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ON

A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CHANGE



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Introduction

We are a generation that grew up during the 1980s when we experienced short, but intense interests. We were fascinated by "new wave" fads such as the Rubic's cube, Cabbage Patch dolls, Michael Jackson, E.T., Punk and Yuppie culture. All of these things influenced our thinking only for a short while. However, by the end of the decade, we saw political, economic, and social upheavals that will affect us permanently. Now a "new world order" has emerged.

What then is meant by the term: "A New World Order?" Changes have occurred around the globe, some of which we never dreamed to see in our lifetime, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, another Stock Market crash, the end of the cold war, the freeing of Nelson Mandela, and the crisis in the Persian Gulf. These changes have forced us into rethinking the nature of our world.

Our governments cannot afford war and destruction at a time when peace is so essential...

Each event can be seen from many different viewpoints. For instance, the breakdown of Communism, the new freedom of glasnost and the unification of Germany received both criticism and praise. It is important for us as individuals to try to remain objective when forming our own opinions; we must look at all sides of a situation, despite the strong external influence of our families, our education and the media. The war in the Persian Gulf tested our objectivity and respect for each other's opinions and made us realize the difficulty of building a new world order.

The world used to appear static to us, although we were uneasy at the changes developing beneath the surface. When they finally erupted, they did so suddenly and with tremendous impact. They have opened up a wide spectrum of opportunities that we need to explore in the coming decade.

People who had considered themselves trapped in old forms of economic and political organizations can try new ones. Countries like

South Africa and Cambodia see the possibility of peaceful transitions to new governments.

The technological advances in communications and the media, has made the world a smaller place. It is more important than ever to acknowledge the responsibility we have to each other and to the world we share. The environment unites all people of the Earth. People and nations must recognize the problem of environmental degradation. Our governments cannot afford war and destruction at a time when peace is so essential, not only in terms of human values, but also out of respect for the environment.

We chose the topic of "a new world order" for the 1991 UNIS/UN student conference because we hoped that the changes in the Soviet Union would give us the opportunity to consider alternative ways of solving world problems. But the optimism of the end of the cold war did not last very long. The war in the Persian Gulf reminded us of the many bitter disputes that still remain to be settled. We have tried to describe the changes that are taking place today, but as the writing of the Working Paper progressed, we realized the speed at which changes are occurring. What we began writing last fall has already become history. The faster these events took place, the more difficult it became to follow and to comprehend them. Changes can be frightening, unpredictable, cause for optimism, or pessimism. We are not sure what the future will bring, but we know that there has never been a better time to examine the problem with openness and hope.

The Opportunity for Change

The Cold War and the Collapse of the Soviet System

Soon after World War II, an era of hostility developed between the capitalist western bloc supported by the United States, and the Communist eastern bloc, supported by the Soviet Union; the cold war had begun and would continue for 40 years.

As a victor in that war, Soviet Union annexed

various territories and helped local Communist parties to seize control in other areas. Territory allotted to the Soviet Union by the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 (eastern Poland, the Romanian province of Bessarabia, some Finnish territory, and the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) were re-annexed. In Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, Communist-dominated governments were established; and in Yugoslavia and Albania, local Communists took power. In the coalition governing Czechoslovakia, the Communists played a dominant role. By the end of the 1940s, the Soviet Union had achieved control over Eastern Europe and imposed a style of government characterized by the one-party State (the Communist Party), central planning, and internal police with special surveillance powers.

The Soviet Union justified this control as a perceived need after having been forced to fight invasions on its western front twice within a period of 20 years. The Allies had tried to destroy the newly created Soviet Union immediately after World War I. The alliances formed during World War II were held together only by the need to destroy the Third Reich. The Soviet Union considered that friendly states in Eastern Europe would serve as a buffer to absorb the first wave of another invasion, should it come. As Winston Churchill said in 1946, an "iron curtain" had fallen across Europe, dividing East from West.

The more positive side of the system was the attempt to build up a society that no one would want to oppose.

Historians differ on whether Stalin's actions were aggressive or were appropriate to threats he saw coming from the capitalist West. The system he set up was one of intense surveillance of any kind of possible opposition. The internal police - whose initials always seem to change but most recently are the KGB - was everywhere. The punishments were terrifying: long and harsh imprisonment in Siberian labor camps, "treatments" in psychiatric hospitals for unsocial behavior. Few people had the courage to oppose the system.

The more positive side of the system was the

attempt to build up a society that no one would want to oppose. The dream of socialism was a better life for the ordinary people, with decent housing, education and health care, recreation and culture, and some extra money to buy a few luxuries here and there. The Communist propaganda tried to persuade the people in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that their system had indeed achieved all that.

It did not. First of all, the prime task of industry was defense, not consumer goods, and an alliance of the military and industrial planners kept it that way. And, secondly, the whole system of central planning created many problems. Stalin's successor, Khrushchev attempted some changes, but he was quietly retired in 1964. The policies of Leonid Brezhnev (1964-1982), Yuri Andropov (1982-1984), and Konstantin Chernenko (1984-1985) saw an increased buildup of Soviet military power, and repression of dissidents was intensified. Throughout this time any opposition in Eastern Europe was also put down - most dramatically in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Many problems arose in industry owing to bureaucratic waste, errors, and corruption. Production costs were high, and labor productivity, owing in part to poor organization and incentives, was low. Consumer goods were scarce and of poor quality. People with money in their bank accounts waited on long lines for the chance to spend it. Soviet policies had promoted the production of capital and military goods over consumer goods, and nothing was made available for shoppers to buy.

Agriculture plagued by outmoded production methods, an inefficient distribution system and poor weather conditions could not produce enough food to meet peoples needs, resulting in periodic food shortages. The Soviet Communist system was forced to rely on capitalist nations for many agricultural products. The powerful Soviet motherland which had stood up to the western world for the past forty years, was now facing an internal breakdown.

In 1985, with the Soviet Union facing severe economic stagnation in the aftermath of years following the futile policies of past leaders, Mikhail S. Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party.

Gorbachev

Mikhail S. Gorbachev stands out as being the most influential person in bringing about the end of the cold war, the fall of the iron curtain, and the democratization of Eastern Europe. He sought to drastically change the political and economic structure of the Soviet Union by making daring reforms in the traditional communist system.

Gorbachev turned out to be very different from his predecessors. He openly admitted that the Soviet motherland was in dire need of economic, political and social reform, and introduced his policies of glasnost and perestroika.

Glasnost recognized the need for a less oppressive social environment which would allow various points of view to be heard. Criticism of the communist system was allowed to be aired by the TASS News Agency and was also permitted to the general public. An example of this new openness was the publication of Boris Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago, in the Soviet Union, where it had been previously been banned. The dissident leader Andrei Sakharov was also permitted to return to Moscow from exile in Gorky. "One can only right mistakes if they are pointed out," commented Gorbachev.

Gorbachev's policy of perestroika is a policy geared towards the reform of the economic and political structures of the USSR so as to make the nation more efficient and productive and enhance the quality of life of its citizens. The urgent need for reform became more obvious as natural disasters revealed even more weaknesses in the system. A nuclear reactor meltdown at Chernobyl was followed by massive earthquakes in Armenia and Central Asia. A series of droughts and fickle weather worsened food shortages, yet owing to a drop in world oil prices (petroleum had accounted for over 60 percent of the Soviet Union's hard currency earnings)¹ money for imports was severely reduced.

The breakdown of the Soviet economy and the need to restructure it affected foreign policy. A large cut in military spending (previously being the largest portion of the Soviet government's expenditure) led to the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet

Union could no longer afford an aggressive arms race, nor keep its armies stationed in neighboring countries, and supply arms to various friendly countries in the Third World. The extent and sophistication of Soviet arms, especially ballistic missiles, still entitle the USSR to the position of a super Power, but internal problems have weakened its authoritative role in international politics. Increased dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States abruptly decreased the amount of nuclear arms and drew to a close the chapter on the cold war. As a result, the West no longer viewed the Soviet Union as the "evil empire,"² but rather as an ally. This new alliance marked the beginning of the new world order. The super Powers stopped vetoing those United Nations Security Council resolutions which opposed their interests and began to cooperate to achieve collective security for the world.

Mikhail S. Gorbachev stands out as being the most influential person in bringing about the end of the cold war...

In 1990 Gorbachev received the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his policies to end the cold war and allowing the iron fist of the Soviet Union to relax over Eastern Europe giving it the freedom to adopt a democratic system.

However, the praise, admiration and even gratitude felt for Gorbachev as the originator of so many hopeful changes are giving way to doubts and fears. He is being criticized from all sides for not doing enough, for doing too much, for doing the wrong thing. He cannot simply say, "Trust me! I am a wise, compassionate leader who will guide you out of this mess," because the Russian people have had enough of such promises. But neither have they had sufficient experience of democracy to find democratic solutions to their problems.

The Soviet Union's economy is still weak; perestroika and glasnost have not yet succeeded, and perhaps will not under the present policies. All these weaknesses in the Soviet system have resulted in the collapse of Communist Governments in Eastern Europe. Now, not only

these countries, but the republics that form the USSR are pulling away from the Soviet system as well. A "double collapse" is occurring. "There are no forces that will ultimately be able to hold back the fall of the empire... The question is: Does change come peacefully, gradually, politically, or does it end in blood?"³

The question is: Does change come peacefully, gradually, politically, or does it end in blood?

Gorbachev is central in determining not only the future of his nation but of the world. His intelligence and political skill brought about the changes. Let us hope he can also help to continue these changes as a part of peaceful development towards the freedom of a new world order.

Sakharov

To bring about change there must be a way for people to share their criticism of the old order and plan ways to bring about a new one. In totalitarian or authoritarian governments such ways do not officially exist and dissent from accepted ideologies is discouraged and punished.

In these countries, dissidents are the lone voices against political inhumanity and injustice - armed only with a conviction of what is right and fair, they risk everything - their jobs, health, family and freedom - in order to defy totalitarianism and promote reform.

Andrei Sakharov was such a dissident. His integrity and courage were a light of hope that helped to end the cold war. He set standards of humanity that should form the basis of a new world order.

Andrei Sakharov was the most powerful, and symbolic presence in the world's imagination since he first demanded greater autonomy for the political prisoners of the Soviet Union. Already a member of the elite Soviet Academy of Sciences and considered the father of the Soviet H-bomb in the 1950s, he had a car, a summer home, special medical care and access to stores stocked with

Western goods. He risked all of those comforts by tirelessly calling the world's attention to oppression in his country and castigating the Soviet regime for its aggressive policies.

He demanded the free flow of information, the unconditional and complete release of prisoners of conscience, the freedom to travel, and the effective control by the people over the formulation of domestic and foreign policy, including arms control and nuclear testing. And he dared to speak out against his country's policies in Afghanistan, and called upon the United Nations and the Soviet Union to arrange the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country. This was too much for the Kremlin. Sakharov's earlier critiques of Soviet totalitarianism and his impassioned pleas for political prisoners in the Gulag had long enraged President Leonid Brezhnev. But authorities had been reluctant to arrest so famous a dissident for fear of jeopardizing the advantages of detente, including trade with the United States. Yet, after the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and Washington's punitive embargoes, the Soviets felt free to put Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, away. The Sakharovs were sent to Gorky, a city 210 miles east of Moscow, that was out of bounds to foreigners.

There they remained until Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987 boldly released his prisoners. The victim of seven years of internal exile and harassment by the KGB, Sakharov had become frail, ailing and old beyond his 65 years. The risk in freeing Sakharov was the possibility that he would rejuvenate the human rights movement and once again become a problem for the authorities. But Gorbachev was prepared to take the chance that Sakharov would strengthen the glasnost that was necessary for sweeping reforms of Soviet society, literally changing the face of the Soviet Union.

