and Non-Governmental Activities

But there are other forms of 'people action'. In Jamaica there are the activities of the people referred to as Informal Commercial Importers, who should perhaps have been called Informal Commercial Exporters, since they started by taking goods away to earn foreign exchange for their imports. This form of activity occurs in other parts of the world, Jamaica is not the only country that has ICIs. Ordinary people are discovering and exploiting opportunity in this way and are demystifying the whole business of aeroplane travel, foreign exchange, foreign languages and the like. This has been creating a virtual revolution in trade and other spheres in Jamaica, and the same is no doubt happening elsewhere. It carries the seeds of major social change as well.

In general, informal activity - in such areas as sidewalk trading, urban transportation, the capturing of land and rapid establishment of settlements - is an increasingly significant element in the life of many countries. These activities, often operating contrary to legal and other regulatory systems, are forcing the state to adapt, to compromise and to accommodate.

Another manifestation of 'people action' which is very evident in Jamaica is the development of non-governmental organisations. All over the world - in Western Europe, in North America, in many Third World countries, people are coming together and forming organisations outside the state systems and outside the commercial

systems, to help others or to help themselves. A movement, which started largely in the welfare area, with much involvement of the churches, has now become significant in the fields of development and environment, as well as others.

NGOs operate not only in local communities, but also on a national scale, and are uniting more and more in regional and global networks. They are becoming most significant actors in national and international affairs. Together they form what has been called the Third System, with the state and the commercial sector being the first two. The work of non-governmental organisations spreads through almost the whole spectrum of human activity. It is no wonder that they are regarded as suspect in authoritarian states, representing as they do an extension of the democratic process in a very special way. Their existence indicates the inability of the state system and the commercial sector to satisfy the aspirations and requirements of the people of a country. They point the way to major changes in the shape of the world order as the movement to limit the role of the state develops.

In Jamaica, non-governmental organisations are playing an increasingly active role and are becoming more and more associated with similar organisations in the Caribbean and elsewhere.

Women's Movements

One of the most impressive movements of recent decades has been that generated by women in a determined effort to remove the barriers to their full participation in economic life, and to their social and other activities. They have formed local, national, regional and international organisations and have acted through governmental agencies, where that was possible, and through a variety of official bodies, including the United Nations, and through the NGO system.

Significant progress has been made in some directions. But major obstacles remain, and there is considerable evidence of resistance to attempts to change attitudes affecting women and their participation in the larger society.

For Jamaica, and for the world, the challenge of the 1990s is whether major changes for the benefit of women will be achievable in the decade in line with other significant developments, which have been taking place. What roles, it may be asked, will women play in the New World Order?

The Future of Planet Earth

Environment and Sustainable Development

Even if there had been no major changes in the relationships between Western European countries, if there had been no revolution in Eastern Europe and no Gulf crisis, it would still be possible to point to a development which could truly signify an effort to move to a new world order: Awareness of the dangers facing the global environment.

The recent development of deep concern for, of interest in, and of action to protect the environment is truly remarkable. Consciousness concerning the continued destruction of the environment by human activity has grown enormously since 1972 when the United Nations Conference on this subject was held. Since then, most countries have taken action to establish systems of environmental management. But the degradation has continued in industrialised countries, in the countries of Eastern Europe, where environmental damage has been enormous, and in Third World countries. It has reached the point where, particularly because of the erosion of the ozone layer and the phenomenon of

global warming, there is now alarm at the highest levels in many countries.

Efforts are under way to establish a more effective global system of protection, supported by action at regional and national levels in order to prevent the destruction from reaching the stage where, as some fear, life on this planet may become impossible.

Characteristically, non-governmental organisations have taken a strong interest in this issue and are putting pressure on governments throughout the world to force them to take action. Pressure is also being put on private interests in industry, in mining and other sectors whose activities in so many cases are leading to progressive destruction of the environment.

Caribbean countries continue to take a very strong interest in environmental matters at the international level and mainly through the United Nations system.

The UN Conference, scheduled to take place in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, is designed to take the world to a new level of understanding and action in these matters. It is designed to bring environment and development into the closest possible relationship, to help to make a reality of the expression 'sustainable development'.

The New World Order, therefore, will require a new compact between the people of the earth. This compact, and this fact is beginning to emerge in the discussions in the United Nations leading up to the 1992 Conference, must relate to the ways in which human beings behave towards one another, and the ways in which together they treat the natural environment. It is acknowledged once again that poverty contributes greatly to environmental degradation, since in many cases the poor survive at the expense of the environment. The gap between rich and poor, as

between countries as well as within countries, is therefore seen as a key issue in the approach to sustainable development.

In short, what is required and what many hope will come out of the 1992 Rio Conference is 'a code of conduct' for life on earth. A token of the importance of the issue is the fact that a special summit of Presidents and Prime Ministers will be held in Brazil in association with that Conference.