As the symbol of political activism in the Soviet Union for over 35 years, Sakharov challenged every leadership to help promote democratization in a peaceful manner. He was the recipient of the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize for his work on nuclear disarmament and his public criticism of human rights violations in the Soviet Union. And even after his death on December 14, 1989, his friends in the battered democracy

movement still fathom the loss of the human rights champion who so prodded the Soviet conscience. In spirit, he continues to influence his countrymen, and inspire people throughout the world to struggle for freedom and human rights.

Collapse of the Communist System in Eastern Europe

Since the end of World War II, the Eastern European countries; Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria as well as the German Democratic Republic have been separated from the rest of Europe by a 2,000 kilometer stretch of barbed wire known as the "iron curtain."

Their governments took orders from the Soviet Union, and their industries were formed to benefit the Soviet Union; resources such as Polish coal and Czechoslovak machine goods were transferred to meet Soviet needs. In order to enforce this relationship between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, a military alliance, the Warsaw Pact, was signed in 1955.

In 1989 however, one by one, the Eastern European countries, (Poland, August 18-19; Hungary, October 7; German Democratic Republic, November 9; Bulgaria, November 10; Czechoslovakia, November 19; Romania, December 22), began to move away from Communist domination. The people of Eastern Europe had lived under the iron fist of their totalitarian regimes for long enough. Revolution was the only path to independence and freedom.

The reason why the Eastern European countries were able to release themselves from the USSR's grip can be traced to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Unlike previous instances of revolt within Eastern European countries, when Soviet armies crushed the risings Gorbachev made it quite clear to the leaders that these armies were not in Eastern European countries for domestic repression. The leaders realized that they had to compromise with their opponents.

Glasnost gave the citizens the opportunity to express their own opinions. Before glasnost, the people used to think one thing and say another. They were forbidden to complain about the

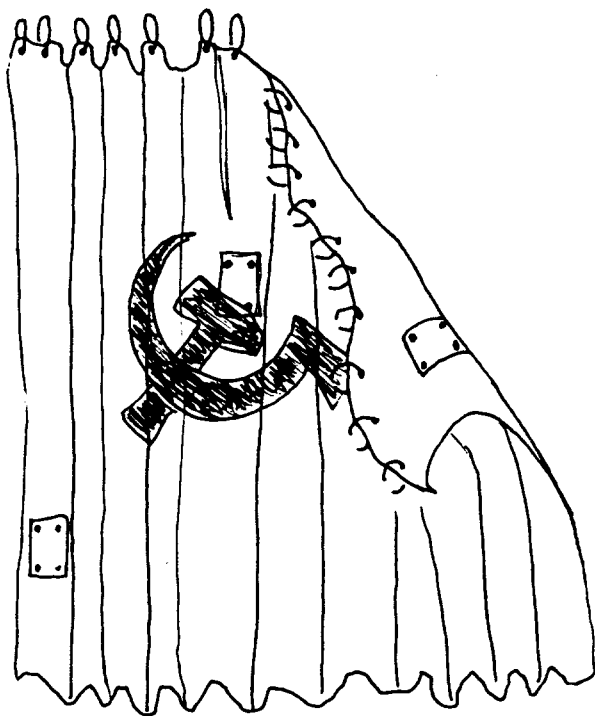
Communist methods under which they suffered. With the advent of glasnost, they began using words like "freedom." These words, uttered by the majority of the citizens, led to the astonishingly rapid crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the power of the local Communist Parties.

Amazingly, all the revolutions with the exception of Romania's were peaceful. Romania was the only country that had a violent revolution with the execution of its dictator and his family. All the other revolutions were basically constitutional ones. One could say that the reason why the revolutions were peaceful is that the people were being reasonable and had hopes for a better political system that would benefit them. The citizens of Eastern Europe rejected Communism as a political system because they considered that it violated elementary human rights, and because it was imposed by Soviet bayonets, and not developed out of their own national traditions. By the end of 1989, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was split into two. In January 1990, the Polish United Workers' Party followed suit. Within three months, the German Democratic Republic's Socialist Unity Party lost its leading role, its name and half of its members. By the end of 1990, all the Eastern European countries had more than one party, and even the old Communist parties had changed their names to persuade the voters that they had also changed their policies.

Gorbachev was not the only cause of such sudden revolution. The people of Eastern Europe realized that the Communist system had simply failed to work, economically, socially and politically.

The various problems hidden by the old Communist regimes have emerged to be much worse than expected. Factories contained outmoded and rusting machinery, and inefficiently employed too many workers. The governments were suffocating under layers of bureaucratic red tape. Industrial pollution was unchecked causing terrible health and environmental hazards. Corruption was rampant, with special privileges for the upper ranks of the Communist Party. The masses experienced poor living conditions while a whole "luxury city" was discovered outside Berlin,

with swimming pools and golf courses for the "privileged" few. Perhaps the most heartbreaking discovery of the breakdown of the supposedly "humane" Communist system (one that "really cared" for the people) was the discovery of the inhumane treatment of Romanian children. Medical practices forced on mothers by the dictatorship prevented any form of family planning, and caused many of the children to be born retarded or with AIDS and other serious health problems. They were herded into orphanages with unspeakable conditions.



"THE FALL OF THE IRON CURTAIN"

The collapse of the Communist system, however, has brought many new problems in the transition to capitalism.

There is unemployment and inflation, shortages of even the most basic goods, and the genuine fear that worse is to come. Perhaps the anger and disgust with the now discredited Communist system will give the people the energy and will to overcome their problems in a democratic and economically successful way.

Was gaining their independence the right choice for these nations? Only time will tell.

The Strain of the Cold War

On August 6, 1945 an atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima by American forces. An arms race soon ensued, a quest for power that has resulted in the manufacturing of enough nuclear weapons to annihilate the world several times over.

Under the Baruch Plan of 1947 it was proposed that the discoveries of peaceful uses of nuclear energy be shared with the rest of the world. In 1949, however, when the Soviet Union produced its first atom bomb, the United States accelerated its weapon research and in 1951 produced the first hydrogen bomb, which was closely followed by a Soviet hydrogen bomb in 1953.

The missile race, part of the arms race, began in 1957 with the launching of the Soviet rocket, Sputnik. This race saw the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) which were capable of traveling greater distances than any earlier weapons. Advance technology made possible the production of submarine-fired missiles and then anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) which were able to destroy incoming ICBMs before they had the chance to reach their targets.

In 1984 the arms race seemed to be expanding into outer space. An American system of defense called the Strategic Defense Initiative or "Star Wars" was initiated which would use so many ABMs that no bombs would be able to penetrate this protective shield. The plan, however, was delayed owing to its costs and the question of its future need.

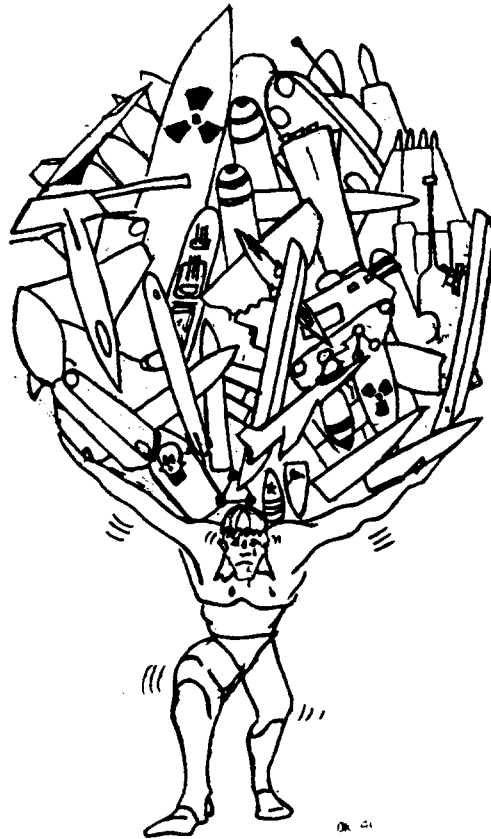
Where would the search for security end? The super Powers stockpiled weapons, each trying to outdo the other with more sophisticated weapons. In 1986, the United States spent more than \$281 billion on the arms buildup while the USSR spent \$271 billion. Nations in the rest of the world were affected by this atmosphere of insecurity, either as allies of one of the super Powers or as participants in their own local conflicts. The total military expenditure for the entire world was \$944 billion in 1987.⁴

A super Power nuclear war became less and less probable due to a "balance of terror." As a result, more research went into the production of conventional weapons. The degree of their

sophistication, and probable cost, can be seen in the present Middle East war. The expense of the escalating arms race has been a strain on the economies of all countries, but the Soviet Union, which has had to maintain its status as a super Power, was especially pinched. It has also been a strain on the United States' economy, in less obvious, but perhaps equally harmful ways. The Soviet Union was the first to admit the strain; it withdrew its forces from Afghanistan and revived the disarmament talks for both strategic and conventional weapons.

The cold war was not only caused by fear; it also produced it. After 45 years the world continues to live under the constant threat of nuclear war. Furthermore, radioactive waste and chemical byproducts that result from the manufacturing of nuclear arms are a hazard to the environment. The fear people feel that there is danger all around them, perhaps something we accept living in today's modern cities, is heightened by the unseen danger that the arms race has created for the environment. All these fears take their toll in sickness, depression, and a loss of confidence on the part of people who should be working for a better future. Who can measure the effects of the loss of this energy and good will?

There was always an element of insanity to the arms race. Some people would even say that the cold war had some positive effects, however contradictory such a statement might appear. It kept the peace and was the catalyst for the development of many valuable new technologies. In the face of danger, Western Europe united to reconstruct its economy. The centuries old enmity between France and Germany was ended as their two countries became the leaders of the European Community. The expense of the arms race forced the Soviet Union to change its policies. It also affected the process of decolonization. The colonial powers could no longer afford to both build up their modern arsenal at home and keep large armies in their colonies to subdue the liberation movements. However, liberation did not have altogether positive effects because the newly independent countries were drawn into super Power conflicts. Many local conflicts in the Third World could be traced back to the super Powers,



like the Korean war, the Vietnam war, the confrontation in Afghanistan and wars in the Middle East. The strains and fears of these conflicts are still great. In fact, they have increased in some ways, as without the controlling factor of super Power alliances, Third World countries may be tempted to solve their conflicts through war. They have available to them, thanks to the international arms trade, some of the most sophisticated modern weaponry, as well as chemical, biological and nuclear arms. The end of the cold war has not removed the danger of global war. The fear of such a war is an ever increasing burden on all our resources, economic, political and psychological.

Peace Dividend

During the cold war, the United States and the Soviet Union battled for military supremacy in an ever-intensifying arms race, and defense budgets for the two super Powers soared to staggering heights. With the easing of the tensions of the cold war, defense spending could begin to wind down.

People hoped that an era of disarmament was beginning, and eagerly awaited a "peace dividend" which would be allocated towards much needed development.

In the United States, there was a hope that Pentagon spending could be cut by half (to \$160 billion) in ten years. Estimates suggested that by the mid-to-late 1990s, the military budget could decline from about six percent to four percent of the gross national product; this would be the lowest percentage since the demobilization following World War II. Many talked about such a peace dividend, and vied for the areas in which to invest it.

Others doubted the possibility of a peace dividend. Bringing troops home, closing bases, terminating weapons contracts, and buying increasingly sophisticated and costly technology to verify pending arms control treaties would cost the Pentagon billions. In dollar terms, there would be no peace dividend; the dividend would just be peace itself.

Politicians, institutions, advocacy groups, and others in the United States, however, had already thought of hundreds of different ways to spend this dividend. A joke circulating around Washington said, "Half the U.S. peace dividend will be spent on education, half on the drug war, half on reconstructing Eastern Europe, and half on the budget deficit. The remaining half will go toward retiring the \$3 trillion national debt."