The preservation of the environment by way of sustainable development does not require the creation of a global society in which neither progress nor development nor individual gain, on the one hand, nor sheer survival on the other must need result in destruction which eventually works to the disadvantage of all. Success in this will require a degree of cooperation across the globe, which goes beyond any so far achieved.

In the Caribbean, the Ministers with responsibility for environmental matters held their first conference in May-June 1989. They approved the Port-of-Spain Accord, setting in motion a process of consultation and action by CARICOM countries for the management and conservation of the Caribbean environment.

Guyana recently made a gesture symbolic of deep concern for the environment and for the interdependence of the world's peoples. In June 1990 a proposal described as 'The world's biggest ecology programme' was announced. It is Guyana's major contribution to the sustaining of the tropical forests upon which life on Planet Earth depends. The Government has set aside 360,000 hectares of land - nearly one million acres - to be preserved as virgin forest. This will mean the preservation of a great variety of plant and animal species, which will be available for study. Part of the land will be developed, using the principle of sustainable development. The Project is being planned by an expert Commonwealth group,

and the hope is that an international centre for research and training in tropical rain forest management will be established.

The Democratic Wave and the Rule of the Market

One of the most far-reaching forms of 'people action' is the movement to democracy. One analyst, Stanley Kober, has put it in these terms: 'A revolution is sweeping the world - a revolution of democracy. The success of this democratic revolution has shaken Europe to its foundations.'⁵

All countries are being affected, whether with democratic or authoritarian governments. The full effect is particularly evident in Africa where Benin, Niger, Zaire, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya and others are either yielding to the demands for multi-party systems or fighting what might well be losing battles to retain one-party systems. Nepal and the Philippines are other examples. And much has been said in the past few years of the return to democracy in a number of Latin American countries, including Argentina, Chile and Brazil.

In the Caribbean, the Governments of Haiti and Guyana bowed to mounting demands of critics both inside and outside their countries and agreed to allow independent observers to oversee their elections. Nicaragua's 1990 election resulted in a peaceful change of government.

Sol Linowitz in an article in the Washington Post has described the move to democracy in Latin America and elsewhere as impressive but the situation is delicate. He writes:

In some places, political opening has stopped at the ballot box, and repeated elections have not led to a significant expansion of fundamental freedoms. In others, democratic institutions are being challenged not only by the economic crises but also by political and criminal violence, deep social and

economic inequalities, conflicts between military and civilian authorities and the erosion of public confidence.

Much of this could apply to a number of countries in other regions. Some elements are also evident in Jamaica.

Along with all this, there has been taking place what seems to be a retreat - in the view of some, a final abandonment of radical ideology - the death of Communism and Socialism. Associated with this is the widening acceptance of the market as the arbiter in economic affairs.

Is this to be the philosophy of the coming era - and the New World Order? And will the democratic wave bring a lasting change in the political systems and processes in most of the world?

It has been said that this is the era of the primacy of economics over politics. For in these times 'money speaks louder than it ever has', as Her Excellency Dame Nita Barrow, Governor General of Barbados, stated in her address at the 1990 Graduation Ceremony at the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies. Others have made the same point. The order of force has been supplanted by the order of money, that is, the reign of the market. In place of two ideologically antagonistic blocs, the whole globe is becoming an ideologically homogenous market... 6

The United States Ambassador to Jamaica stated in a speech In November 1990: 'The free market system is sweeping the world and Jamaica is at the crest of the Wave'.

One aspect of this movement has been the widening acceptance of the need to reduce or remove most of the state's involvement in economic activity and to give far greater scope to market forces - to 'the magic of the market'. Jamaica is among many countries,

which have accepted this proposition, and the country is now moving on a path of deregulation and divestment of government enterprises.

Another element is the achievement in Jamaica of a level of political bi-partisanship unprecedented in the past forty years as the differences in major elements of the economic policies of the two leading parties wither away.

But it is going to be extremely difficult for Jamaica and for most developing countries, as well as the countries of Eastern Europe and others now moving to democracy and the free market system, to provide, under these new dispensations, the benefits to the mass of their peoples in sufficient quantity, in a reasonable time and on an equitable basis. Failures in that respect will most likely lead to frustration which will in some instances result in the emergence of challenges to these economic and political systems and, perhaps, to their abandonment.

It is to be hoped that these possibilities will be fully realised both by the countries concerned and those in the Western world who have been urging developing countries to adopt these systems, making this more and more a condition in their programmes of economic cooperation.

The Caribbean and The South in the New World Order

What will be the position of the countries of the South in any new order, which emerges?

There are many views on this question. It has been said that the world is now moving on two different tracks. There is first the fast track, for the industrialised countries and some of what are called the newly industrialised countries, in particular the 'Tigers' of Asia. These are moving rapidly into new areas of technology and

activity, and taking full advantage of the possibilities which are emerging, recognising the changing character and configurations of finance, industrial activity and trade in the world, and the emergence of services as the leading element in international transactions. But there are many countries, particularly in the developing world, which will be on the slow track. They will gradually become marginalised as they fail, for one reason or the other, to get into the act, to get on the fast track.