The peace dividend could fund the long-neglected area of Third World development. More jobs could be created in programs to meet human needs in the United States. The peace dividend could be used for improving infrastructure and education, which would in turn help raise the United States' trailing productivity level. Appropriating money for transportation, water treatment, and the environment would be better than pouring it into arms. A peace dividend could repair ever-needed roads, bridges, and airports. Since the federal government would be able to reduce its dependency on foreign money, the trade gap would begin to close. For the Soviet Union, a country struggling against economic stagnation with problems of poverty, starvation, and consumer shortages, a peace dividend would free technical

talent and research money, thereby helping long-term growth and prosperity.

However, this so eagerly anticipated peace dividend never materialized. The halt in weapons production created some unemployment; in the United States, each \$1 billion cut in Pentagon expenditures affects about 38,000 workers. If the projected cuts were to occur, 4 in 10 defense workers would lose their jobs in the next decade. This would cause further unemployment as many other jobs are dependent on supplying the needs of those defense workers.

In the United States, some defense contractors are beginning to diversify, and to convert some technology from military to peaceful applications. In the Soviet Union the conversion to consumer goods production is critical because the economy cannot sustain an arms industry and feed its people. Most importantly, the existence of a peace dividend would represent a successful step toward peace.

The world was awakened... to the stark realization that too many nations... still rely on war to settle conflicts.

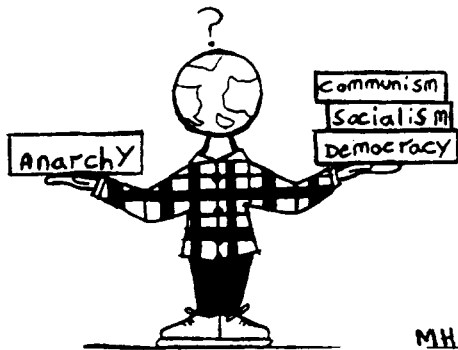
In the spring of 1990, negotiations began that were supposed to result in rapid and large-scale reductions of both strategic and conventional weapons in the United States and the Soviet Union. The entire world was waiting hopefully to enjoy the benefits of peace and to embark upon their own military budget cuts with confidence. Everywhere there was talk about a peace economy. By August 1990, however, with the advent of the Persian Gulf Crisis, the hope for a peace dividend was severely dampened.

The world was awakened from the dream of peace to the stark realization that too many nations and individuals still rely on war to settle conflicts, obtain resources, and satisfy ambitions.

How can the countries of the world cut their military expenditures if these wars continue? Where is the promised world peace? Where is the peace dividend?

Alternative Systems

One of the most far reaching effects of the collapse of Communism is the new interest in alternative forms of government. Many different forms have been tried in history. But are they monolithic structures that have to be accepted in toto, or can one fiddle around with interchangeable parts, like Lego pieces, and build new structures? The idea seems to offer imaginative possibilities.



Capitalism

Capitalism is a system in which resources are predominantly entrusted to private rather than government control, and production is mainly for private profit. It is characterized by private ownership, self-interest, free enterprise, and competition. These four elements created the basis of Adam Smith's study of economics.

Adam Smith, a Scottish professor of moral philosophy, was the father of modern economics. In his major work, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, Smith insisted that government intervention retards "the progress of society towards real wealth and greatness," because government ownership stifled competition. He advocated a policy of "Laissez-Faire."

According to Smith, the self-adjusting mechanisms of capitalism are the laws of supply and demand. They are the "invisible hand" that guides production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in the great "marketplace" of the world economy. With no one in control of production, people would be free to produce

whatever the market required.

Adam Smith presumed that human beings are naturally selfish and greedy, but he found these qualities very positive because they also make people very productive. Profit acts as the incentive for self-interested individuals to produce an enormous amount and variety of goods and services. As a result, the effort of each individual maximizes the welfare of the society as a whole. However, competition prevents people from fully indulging in their greed because it drives prices down and fosters the manufacture of higher quality products. Competition among workers results in harder work and better skills.

When a capitalist economy is successful, people's rising demands are fulfilled by rising supply, or increased production of goods. This requires the employment of more workers who now have more money with which to buy the goods produced. They fuel the rising demand for goods in an upward spiral of production, consumption and employment.

Capitalism has several advantages. Some people look to it as a cure for all the world's ills. With the collapse of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, people wonder if there is some magic in capitalism that assures its success.

The magic seems to lie in the idea of freedom for the individual as it was developed in European history in the last five hundred years. By the eighteenth century that idea was expressed in declarations of the right of every individual to life, liberty and property. Why property? Because property assured life and liberty. A man with property could feed his family and was not dependent on any king or lord for his livelihood - therefore assuring his freedom to be himself, both economically and politically. The Founding Fathers of the American Constitution saw the connection clearly. Government existed to give people the security to go about their private concerns freely and productively. The right to private property must be protected as carefully as the right to individual freedom, because they enhance each other. Capitalism and democracy developed side by side, only working really well when they work together. Capitalism enables a

country to become rich, while democracy makes sure that the wealth is produced and shared with some degree of fairness.

However, one of the major weaknesses of the capitalist system is its tendency to create extremes of wealth and poverty. Greed and selfishness can grow unchecked. Having greater opportunities and resources, the wealthy have the power to protect their positions while the poor are often impotent and remain on the bottom of the social ladder. The economic freedoms provided by capitalism are the fundamental basis for political freedoms, yet the fact still remains that the poor are often denied their political rights. Since the balance of political power usually rests in the hands of those more affluent members of society, and as there is no immediate profit in helping the poor improve their condition, the capitalist system is not geared to ameliorating unemployment and poverty. Crime, alcoholism, and drugs are seen as a means of escape for some hopeless workers. Acquiring more wealth can become an obsession of the well-to-do who may thrive in a "cannibalistic" society where anything may be done in pursuit of wealth.

Since the nation itself was founded on capitalist ideals, the United States is considered to be the paradigm of a successful capitalist society. Millions have flocked to this "land of opportunity" in the hopes to reap the rewards of this system and bring to life their dreams of success. Many of these people managed to improve their standard of living by making the most of the benefits which capitalism has to offer.

However, there have always been those less fortunate people who, for one reason or another, are unable to keep up with a rigorous system based on "the survival of the fittest." They are eventually drowned out by the competition, struggle to survive with minimal welfare provisions or suffer the consequences of having to fend for themselves. If we wish to achieve a new world order, this inequality cannot persist. It is imperative that those who are unable to flourish in such an economic system are not ignored and forgotten.

The profit motive has also led to environmental damage. Although it can be said the existing socialist economies have been no less destructive, capitalism's "grimy invisible hand" has

left its mark wherever natural resources have been exploited and used. Capitalism offers people and societies freedom, productivity and high standards of living, but it is not a perfect system. Its advocates cannot feel triumphant over the collapse of socialism until they have humanized capitalism with some of the primary concerns of socialism and taken the demands of a sustainable environment into account.

Socialism and Communism

Socialism arose as a result of two revolutions: the French Revolution which preached equality, and the Industrial Revolution. The latter will concern us here. The rapid growth of industry and mass production led to horrendous and unexpected consequences. The intense competition among unregulated industrial enterprises led to the exploitation of newly created masses of industrial workers in Europe, thereby rendering the working and living conditions of these millions desperately cruel and inhumane.

The profound distress of these workers gave rise to humanitarian concerns, chiefly by some French and English thinkers who were known as Utopian Socialists. These men came to the conclusion that the solution to the problems lay in reorganizing the structure of society and re-allocating its wealth. Although the actual proposals made were often not feasible, they all had three basic elements in common: everyone would work, the means of production would be commonly owned, and everyone would receive an equal share of the wealth.

According to Marx, one person's wealth is almost always unfairly acquired at the expense of another.

Although the dreams of the Utopian Socialists have influenced all subsequent socialist theories, Karl Marx (1818-1883) despised the group and constructed an explanation of present conditions along with a blueprint for a future society which he considered to be more scientific, effective, and just.

His belief was that the greatest motivating factor for human beings was the satisfaction of their material needs. The diligent struggle to obtain and secure wealth in the form of private property is one example of such motivation. According to Marx and other socialists, one person's wealth is almost always unfairly acquired at the expense of another. Judging from the social and economic inequality present in the world today, this theory demonstrates some truth.

The abolition of private property became one of the ideals of socialism, and Marx called his theory "Communism" to distinguish it from the other socialist theories of the day. Marx's ideal for a Communist society was by definition "from every man according to his ability; to every man according to his need." His intention was to put the means of production in the hands of the community for the benefit of all its citizens, hence doing away with all greed and competition. Therefore, there would be no cause for crime or violence of any kind, and the rivalry between races or classes would cease, eliminating the need for government and the reasons behind war. Communism would create a global community of workers with equality amongst its members and, of course, freedom. The freedom from competition and exploitation would create freedom from fear as well as freedom for the full development of the individual.

Although in 1848 Marx and Engels wrote in the Communist Manifesto, that "a specter is haunting Europe - the specter of Communism," pure Communism never came into existence. Instead, different forms of socialism developed, one following a revolutionary path, the other an evolutionary, or gradual one. Marx believed that capitalism would be overthrown by revolution. By force of numbers, workers would take over and impose a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Then, with the important means of production in their hands (i.e. in the hands of the government), a state of socialism would exist. This was defined as "from each according to his ability; to each according to the value of his contribution." It was believed that publicly owned industry would gradually absorb smaller producers, and common ownership would eliminate competition as well as the profit motive of individuals, resulting in a

centrally planned economy which would work to benefit the whole society. As everyone's material environment improved, so would human nature, and the state run by the dictatorship of the proletariat would eventually fade away. With no further need for government supervision and surveillance, people would be free at last to develop their talents to the limit. Socialism would lead to the ideal of Communism. In his own way, Marx was as idealistic as the utopians he despised.

Democratic socialism, however, has maintained its reputation of protecting the weak and the poor from the worst effects of capitalist competition.

Just as capitalism has its pros and cons, so does socialism. A government-planned economy allows for the careful use and equal distribution of scarce resources, and basic human needs (food, shelter, employment, education, free health care) are fulfilled. Socialism concentrates on distribution rather than production, because it is primarily concerned with equality. The evolutionary form of socialism accepts the idea of democracy and even some aspects of capitalism. It realizes that not all economic institutions function better in public hands; private initiative and responsibility frequently offer benefits that contribute to the public good. However, a planned and partially nationalized economy seems to offer the best hope of rapid advancement for underdeveloped countries.

No standard of socialism has thus far been universally accepted. The form of socialism implemented in the Soviet Union came far from creating a utopia. It has been labeled "Stalinism" after its infamous leader, though the more common designation is simply "Communism." It failed to produce enough for the population and created a bureaucracy which was inefficient and corrupt, and frustrated any effort at reform. The central planning system determined the quantity, quality, size, weight, and selling prices of every product. There was no understanding of supply and demand. The market was often wildly distorted and led to hoarding and shortages. The lack of incentives and

the resulting mediocrity of effort on the part of the managers and workers in a socialist society pose great problems. With the workers' incomes fixed for life, and security for themselves and their family guaranteed, they are apt to lean on their shovels. The question arises: will talented people work as well on salaries fixed by the government as they will when they have a real sense of ownership in an enterprise and when their incomes are more directly related to personal success or failure?

We have only discussed the economic failures of socialism. The political failures of Stalinism have given socialism an even worse reputation. Criticism was seen as a form of counter-revolution that would destroy socialism from within and was, therefore, suppressed with a ferocity equaled perhaps only in Hitler's Third Reich. The freedom and joy promised by the socialist utopia never materialized.

Democratic socialism, however, has maintained its reputation of protecting the weak and the poor from the worst effects of capitalist competition. At its best, it joins aspects of capitalism and socialism as practiced in one form or another in many countries of Western Europe and to some degree in India. Two famous historic examples of such "joinings" are the New Economic Policy in the Soviet Union and the New Deal in the United States. If correctly applied, it is possible that democratic socialism will become the most effective socio-political system.

Democracy

Since the end of the cold war, it seems that the system of democracy is increasingly being looked upon as the solution to all the world's problems. Ideally, democracy is rule by the people. As a system of government, democracy was first put into use in ancient Athens.

All Athenians citizens had the right to participate directly in the affairs of the state regardless of their wealth or social status. In such a system, people accepted the outcome of a vote whether or not it was in their favor because they were part of the decision-making process. Though quite successful in the times of Ancient Greece, it

is difficult for large nations such as the United States to employ this system effectively because all of the citizens cannot possibly meet in a forum as did the Athenians.

Through the passage of time, democracy has evolved to meet the needs of a continually changing society. Larger units such as the modern state developed the system of representation, in which citizens elect representatives to decide on their behalf. In the United States the decision-making authority has been divided into three separate institutions: the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. The legislature makes laws, the executive "executes" or carries them out, and the judiciary decides if laws have been broken and how such breaches should be punished. The philosophy of all modern democracies is based on the rights of freedom of expression, public access to all information, and a fair legal system that protects all individuals.

These rights have wide implications in protecting the individual's life, property, and opportunity to make what he can and what he wants of his life. These rights protect people from governments which may want to oppress them for a variety of reasons, one of the most devious of which is "for their own good." Both totalitarian and authoritarian governments have used these arguments. One of the opportunities for a new world order comes from the collapse of these governments because they have failed to provide a better life for their citizens who have revolted and removed them from power.

What is the magic of democracy? Presumably decisions arrived at by a large group through a process of freedom of information and discussion are better decisions than those arrived at by a small and possibly secretive one.

What is seen as the magic of democracy? Presumably decisions arrived at by a large group through a process of freedom of information and discussion are better decisions than those arrived at by a small and possibly secretive one. Alternatives

have been examined, compromises made between conflicting interests, and the result agreed upon by a majority of voters. These opposing interests can be freely expressed and organized in pressure groups like political parties, labor unions, and other organizations. This openness hopefully achieves both wisdom and honesty, strengthened by freedom of the press that allows inquiring journalists to ferret out corruption and inefficiency.

Democracy is a form of government that has historically developed together with the economic system of capitalism; both are based on the concept that the well-being of the individual is the primary task of government and that the "public good" is the aggregate of all the individual ones.

However, because the good of the individual is so critical to the functioning of such a society, we often find that short-term consideration for individual advantage is detrimental to the long-term needs of society as a whole. Hence there is a need for a system of government that combines the individualism of capitalism with concern for the whole community.

Most democratic governments today are moving towards combining the political as well as the economic systems of socialism and capitalism. Governments recognize that capitalism can only work where a support system exists for those who have difficulty "making it." On the one hand, a large class of poor and unemployed cannot become either producers or consumers in a capitalist system and can become a drag on its prosperity. On the other hand, such a class has no political interest in voting for the government and might well turn to violence in overthrowing it. "Democratic Socialism" as practiced in many Western European countries protects private business and encourages the productive capacities of capitalism, but also legislates to protect the more vulnerable groups in society. In fact, countries like France consider that their prosperity is based on their recognition of such a balance.

There are also disadvantages to the democratic system; it takes a lot of work and "watchdog" activities to make it successful. Conflicts of interest between various groups such as minorities, business and labor, and various organizations are manipulated by politicians and

the media to assure decisions in their favor. The most potent weapon the average person has to protect democracy is the vote. However, in the 1988 United States presidential election less than one-half of all registered voters appeared at the polls. Those who do not participate in the decision-making process must live by the decisions made by others. Despite these shortcomings, many nations now are trying to establish a system of democracy in their country because it has greater potential for solving problems.

The way in which a democratic society goes about reaching its goals makes it an appealing alternative for a new world order as other systems prove unsuccessful and we reach an opportunity for change.

Sweden

Sweden is one of the few countries that has undertaken the challenge of combining the benefits of socialism and capitalism into a single government. At first the combination proved to be both efficient and beneficial, but now the economic status of the country is declining.

Sweden's society provides for its sick, its elderly, and its poor, while producing a high standard for its general population. This system, in essence, provides cradle-to-grave security for all, but this desire to maintain an economically balanced society is creating severe problems for Sweden's economy. Excessive tax rates have caused some of its most prominent citizens to flee to "tax haven" countries, thereby removing their earnings from Sweden's taxable base. More importantly, a general malaise pervades the working class as they, too, feel the pinch of excessive taxation. A large portion of Swedish workers' incomes (56 percent) goes directly to the government in the form of income taxes to maintain the costly welfare system. The unanswered question is, can Sweden continue to provide for all equally, or must it adopt the rewards and penalties of a free-market system? The heavy taxation which provides the base for the Swedish system implies two things: a prosperous economy that can provide the surplus for this taxation, and

people's willingness to work hard to achieve prosperity.

But Sweden's economy is declining and its export market is in trouble. There are low sales because many realize that the Swedish goods can be made more inexpensively in the Far East and Latin America.

The rapid downfall of this economy is also a result of the workers' low morale, for in a socialist system where wealth is usually evenly distributed, there is little chance of getting ahead and therefore no great incentive to work.

The business community in Sweden is beginning to question the degree of generosity in the social security system. They need tax relief to invest in more competitive technologies to keep their place in world markets. The workers suspect that this argument is merely a ruse to make more profit. The business men reply that without their profit there is insufficient tax revenue to maintain any kind of social security, let alone a more modest one. And so there is discontent in the once-believed-to-be-flawless Sweden. The richer part feels that the socialist aspect is unnecessary while the poor feel the same way about the capitalist section, and the middle class is caught - as it so often is - in the middle.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a perfect balance, if any exists, between capitalism and socialism; in order to do so, each class in society would have to make compromises, while trying not to oppress or exploit any particular group. Sweden's government is not perfect, yet it is striving for an egalitarian society.

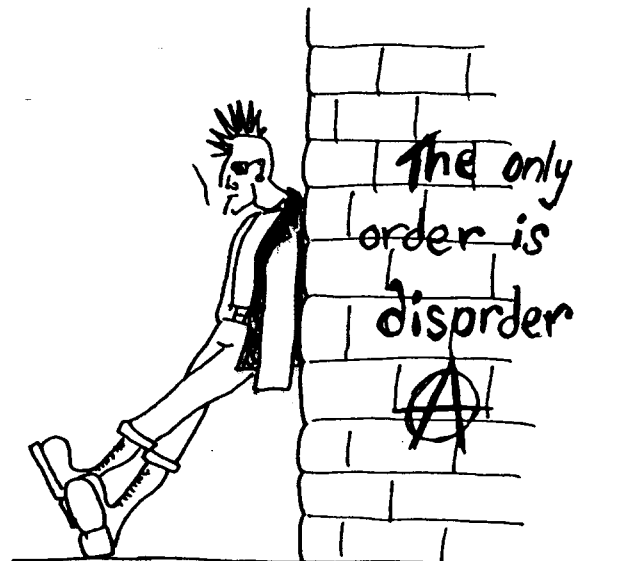
Anarchism

Throughout history, there has always been a person or group of people that have held power over another group. Whether for material, physical or other advantages, oppression by one or another form of social order has always existed, documented in even the most ancient historical accounts. Today, as most of these orders come crumbling down, it seems that the only form of government (or non-government as the case may be) left to be tried, is anarchism.

According to the Webster dictionary, the theory of anarchism states that formal government of any kind is unnecessary and wrong in principle. Anarchism is a great melting pot of different ideas and values and its doctrines are hard to define, but here are a few principles that all anarchists would agree on (condensed from those codified by the Pittsburgh Congress of the American Anarchists):

- 1) All governments necessarily exploit and dominate their people.
- 2) The state crushes and corrupts human nature which is otherwise good.
- 3) Only anarchism can rid humanity of the misfortunes that surround us today by forming a new society.
- 4) This new society can only be obtained through a revolution aimed to destroy the state.
- 5) The revolution cannot be followed by any sort of new government.
- 6) Unlike the teachings of Marxist socialism, anarchism is not the result of evolution or revolution, but merely the return to a natural way of life that encourages the development of human goodness.

The real contradiction in this movement is that to achieve the perfect society in which there will be no suffering so many must suffer. In order to ensure that there will be no organized form of government, anarchists have tried to overthrow existing governments, by attempting to assassinate



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leading political figures, sometimes even heads of state.

There were several expressions of anarchistic ideas before the nineteenth century, but the father of modern anarchism is the French socialist Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) who wrote, "Whoever lays his hand on me to govern me is an usurper and a tyrant; I declare him to be my enemy ... Government by man is slavery."

From this idea came thousands of others. Newspapers and magazines that supported anarchism were formed, books were published and the idea spread into movements such as that of Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) in Russia, and of the "pistoleros" and various other organized anarchists in Spain. Anarchism continued to spread throughout the world, appearing as a sign of discontent in many countries. It appealed, above all, to intellectuals in search of a new meaning to life, and to the working class. The greatest consequence of industrialization was the creation of the proletariat, who lived in miserable conditions, working ten to twelve hours a day, alienated from their work and themselves through monotony and exploitation. They looked to anarchism, which was against both political and economic oppression, to provide a better way of life.

Anarchism raises many questions: can it really work as a valid form of "government?" Is human nature (on which anarchism seems to rely most heavily) really good? Or if it ever was, have the years of government corrupted it forever? Who will protect the people from war or criminals? Can we really assume that the people will be willing to give up the private property for which they worked so hard and which governments are designed to protect? If they don't, who will make them? Won't these enforcers then be the symbol of power and will anarchism lead to militarism? It is also doubtful that this system would serve the needs of our highly advanced industry and civilization.

Today, anarchism does not show signs of an organized attempt to reappear, despite the many experiments in communal living that existed in the United States in the 1960s, and which still exist in many parts of the world. Perhaps it is waiting until society is so desperate that it is ready to try

anything. Then it may appear and try once more, to convince the people that it is the most compassionate and rewarding form of human organization.

Problems of Transition

We feel very uncomfortable with people who triumph over the failure of Communism and preach that only capitalism will save the world. They seem ready to accept that the transition from one system to the other will be very painful, and result in a form of triage: some will make it successfully, some barely, and some not at all. There does not seem to be any rational justification why some people fall into one category or the other. However, there seems to be no alternative but to accept the need for change. The process moves inexorably on.

Economic Reforms

The political revolutions in Eastern Europe have almost been completed. Now these countries face the incredible task of changing their exhausted centrally-planned economies into working liberal market economies. To understand fully the difficulties involved, one has to be aware of how different these two systems are.

People will not invest money and effort into an enterprise unless they have long-term as well as short-term interest in the development of a company. This combination is only possible when there is private ownership.

Under central planning, producers are told what to produce and how much to charge for it. Prices and quantities are fixed by decree, not by the forces of market supply and demand. In fact, prices are set quite arbitrarily - they are mere bookkeeping entries.

This distortion of the economic system has

caused serious problems. One kind of reform, incorporating parts of capitalism into socialism in a gradual transition from one system to the other, does not seem to be working. The only possible solution for the reforming countries seems to be the complete reorganization of economic life. This has been called the "Big Bang," when all aspects of capitalism are put in place at the same time. Such a successful conversion to capitalism is only possible if all three basic elements of the free-market are constructed simultaneously: market, currency and ownership.