A number of comments have been made concerning the New World Order. One of them, appearing in an editorial in *The New York Times* of 20 January 1991, is particularly interesting. Under the title 'The New World Order So Far' the writer states:

What is now within reach is a way to give it (the New World Order) a new meaning. A practical cooperation system can address the needs of people as well as states. It can deal with issues like the environment and human rights as well as aggression.

Yet any real system of cooperation must reflect the real world of states. As many states as possible should be brought into the system, which will only succeed if it addresses the needs of the poor and the weak. Nevertheless, the most important military and economic powers will play a central role. Today that means principally the US, Japan, Germany and the Soviet Union and secondarily other members of the European Community, Korea, India and Brazil.

Developing countries' efforts at global restructuring in the 1970s did not succeed. Their programmes for South-South cooperation have achieved some success, but still fall short of expectation. Their organisations have had to come to terms with changing circumstances. It will be difficult for the Group of '77, the developing countries' caucus in the UN, to maintain its former strength and cohesion. The future of the Non-aligned Movement is uncertain. It was born some thirty years ago as a response to the Cold War and the domination of global issues by superpower antagonism. It must now review its rationale and its aims.

The South Commission - a group of eminent persons brought together under the chairmanship of the former President of the Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Julius Nyerere - made a number of recommendations designed to put developing countries in a position to deal more effectively with the countries of the North, to foster South-South cooperation, and to correct the deficiencies in their own economies. The creation of a Third World Secretariat, an organisation in part like the OECD, has long been an aim among some of those countries. The hope is that this will now come into being under the impetus provided by the work of the South Commission.

Challenges for the Third World

It is being said by some that the Third World no longer exists, because of the changes in Eastern Europe which was regarded as the Second World and which is now joining the First - the Western industrialised countries. Others see the breaking up of the group of Third World countries coming about on the basis of the relative capacities of individual countries to move into the new development mode.

Developing countries must now find more effective mechanisms for exploiting the real bases for unity and joint action, while accepting the differences in circumstances and interests where no such action is possible.

Their critical position is based both on the deficiencies in the South and the advantages which the North enjoys. Of the latter it has been said: 'In the race for development the rich countries will always move faster than the rest.' This is due in part to 'the built-in capacity of advanced societies to continuously outpace others with the latest technology, to win at the game of competitive obsolescence'.

Developing countries, in the main, have not created that most fundamental requirement for success, namely the full development and deployment of their manpower resources. The establishment of a sophisticated manpower development programme, the need for which ' has been fully examined in the second Grace, Kennedy lecture, is an absolute essential for meeting the requirements of the New World Order. This will, among other things, provide the skills which are necessary not only within the country, but for dealing with the wider world at the different levels on which we are required to operate - the sub-regional level, involving CARICOM, the regional

level, involving more satisfactory relations with Latin America, and the global level.

Conclusion

We in Jamaica always seem to wish to live in two or three worlds at the same time, something that is usually quite impossible. But it is a fact that today Jamaica has to learn to live in a number of different worlds at the same time and this applies to the rest of the Caribbean. We must retain for as long as possible such advantages as we have enjoyed in our relationships with Europe, and especially the preferential trading arrangements and the provisions of the Lome Agreement. We have to deepen and widen the relationship with other Caribbean countries, to explore the opportunities which might flow from the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative of President Bush to improve the country's performance in respect of the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and to develop bilateral relations to the greatest advantage.

But to be an effective and successful participant in the New World Order, the first requirement is to put things in our countries in order. Violence, guns, drugs are prevalent in the world today. But a

stage has been reached where they are a serious inhibiting factor in development. For, to repeat, peace and development are twin requirements for survival - for the world, for Jamaica and for other Caribbean countries.

All of this means that in order to have any prospect of becoming a part of the New Order in a positive way, considerable transformation will be required. This transformation must take place in attitudes, in discipline, in consciousness about the nature of the world in which we are living, in organisation of the business of the country and, in particular, in the way in which the different elements - the state, the private sector, the trade unions and others - combine toward building an efficient, humane and equitable society - In fact, a New Caribbean Order.

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Notes

1. Conference on Europe 1992, The Single Market, Its Implications for Labour, Kingston, Jamaica, 20-22 May 1990.
2. International Affairs published by Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. Vol. 65. No. 3. Summer 1989.
3. In an article entitled 'Thoughts on Marketising State-managed Economies', Paul W. McCracken Economic Impact issue no 71, 1990-1992.
4. From the report on a Dialogue Congress between West and East Europe held under the auspices of the European Forum based In Austria.
5. Stanley Kober, Foreign Policy No. 79. Summer 1990, Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in USA.
6. From an article by Jacques Atali, Gianni de Michele, Valery Giscard d'Estang, Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt, Zbigniew Brzezinski.