Decades of being told what to do have destroyed people's initiative.

What we call market is actually an array of three different markets: the financial market, the resource market, which includes labor, and the market for goods and services. A commonly accepted stable currency, supported by a reliable monetary policy, is the precondition for any non-bartering economy to flourish. As for ownership, only the owner of an enterprise will act in the best short-term and long-term interest of his property, making sure that it is efficiently run and productive.

Creating markets is not as simple as setting up a stand in the town square; it involves many institutional reforms and requires a complete new set of laws, as well as the introduction of a tax system. Creating a financial market means separating national banks, which issue currency, from private lending banks, which make loans and take deposits. Creating a labor market means not only giving enterprises the possibility of laying off workers but also establishes institutions and agencies to help the unemployed. A market for goods must incorporate both small markets as well as means for buying and selling larger quantities of commodities.

In a socialist economy, money does not represent any real value as the prices of goods are arbitrary. In such a case, as in the Soviet Union, people often turn to bartering; for instance buying shoes to trade them later for meat, or vice versa. Across the economy as a whole, enterprises hold stocks that are estimated to be equivalent to a full

year's production. The resulting waste is colossal.

In many socialist economies there also exists a monetary surplus. Enterprises that experience losses may often receive allocations of money from government, without any obligations. As no free market economy can operate under such circumstances, governments adopting a market system have to practice strong monetary discipline. This also means discipline in granting loans and subsidies to enterprises that run into problems under the new conditions. It may be hard, having to watch a firm die, but such is the effect of a free market.

The success of a market economy depends on the incentive of profit from private enterprises. People will not invest money and effort into an enterprise unless they have long-term as well as short-term interest in the development of a company. This combination is only possible when there is private ownership.

As the management of an enterprise in a centrally-planned economy does not have to react to a market and has no interest in the long-term value of the company, it is apt to make wrong decisions that are amplified by the dimensions of the enterprise. In most Eastern European countries the economic sector is organized in combines. These are typically horizontally, and often vertically integrated, monopolistic enterprises. For example, in one country there may be only a single factory making chairs, while probably running the forests and saw-mills needed for their production as well.

In the process of reforming the economy these giants have to be broken up into subunits, which are then converted into private property. Many Socialist governments did not want to make this move, because it eliminates what they considered one of the basic accomplishments of their society. Those that developed systems of decentralized socialism, and granted the workers the right to self-management discovered that the workers' short-term interests destroyed their enterprises. Instead of investing in long-term improvements, workers granted themselves high pay and generous bonuses.

Governments determined to convert state owned enterprises into private property often run

into enormous problems. First of all they must ascertain if the property belonged to a private owner before it was taken by the state, and if that owner or his heir can verify their claims. Such respect for private property in assuring that it is transferred legally is essential for any kind of security in ownership. Once a government is confident that it is able to dispose of certain enterprises, there are new problems. What size units do you create? How much do you want to sell? Do you want foreign investment? Who has the authority to sell a property, if it belongs to everybody? And most difficult, how much do you want for it?

In Hungary, managements have sold off their enterprises to investors cheaply, in exchange for higher wages or shares, often both. In Poland, the government is now in the process of breaking up enterprises into sizeable chunks it plans to sell off to investors, often setting aside shares for the firms' employees. But in its effort not to sell them off too cheaply, the government is hardly selling any and is stalling the powers of a market that has hardly begun to develop. While most governments agree that all three factors - market, currency and ownership - have to be introduced, there is disagreement on the pace at which the changes should be made and to what degree. Gorbachev seems to be aiming for a gradual transition that could be stopped at any point, while Poland tried to jump into capitalism using the "Big Bang" approach, but failed to clear the hurdle of ownership.

The reforming countries of Eastern Europe have a long way to go. Not only will their economic systems have to change, but also the public mentality. Decades of being told what to do have destroyed people's initiative. They will also have to get accustomed to open social inequality between the successful entrepreneur and the unfortunate unemployed - something that also troubles many people in countries with a long history of a relatively stable free-market economy. It is politically and administratively impossible to put everything right at once. Yet, it seems that unless you put everything right at once, nothing will work. The dilemma is serious and can have dangerous consequences. Failure to achieve a

peaceful and successful economic transition can endanger the progress that has already been achieved politically.

The Rise and Fall of the German Democratic Republic

After World War II, the whole of Germany including the capital Berlin was divided into four zones of allied occupation, under the control of France, Britain, the USA and the USSR. All four occupying Powers were committed to the creation of one democratic Germany. However, when the western zones were united to a tri-zone in 1947 that formed one economic and political unit of democratic order, while socialist reforms were enforced by the Soviets in the East, it became clear that the ideologies and social structures of east and west were incompatible. The eruption of cold war rivalries and the blockade of Berlin (West) in 1948 by the Soviets, during which the city of 2.5 million inhabitants had to be supplied entirely from the air for 12 months, finally led to the creation of two



"DAD WHAT WAS THIS FOR?"

BERLIN WALL
1961-1989

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distinct states in 1949: the democratic Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the West and the socialist German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the East.

Subsequently, the two states in the same nation grew further apart. The brutal suppression, the uprising in Berlin (East) in June 1953, and the erection of the Berlin Wall on August 13, 1961 led to a further rise of anti-Communist feelings. The wall was originally built of barbed wire but eventually became a menacing 1,368 kilometers of concrete, spring-guns, electrified fences and fortifications. Over the 28-year period of its existence an estimated 75 people were killed trying to cross what was officially called an "anti-fascist protection wall." The Berlin wall, completely encircling Berlin (West), was not only a physical obstacle between Eastern and Western Europe, but also a symbol of the political differences between East and West.

On October 7, 1989, the leadership of the Socialist regime celebrated the 40th and last anniversary of the founding of the GDR. Tens of thousands of their subjects were escaping over the border to Czechoslovakia daily, finally to reach FRG, often after a long detour through Hungary and Austria. Even more dangerous to the dictatorship of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), were the crowds that had begun assembling in the Leipzig "Monday Demonstrations." Their slogan, "We are the people!" revealed the illegitimacy of a government that was not elected by the people, who are the true "sovereigns" in a democracy.

In the middle of these events stood Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who, while not explicitly supporting any side, did not intervene to stop the protests.

The events escalated. After holding the reins of power for 18 years, SED General Secretary Erich Honecker was removed from office on October 18, 1989. He had been planning to use troops to put down protesters. On November 4, in East Berlin, the largest demonstration in the history of the GDR drew roughly one million people. Under the mounting pressure, the Socialist Government had to give way. On November 9, it allowed its citizens to leave the country of their own free will. The Berlin Wall collapsed; and

Germans from both sides united in celebration.

In the weeks and months that followed, nationals of the GDR exercised their newly regained freedom of movement and crossed what had been the rigid wall of Stalin and entered the competitive world of the West. The demonstration chants changed from "We are the people!" to "We are one people!", a clear demand for unification. Meanwhile not all GDR nationals wanted to join the capitalist West. Those active in civil-rights movements like the "New Forum" who had started the Monday demonstrations just wanted to obtain the socialist rights they were entitled to in theory.

In the West, the daily influx of thousands of GDR nationals heavily strained the social security system and the housing market. On November 28, Chancellor Kohl presented a ten-point program to overcome the division of Germany and Europe. He then met with the heads of state of all four World War II victorious powers and the GDR's Prime Minister Modrow. The formal talks on German Unity were organized under the "2 plus 4" system, meaning "2 Germanys + 4 occupying powers = 1 unified Germany."

On July 1, 1990, a monetary, economic and social union between GDR and FRG was established. The GDR accepted the complete economic and social systems of the West, establishing a common market and the D-Mark as its sole currency. Unlike other Eastern European countries, GDR did not have to make the transition on its own but could rely on the existing economy - and the wallet - of its big brother to aid the process. While currency and markets are now in place, ownership still creates a big problem. People who left the GDR in the last decades are now claiming back their expropriated property, often already bought by others.

Finally, on December 2, 1990 the first all-German elections to parliament for over 50 years were held. The two separate republics were one Germany again.

The Soviet Union

Transitions are always difficult periods in history. The Soviet Union must transform its

system of control of all aspects of people's lives to one of greater political, economic, and social freedom.

Political freedom suggests two processes: greater independence for the fifteen Soviet republics, and popular control of their governments. The Soviet Union is composed of many separate national groups. Since the Czarist empire, these ethnic minorities have suffered such hardships that Lenin considered their liberation part of the Bolshevik revolution. However, he failed to establish a system for their protection; making Stalin Commissar of Nationalities only caused them further suffering.

... free enterprise exacts heavy penalties of the lazy.

The apparent weakness of the central government has encouraged the republics to assert their independence in order to safeguard their own economies and freedom. Thirteen Soviet republics have declared "sovereignty" since the adoption of Gorbachev's political reforms, with the three Baltic states, Russia, Moldavia, and Kazakhstan setting up their own presidential systems. The republics' defiance directly challenges the power and authority of the central government. The central government has attempted to overcome these republics' resistance by economic and military means. The unfortunate circumstances and the recent confrontation between civilians and the military in Lithuania and Latvia, as well as the nervousness of people in neighboring republics, emphasizes the seriousness of the problem. Only giant Russia is relatively self-sufficient. If the independence of each republic is achieved, how will they trade with each other, and the outside world, to balance their needs?

The benefits of union are too great for most of them to want to split away altogether, but a looser federation with less central control would give them the best of both worlds. The centralized "empire" could become a "commonwealth."

From the point of view of the central government, the loss of power appears to be a disaster. This power is held by three main organs of government: the Communist Party, the KGB,

and the military-industrial complex. Each has its own vast network of officials, officers, and bureaucrats. Their power depends on the maintenance of the central apparatus, and although many of them are little more than inefficient apparatchiks, they have their jobs. They believe that only a return to more forceful control by the central government can save the Soviet Union from disintegrating into chaos. These concerns lie behind the growing role of the military, the removal of some liberals from government and the re-imposition of censorship. The resignation of Shevardnadze is seen as a protest against the revival of such policies.

Economic freedom connotes changing the process of central planning and control to a market economy and free enterprise. One of the main problems Soviet reformers face is the Soviet Union's inability to respond to price variations in its economy. The previous wasted years of "regulation" resulted in an inefficient monopoly of companies producing inferior goods which cannot be sold on world markets, and lacking the flexibility to respond to price signals as western ones do. There is little understanding of Western economic principles, such as how a free market responds to the laws of supply and demand.

Disastrous food shortages have occurred in the USSR this past year - when it could have had one of the best harvests ever. These shortages were caused by problems in the distribution of labor and equipment, and inefficient transportation of goods to the marketplace, as well as strikes and the withholding of food supplies by collective farms hoping for better prices. Many Russians are humiliated by the fact that other countries are sending them food.

The USSR is considering the legalization of private farming. This may raise farms' gross output by more than 100 percent. However, the state and collective farms will remain and private farmers would only have the right to take away slices of collective land after local authorities grant them permission. This minimum reform shows the government's reluctance to approve private competition.

The problems the government is facing are partially caused by the fact that it cannot bring

itself to aim for a full free market economy, but continues to "regulate." The economy is paralyzed, as neither central planning nor free enterprise is working.

There seem to be two reasons why the transition to a free market economy is so difficult. The first is reluctance on the part of the central planning authorities. Such a large sector of the economy is geared to secret military production, much of it wasteful, that the bureaucracy does not want to reveal its previous errors, nor does it know how to correct them. Who will be blamed for failure if the information is made available? It seems preferable to them just to remain in power.

The second reason for the growing paralysis in the process of change is the mistrust of reforms by the people themselves. Studying Russian history one begins to realize how little experience of freedom they had. They expect to be told what to do by one authority or another. From serfdom to the Mir to the Collective farm, Russian peasants have expected direction from above; they are not at all sure now that they want "privatization" of their own farms. They would like the same security that they are used to, with a little more material benefit, however it comes to them. The Russian worker feels the same, especially after watching the problems of the workers at a neighboring factory as they try to run their own business. Private enterprise is hard work, and terribly frustrating when you have to work with a bureaucracy that doesn't know what it is doing - and doesn't want to do it anyway! And free enterprise exacts heavy penalties of the lazy.

The liberal intellectuals are losing heart as well. The rejection of the "500 Days" program of Stanislav Shatalin was a great blow. This program proposed radical economic reform, a confederate structure for the USSR, and democracy, all to be achieved within the time frame of approximately a year and a half. It would have propelled the Soviet Union into a serious process of reform. However painful the economic changes would have been, the decision to make them would have gone through democratic procedures, and so, hopefully, would have been better understood and more willingly accepted.

Much progress was being made in both

political and economic areas until the tension between conservatives and liberals erupted in the autumn of 1990. The result was a paralysis in government and a possibility for new conflicts.

Something far more ominous is emerging now: the exchange of accusations leading to old and familiar feelings of paranoia. The liberals are accusing the conservatives of Stalinist tactics, and the conservatives are accusing the liberals of being the tools of the CIA. Nonetheless, in the midst of the chaos in the USSR at present, there thrives the hope that time and perseverance will produce a greater success.

Hungary

When the iron curtain descended upon Europe in the late 1940s, Hungary wound up on the Communist side. At the end of World War II, during which Hungary had fought alongside Germany, the country was occupied by the Soviet Union's Red Army. Though the Communist Party of Hungary, originally founded by Bela Kun on March 24, 1918, lost elections in 1945 and 1947, this did not keep it from slowly taking control of the government between 1946 and 1949. Under the advice of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party in Hungary abandoned all pretense of parliamentary rule and seized power.

Terrible economic conditions and very little personal freedom resulted from the Communist Party's policies, causing the people of Hungary to revolt in 1956. At first it seemed they were successful, but this only lasted for a few days. The Soviet Union soon sent troops into Hungary and the uprising was crushed.

The 1956 revolution failed, but it marked the beginning of the end of Communism in Hungary, and the weakening power of the Communist regime in Eastern Europe as a whole. In that same year, at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress, Khrushchev revealed some of Stalin's atrocities. These revelations, together with the brutal act of suppressing a nation's uprising against Communism, destroyed the dreams of global Communism. The Soviet Union lost most of the important Italian Communist Party's support, as

well as the support of the left-wing French and American intellectuals. These people were strong idealists, and when they saw that virtually all of the Hungarian people were driven to rebel against their Communist government, which only responded by putting this rebellion down with brutal force, they no longer felt that the cause which they were supporting was worthy. The Soviets would have needed the support of these people in order to set up Communist governments in countries around the world.

At the end of the revolution, János Kádár was appointed Prime Minister, and head of the Hungarian Communist Party by Khrushchev. Though his role in the revolution is somewhat unclear, he was in fact the man who advised the Soviets to break up the revolt by invading Hungary.

Kádár and his government attempted to improve the Hungarian economy through a series of changes which were much too small to be considered reforms. Before Kádár, the Hungarian economy was completely state-operated; there was absolutely no private business. An example of the changes which Kádár made while in power (a time span of about 20 years) was the very gradual privatization of Hungary's businesses.

(In 1956) Khrushchev revealed some of Stalin's atrocities. These revelations, together with the brutal act of suppressing a nation's uprising against Communism, destroyed the dreams of global Communism..

Kádár was a very loyal Communist and kept very close relations with the Soviet Union. He supported their foreign policy 100 percent, and could make economic changes without fear of Soviet intervention. Kádár was also able to convince Khrushchev that in order to prevent further uprisings similar to the 1956 revolution, it would be important to give freedom to the people in small doses. This argument seemed to make sense to Khrushchev (in retrospect one of the more liberal Soviet leaders), and thus Kádár had no difficulties with the Soviets.

Of course, the Kádár regime also had its

faults. This is obvious because, under Kádár, Hungary's suicide rate became the highest in the world, and alcoholism climbed to an unprecedented peak. But, during his twenty years in power, Kádár helped prepare Hungary for a change which influenced the entire Communist regime in Eastern Europe. This change, in fact, turned out to be the collapse of the entire Soviet Bloc.

The first signs of change was noticed in a memorandum addressed to János Kádár by a group called the Patriotic Front, in which 35 political and economic experts pointed out that economically, politically, and technologically Hungary was profoundly backwards and the Soviet Union was even worse. Something had to change.

Freedom of assembly and freedom of association were legalized on January 11, 1989. One month later the Communist Central Committee approved the creation of independent political parties and their participation in free, general elections. On May 2, Hungarian soldiers began dismantling the barbed wire fence along the Austrian border, thereby making Hungary the first Soviet Bloc country to open its borders to the West. A long-awaited act occurred on May 8, when the Central Committee forced the former leader, János Kádár, into retirement.

On September 19, it was agreed that a multi-party political system should be set up, in preparation for free elections to be held in the Spring of 1990. The Communist Party renounced Marxism and renamed itself the Hungarian Socialist Party on October 7. This was the first time in history that a ruling Communist party had ever turned away from the ideology upon which it was founded.

The "Grande Finale" took place on October 23, the anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. Standing on a balcony overlooking Parliament Square, acting president Matyas Szuros pronounced the People's Republic of Hungary dead, and replaced it with "Magyar Kotzarsasag," the Republic of Hungary.

People around the world were amazed that Hungary had quietly discarded Communist rule in one peaceful year. There was no bloodshed. Arpad Goncz, a famous Hungarian author and playwright said: "I'm proud that these historic changes have

come about without bloodshed or force. This is the result of the wisdom of the people. No one called for revenge." He was to be elected president of Hungary in the spring of 1990.

Hungary's leap away from Communism triggered a chain reaction in Europe during the remaining months of 1989. The German Democratic Republic was the next to drop Communist rule, and it was quickly followed by the rest of Eastern Europe.

From Dissident to President

For Czechoslovakia, like many other Eastern European countries, the revolution of 1989 was not its first attempt to escape the Communist system enforced by the Soviet Union. In 1968, due to public demand for immediate and far-reaching reform, Alexander Dubcek became the leader of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and headed a program designed to modify Communism. However, the Soviet Union viewed the reforms as "counter revolutionary" behavior and as a result, on August 20, Soviet tanks invaded Prague.

Vaclav Havel was one of many who witnessed this invasion and felt the repression of the new Soviet backed government. Some of those involved in the reform movement were frustrated by its outcome; they founded one of the most important and influential dissident groups - Charter 77. Its members, though varied, shared Havel's beliefs and fought for the respect for human rights.

Because of his "revolutionary" activities for Charter 77, and his belief in and respect for human rights, Vaclav Havel was jailed repeatedly. Nevertheless, he continued to draw the attention of the world to the oppression in Czechoslovakia. In response to the acclaim he received, he simply said, "We just did some things that seemed the decent thing to do."

Havel not only opposed his country's regime; he went a step further to a view of what a future society should look like:

"An economy that is totally nationalized and centralized has a catastrophic effect on all personal relationships. An ever-deepening chasm opens up between man and the economic system, which is

why this type of economy works so badly...."

"Enterprises must have human dimension; people must be able to work in them as people, as beings with a soul and a sense of responsibility, not as robots, regardless of how primitive or highly intelligent they may be...."

"It is important that people not be a herd, manipulated and standardized by the choice of consumer goods and consumer television culture."

Vaclav Havel emphasized the importance of "human consciousness" in the transition from one system to another. "A genuinely fundamental and hopeful improvement in systems cannot happen without significant shift in human consciousness."

Havel believes that people can change: "Society is a very mysterious animal with many faces and hidden potentialities, and it is extremely shortsighted to believe that the face society happens to be presenting to you at a given moment is its only, true face. None of us know all the potentialities that slumber in the spirit of the population, or all the ways in which that population can surprise us when there is the right interplay of events, both visible and invisible."

"It is important that people not be a herd, manipulated and standardized by the choice of consumer goods and consumer television culture."

Havel noticed this change in the attitudes and feelings of Czechoslovakia's youth. This gave him hope for the future. "People seem to be recovering gradually, walking straighter, taking a renewed interest in things they had so energetically denied themselves before... The rapid awakening and spread of religious feeling among young people necessarily causes them to ask questions about the meaning of life, to look for more meaningful system of values and standards, and discover hope for this world."⁵

On December 10, 1989, Vaclav Havel became the new president of Czechoslovakia after its people had overthrown the Communist Government in a "Velvet Revolution." The Czechs and the Slovaks had a democratic government before they were invaded first in 1939 by Hitler,

and then in 1945 by Stalin. Hopefully, Vaclav Havel will be able to create a new government based on his ideals and on the people's strong sense of democracy.

Minorities

The subject of minorities is always a sensitive one, since many of us are part of one and therefore do not relate to it comfortably. A minority is generally defined as a group that differs from others in the same society in terms of race, nationality, religion or language. The dominant group in the society usually has greater political and economic power than the minority group, which suffers from various forms of exclusion and discrimination.

The most effective way to initiate change is to recognize the equal humanity of all people, regardless of their differences.

Many minority groups are created when people leave their homeland, frequently as refugees from a form of oppression, or as a result of natural disasters, and settle in other areas. Historically, many nation-states in Eastern Europe were created with minorities within their borders.

Minority groups often adapt to the society in which they live and lose some of the characteristics that originally set them apart. Sometimes a minority may exclude itself voluntarily from participation in the customs of the majority in order to maintain its traditional and cultural differences. In any case, past or present subordination or segregation inevitably creates attitudes of mutual hostility that are difficult to change.

Minorities are often sources of social unrest and change the balance of power. They frequently join reform or revolutionary factions within the dominant group. Without access to economic or political power, the minority group may attempt to form their own government to represent their interests and give them security from what they perceive as discrimination.

There are many minority groups in today's world that advocate such separatism. It is difficult to name them because the governments of the countries in which they live consider the policies regarding them to be fair and protective. Sympathizing with the minorities would seem to be a reprimand to these governments. In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe the problem has become particularly urgent. Because of the collapse of a central authority that suppressed any form of protest, complications have emerged. One of the difficulties of freedom is that it allows people to express their dislike and distrust of others. With literally no experience in democracy, minority groups fear that their neighbors will try to suppress them once the unifying force of the central government is weakened. The most adequate alternative that they perceive is to form their own state.

Minorities in Eastern Europe face tremendous hardships during the transition from one system of government to another. Such changes often cause the kind of paranoia that makes people look for a scapegoat on which to blame all their troubles. The rise of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe is an example of the search for such a scapegoat. In other parts of the world, with problems of poverty, increasing population, and illiteracy, the pain and anger of the majority is directed towards the local minority, "the enemy within," or an outside enemy, giving rise to wars and other such conflicts.

To find solutions to the problem of security for minorities seems to be a race against time. Often violence is chosen as a solution. This can end either in the creation of many new small states (whose problems of survival can cause further violence) or the genocide of that minority. The other alternative may be found in democracy. It has the potential to lead to economic prosperity and political security which all people can share. The many conflicts that threaten the world today center on the problem of how to achieve that security.

We must realize that there is a great loss resulting from suppressing the diversity of minority groups. Their perspectives and alternative lifestyles can offer solutions to the many problems of survival of the human race. The most effective way to initiate change which will lead to a new

world order is to recognize the equal humanity of all people, regardless of their differences. The laws of society must respect and protect those differences, while creating an atmosphere of interaction and cooperation that will prevent any one group from developing a fear of dominance by another.

The Widening Conflict

Introduction

The healing of the cold war and the subsequent changes worldwide have brought much hope and optimism for a truly new world order. However, another graver conflict, often overshadowed by the cold war, is now resurfacing: the conflict between the North and South, the developed and the developing world.

If you look at the world as a whole, what is east, west, north or south depends on where you are geographically. As the cold war began somewhere in the middle of Europe, east was the Soviet Union and west was Great Britain, France, and their ally the United States. But what about the north and south? Rather than being based on conflicts of ideology or the proliferation of arms, this separation is concerned with wealth and poverty.

The North is roughly the group of developed countries, while the developing countries are collectively known as the South. The North is often considered more "developed" because it has sophisticated technology and high productivity. Countries of the South are considered "underdeveloped" because of their poverty, low productivity, high rates of population growth, widespread illiteracy, and generally poor standards of living.

The North-South divide can become just as dangerous for the peace and well-being of humankind as the cold war. In many of our previous Working Papers, we have often asked if the world can survive ninety percent poor and ten percent rich. Such injustice is the cause of many conflicts, and until that gap begins to close, rather than continue to widen, the new world order will not be very different from the old.

Historical Overview

The early causes of the under-development of developing nations stem from the late 19th and early 20th century colonization of Asian, African, and South American areas. The developed countries, confronted with the rich and varied resources of their new colonies, pursued their own economic interests, exploiting the resources and labor of these colonies.

During the post-colonial era (1950s and 1960s), there was a move towards independence by the colonies. The efforts of the newly independent countries to reshape and restructure their economies took place during the cold war, and therefore their development was highly politicized in such a way that their progress was subject to interference by the leading world powers.

These former colonies tried to form nations in the modern sense of the word, in spite of many internal conflicts. First, they faced the challenge of forming coherent national societies. These countries usually encompassed more than one ethnic or linguistic group, which made it harder for all of them to function under one flag as one nation. These new nations also faced external conflicts with neighboring countries, often over territorial and border disputes.

A second and equally difficult problem was their economies. The colonial powers had deliberately suppressed industrial development, focusing instead on the exportation of primary products and agricultural goods. This left the economies of the newly independent nations highly dependent on fluctuations in world markets. Moreover, the post-war world economy was mainly designed to benefit the developed world and did not take into consideration the needs of the developing countries. Many manufactured products exported by developing countries were faced with discriminatory trade barriers imposed by the developed countries.

Another problem that exacerbated their situation was their political systems. Most of them had authoritarian forms of government with little or no emphasis on the need for participation by all citizens. Because these governments were not accountable to their people, corruption and

mismanagement of wealth and resources prevailed, rendering the government almost ineffective.

At some point, the stresses of the East/West divide (the cold war) also began to aggravate the North/South conflict. Pressure was put on the growth of underdeveloped nations because the cooperation of developed countries was largely dependent upon political alliances. This meant that if a developing nation was on one side of the East/West divide, it could not look for assistance from a developed nation on the other side of the divide.

In the 1970s, as a result of the oil boom, many oil producing countries had a surplus in the money supply which they put in commercial banks. To keep the money circulating, these banks were happy to lend massive amounts of money to developing countries. As the decade wore on, and lending continued, the developing countries amassed a huge debt. In 1982, Mexico declared its inability to pay all its debts reflecting the situation in many developing nations and marking the start of the International Debt Crisis.

The International Debt Crisis

The international debt crisis of the 1980s has had a profound impact on the economies of the developing nations. As they find it increasingly difficult to pay their debts, other countries and organizations become increasingly reluctant to aid them. How can the developing countries use their loans more effectively and how can the developed countries help them in doing that? This is the real challenge to the North and South in the 1990s.

Why is the debt crisis such a serious and pressing problem for both the North and South? There are many answers to this question from economic, social, and political perspectives, revealing the broad impact it has had on the world as a whole.

As countries of the South tried to repay their debts, they inevitably took away money that would have otherwise been used for various aspects of development. In 1988 in North Africa and West Asia, external debt formed 80 percent of their GNP.⁶ Funding for schools, hospitals, and primary

health care was drastically reduced. As a result, infant mortality rates rose, school enrollment declined, and general economic growth slowed down.

The social environment in these countries also deteriorated. Young university graduates, after studying hard for at least four years, often holding a menial job at the same time, entered the "real" world with no prospects for a decent job. Tensions arose between sectors in society. People became less tolerant of each other, more frustrated and jealous of each other. The international drug trade affected many developing countries, especially the middle and lower classes. Disillusioned and unemployed young people turned to a desperate life of drugs and crime. The social fabric of these countries was being tragically torn apart.

In the face of all these negative factors, governments tried to maintain control, often using force and violence. People became more and more discontented with their governments and questioned their legitimacy. The government rarely addressed the people's dire situation and instead filled newspapers with the alleged progress and development the country was enjoying. Large military expenditures were a feature of government spending in the 1980s, with unnecessary and prolonged conflicts springing up everywhere around the world. The Iran/Iraq war lasted eight bloody years, claiming a million lives and destroying the economies of both countries.

Development: The Goals, The Obstacles, The Opportunities

As the 1990s begin, it is imperative to find a solution to the disturbing problems of the developing world. The only way to achieve a better standard of living for the people of the developing nations is economic, political, and social development, with the active participation of the developed and industrialized countries.

Development is the improvement of the basic standard of living of a nation through the growth of its industrial, agricultural, and human resources. Its purpose is to help the developing countries create an economy that can sustain their people.

Poverty, illiteracy, and overpopulation are three of the many obstacles retarding the progress of the developing countries. Any form of viable development must address these problems and gradually alleviate them.

Poverty

At the heart of any program of economic development is the elimination of communal poverty. The burden of poverty is unevenly distributed throughout the world. At the present rate, by the year 2000, there will be 900 million poor people on the earth, nearly half of them in South Asia, which holds 30 percent of the world's population.⁷

The developing nations carry the brunt of the destitute of the earth, and are unable to ameliorate their situation, much less eradicate it. Within the developing countries, there are those who are more poor than others and within these countries, there are regions more prone to poverty because of the fragility of the environment. The weight of poverty falls most heavily on certain groups in society such as the elderly, women, and children.

Poverty is the largest obstacle to the progress of the developing world, and must therefore be addressed in a creative but decisive manner. The world cannot go on with a large majority of its population living in cruel and inhuman conditions.

Population

One reason why developing countries find it so hard to tackle the problem of poverty is the sheer number of the poor throughout the world. By the year 2100, there will be close to 14 billion people on the planet. Over 90 percent of world population growth is taking place in the developing countries. Young people comprise the majority of the population increase in developing countries. In parts of Africa more than 50 percent of the population is under 15, with extensive needs for health and education services to make them into productive adults.

One of the reasons why the growth of population is an increasingly serious problem is the migration of people from rural to urban centers.

The countryside cannot sustain the growing number of farmers who need land. The ecological damage of indiscriminate cutting down of forests is already well known. But the migrants who came to the cities create problems also. By the year 2000, 77 percent of Latin America's population, 41 percent of Africa's and 35 percent of Asia's will be urbanized⁸. Unless systems of transport, communications, sanitation, health, housing, and education are improved, the conditions of this population will be intolerable. Famine, disease, and unemployment will cause massive movements of people across borders to find better conditions elsewhere.

People can be seen in two ways: as consumers of resources, or resources in themselves. Healthy and productive people can bring much benefit to their communities - poor and infirm people become a drag on the economy. One way of solving this problem is reducing population growth; another is to develop the health and productivity of the existing population.

People can be seen in two ways: as consumers of resources, or resources in themselves.

Governments must provide family planning and health services as well as educating men and women how to use them. Women play a crucial role in reducing population growth, and improving their status has a ripple effect on society as a whole. It is difficult to provide a better standard of living for a large population. A smaller population would be able to enjoy more the benefits development brings about.

Illiteracy and Education

One of the most pressing problems of the developing nations is illiteracy, the inability to read, write, and perform simple arithmetic. Over 95 percent of illiterate people are in the developing world. In 1990, Sub-Saharan Africa alone had an illiteracy rate of 53 percent.⁹

There is little doubt that literacy and education are the key to the progress of the

developing nations. With today's technological advances, it is impossible to live in a modern society without knowing how to read and write. The illiterate are excluded and marginalized from mainstream society, often ending up at the bottom of the social scale.

Women, essential figures in the process of development, are those most affected by illiteracy. Over 60 percent of the world's illiterates are women. A semi-literate Zapotec Indian woman from Latin America wrote, "I would educate women more than men. Women bear and raise children. So, women prepare the future. How can the future be good if women are illiterate?"

The need to eliminate illiteracy has prompted many governments to tackle the problem seriously. Literacy drives have also played an exemplary role in educating people. The Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) is one such example. The results of its work are impressive. The illiteracy rate in Jamaica was brought down from 50 percent in 1970 to 18 percent in 1978. Unfortunately, it has not escaped the budget cutbacks similar programs have undergone. In 1982/83, JAMAL's budget was \$8.6 million, dropping to \$4.3 million in 1988/89.¹⁰

1990 was proclaimed the International Literacy Year. Its major goal is the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000.

The Search For Solutions: A New Chapter in North/South Relations

Helping the developing nations of the South has become more than just a moral issue. It is now a global problem. As seen through the Persian Gulf Crisis, the developed world has come to depend so much on the resources of the developing nations that any flaw or irregularity in the flow of raw materials can shift the momentum of the world economy and endanger its well-being.

A new phase in North/South relations is the only way a new world order can be truly realized. On the one hand, the North must recognize its responsibility to countries of the South and offer genuine aid in view of long term benefits. The South, for its part, should cease to blame all its

problems on the North and begin investing in its most valuable resource: people. Progress and prosperity will not occur in a few days or months. It might take years to see the results. Investing in children, educating and feeding them, and providing services for them and their parents will

The unnecessary conflicts around the world claiming millions of lives can be halted if people stop to question their governments and realize that conflict breeds only more conflict.

never be wasted. The prerequisite for this is a sound global economy and peace. The unnecessary conflicts around the world claiming millions of lives, precious resources, and huge amounts of money can be halted if people stop to question their governments and realize that conflict breeds only more conflict.

North/South Dialogue

The process of development depends on the commitment of the industrialized countries to aid the developing countries. Several attempts were made in the 1970s and 1980s to initiate a "new international economic order," without success. The responsibility for the continuation of the North/South dialogue rests with both sides. It is too late to try to blame any one side for its irresponsibility or its selfishness. A new cooperation entails restructuring the global economy to make it more beneficial to all, setting up forums where negotiations can take place, and augmenting the role of international organizations in this important process. But before all this can be done, each side must perceive the other in a different manner. Both must respect the needs and limitations of the other, and must not let their specific needs overpower the common goal of global cooperation and interdependence.

The first step that must be taken is to resolve the impending debt question. Sustainable growth and development will not happen unless a solution to this problem is found. It would be unrealistic and inhumane to expect the developing countries to

pay all their debt immediately. What is needed is a large reduction in the amounts of money owed, so that the developing countries could resume their development.

Another form of cooperation between the two sides is the reform of the international trading system: developed countries must open their markets to products manufactured in developing countries and abandon their protectionist policies. Since countries of the South are much less advanced in science and technology they must be assisted by the North. One of the many benefits of technological advancement is the ensuing ability to protect the environment, which is a serious issue for developing countries.



Disarmament, a pressing global imperative, has direct bearing on development and North/South relations. The optimum environment for development is global peace. International arms dealers and developed countries who sell arms to the eager governments of the developing nations only render the situation worse, fueling unnecessary conflict and forcing developing countries to funnel resources originally directed towards development to tanks and missiles.

Cooperation between countries of the developing world and developed nations is an integral component of the new world order. It is no longer a moral issue of helping the poor countries survive. The stability of the world as a whole depends upon the stability of its separate entities,

poor and rich. The situation gets worse every day, as people die of easily preventable diseases, malnutrition, wars, and poverty. The role of international organizations such as the United Nations and its many agencies is indispensable in this ongoing process of change.

New Wars - The Gulf Crisis

The Middle East has long been an unstable and volatile region of the world. Because of the abundance of oil, outside intervention is frequent, adding to the complexity of the region and the search for a solution to its pressing problems.

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded its much smaller neighbor Kuwait in what was a direct violation of international law. However, in order to understand why Iraq did this, one must look at the background of events in order to arrive at a just and objective solution to the problem.

Both Iraq and Kuwait were under Ottoman rule before World War I, as was most of the Middle East. Instead of gaining their independence at the end of the war, the Arab lands were divided between French and British "spheres of influence" under League of Nations mandates. The British created a separate entity of Kuwait in 1923 for the Sabah family who had ruled there since the eighteenth century.

The discovery of oil in the Persian Gulf countries in the first half of the twentieth century had serious economic and political implications for the region. Oil has become a vital natural resource for industry and development. It is a non-renewable source of energy whose major reserves are to be found in the Middle East (primarily the Persian Gulf area). Until the 1950s, these reserves were controlled by European and American oil companies. The percentage of shares in these companies began to shift to the Persian Gulf countries themselves in the 1960-1970s, until today these countries control their own oil. They came together in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973 in order to determine the supply, and therefore the price of oil in international markets.

The economic importance of the Middle East

drew it into cold war confrontations. The United States and the Soviet Union had vital interests in the region and allied themselves with different countries to protect them. The involvement of the foreign Powers led to much resentment among the Arabs, because they saw themselves as tools used by the super Powers to guarantee their access to oil.

There have been many wars in the Middle East since the end of World War II. The Arab/Israeli conflict led to wars in 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. In 1978, Egypt signed a separate peace treaty with Israel, isolating itself in the Arab world and causing more divisions between the Arab countries.

The 1980s was a turbulent period for the Arab world. In 1980 Iraq invaded the Islamic Republic of Iran in order to gain better access to the Persian Gulf. In 1982, Israel invaded South Lebanon in order to create a buffer zone between itself and its northern neighbors.

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq has caused much turmoil, especially within the Arab world. Feelings run high and it is difficult to describe these conflicts without offending one group or another. The United Nations Security Council passed a series of resolutions culminating in an authorization to go to war if Iraq did not withdraw from Kuwait by January 16, 1991. A large force is arrayed against Iraq, consisting of air power, armies and navies of the United States, Canada, Egypt, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic. The war that has already begun has the potential of escalating into a conflict of immense proportions. The uncertainty of the outcome and its implications lead to the fear of an unknown future. The world community is troubled and frustrated by the suffering this war will bring about.

The Persian Gulf crisis presents a challenge to the world community to come together to find a just solution to this conflict. The role of the United Nations and other organizations is essential in the search for a solution. All sides must be willing to compromise if a solution is to be found.

Conflict between nations will always exist, but a new world order calls for these conflicts to be resolved, above all, by peaceful means. War is not an acceptable solution to any conflict, although

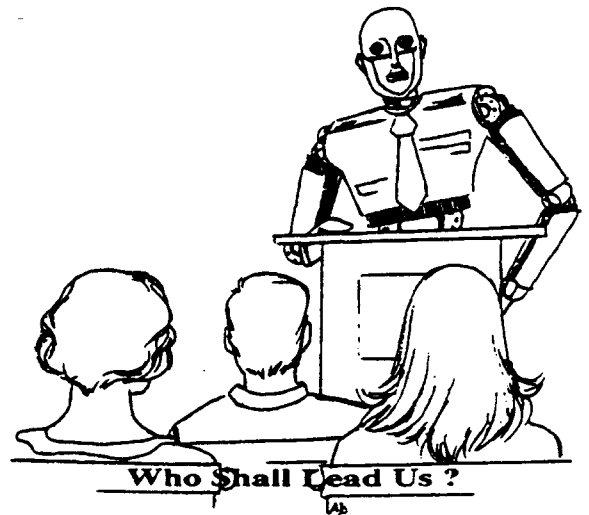
some argue that it is sometimes necessary.

A solution to the Persian Gulf crisis must be found not only for the people of the region but for the stability of the world as a whole. Grave conflicts can no longer be examined from a purely regional perspective but must be seen in a larger context of how they can pull other countries into an ever escalating war.

The Middle East, and other troubled regions of the world, pose a real challenge to the world community. Peaceful solutions to their conflicts must take into account the grievances of all sides. The Persian Gulf crisis and the ensuing war reflects this urgency. The key to the progress of a truly new world order is the cooperation between all countries in the formation of an interdependent world.

A New World Order: Resolving Conflicts

The more we studied the problems of establishing a new world order, the more we began to wonder if such an order would ever be possible. But then we turned to some "success stories," incidents of cooperation and negotiations when some degree of prosperity, peace and justice have been achieved. In putting the role of women and the media in this section, we examine two seriously neglected resources that could help build a new world order.



Economic Integration: The European Community

The twelve member nations of the European Community (EC) hope by 1992 to complete an economic alliance intended to pull Europe out of a period of decline and restore her as a full-scale economic unit that can be competitive with powers like the United States and Japan. If it is successful, it will result in a shift in the balance of economic as well as political power

The dream of a united Europe owes much to two Frenchmen, Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet. More wars have been fought in Europe than in any other continent. It was the dream of these practical though idealistic men to unite Europe, first in an economic union, and then, hopefully, in a cultural and political one as well. If the EC proves to be a success, it will serve as an example of how conflicting interests can be resolved both politically and economically..

The history of the EC began in 1957 when six European nations - Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Luxembourg, and West Germany - signed the Treaty of Rome, giving birth to the Common Market. They were later joined by Denmark, Ireland, Great Britain, Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

In December 1985, the leaders of the EC nations met in Brussels to endorse the Single European Act. The Act proposed nothing less than the complete abolition of internal frontiers among the 12, allowing the free movement of people, goods, and capital. The EC promises the creation of a totally new "multi-national" entity in the world. But there are many problems which can affect both the success of the EC within its borders, and its relationship with the rest of the world.

Although the majority of the population supports economic integration now, they may change their minds when French beers find their way into German stores, or when British companies buy out Spanish manufacturers, or when Dutch electronics workers are laid off because plants are shifted to low-wage Greece. Although the EC is correct in maintaining that many jobs will be created, many jobs will also be lost.

The abolition of internal barriers creates other

problems. If the movement of the whole EC workforce is totally free, one could well imagine migrations comparable to the American gold-rush, to areas where jobs, salaries, and working conditions were favorable, while other areas would plunge into regional decline. If 2 million Greeks moved to France, or another similar event took place, chances are that popular resentment would rise. Due to the creation of one job market as opposed to twelve separate ones, the EC will have to provide relocation subsidies and retraining programs in order to ensure that jobs and people are geographically balanced.

Some fear a "Fortress of Europe" scenario, in which to compensate for the abolition of internal trade barriers, the EC will raise even stouter barriers against outsiders.

Trade policy is the foremost concern of non-EC powers. Many hope that the EC's approach to world trade will be as liberal as their approach at home. But some fear a "Fortress of Europe" scenario, in which to compensate for the abolition of internal trade barriers, the EC will raise even stouter barriers against outsiders. Other Europeans favor a reciprocal trade agreement: We'll let you sell \$1 million worth of your goods here if you let us sell \$1 million worth of our goods in your country.

The face of a new Europe, whatever it might be, is not simply going to appear out of the mists on New Year's Day, 1992, but will be built slowly piece by piece.

Twelve nations will continue to exist along with their national governments and frontiers. The European Community is comprised of nation-states seeking the economic benefits of scale without having to pay the ultimate political price: the loss of national sovereignty. The nation-state is alive and well in Western Europe. None desire to sacrifice their statehoods on the altar of European Unity. Furthermore, they are not willing to give up their individual languages, cultures, and political systems to form a "European Melting Pot." Neither are they interested in creating situations in which

Sicily would be equal to a "German Florida" and Frankfurt would be an "Ellis Island" for immigrants from other parts of Europe as well as the rest of the world.

Political developments also pose challenges to the future of the EC. The arrival of John Major as the Prime Minister of Great Britain might significantly change that nation's future attitude towards the continent. Germany, the largest and most powerful of the twelve, has been reunified. How will the addition of what used to be the German Democratic Republic effect the German economy? A power as large as the united Germany affects not only the European, but also the world economy. The saying that "when the U.S. sneezes, the rest of the world catches pneumonia" certainly applies to Germany as well.

The cold war is waning. With its passing, the Soviet Union is knocking on the EC's doors. Austria is applying for membership and so is Turkey. The Swiss, Swedes, and Norwegians will not want to be left out forever. Eastern European countries might also want to join. Will the present 12 want to keep them out? All of these questions are very difficult to answer in a fast changing situation. However, more members means less homogeneity, and the less homogeneity the more difficult a political union.

The EC has taken a path to unity which has no historical precedent. It is not motivated by politics, but rather by economics. No matter what the outcome, the world will come to look different as the project gets under way. If it works, one would hope that other economic organizations of countries, such as the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), would be able to use the EC as a model for development. The EC will put the question to the test of whether or not an efficient system of economic alliance can exist, and whether it can lead to political unity as well.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

In August 1975, the 35 member nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) met in Helsinki, Finland, and signed the

Final Act which is now known as the Helsinki Accords. It was divided into three "baskets." The first "basket" recognized the borders of Eastern Europe, and was considered a victory for the Soviet Union. The second was concerned with measures of military security such as informing the other member nations of any large troop movements or maneuvers. The third "basket" was primarily concerned with human rights. The 35 member nations agreed to protect rights that did not previously exist in the countries behind the iron curtain, such as freedom of speech, assembly and travel. "Helsinki" groups were organized to monitor compliance of Soviet and Eastern European governments with these human rights.

The dramatic changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe are evoking radical new ideas. Some countries, especially those from Eastern Europe, wish to expand the role of the Helsinki Accords to the point that it will be able to replace the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These nations hope that the CSCE will be able to take on the responsibility of guaranteeing European security and in the process eliminate what remains of the division between eastern and western Europe.

The Paris Charter echoed..."steadfast commitment to democracy based on human rights... prosperity through economic liberation, social justice , and equal security for all countries."

The first step towards the possible change was taken when the now 34 member nations (due to the unification of the two Germanys) met in Paris in November 1990 and agreed on a charter reducing the conventional arms of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. The Soviet Union was most affected by this treaty. However, suspicion that their agreed upon cuts in arms will be somehow circumvented are already causing problems. Equipment depots and military bases will be open to verification by all parties in order to establish trust between the member nations.

The Paris Charter echoed a pledge of "steadfast commitment to democracy based on

human rights and fundamental freedoms, prosperity through economic liberation and social justice , and equal security for all countries."''

The 34 members of the CSCE are looking forward to forming a small secretariat in Prague as well as a conflict prevention center in Vienna. The new plan also hopes to set up annual meetings for the foreign ministers of the 34 nations and bi-annual meetings for their heads of state.

If the CSCE is indeed successful in reaching these goals, it would be a sure sign of the end of the cold war. Countries that had, until recently, been enemies would be working together in achieving collective security and freedom. However, this peace and security will not last long if a new division takes place in Europe between a rich West and a poor East. The Hungarian prime minister at the Paris meeting spoke of a "Welfare Wall replacing the Iron Curtain" and the need for massive aid to heal this division.

A New Way of Thinking in South Africa

For many years South Africa has been isolated from the rest of the world for its policies of racial discrimination known as Apartheid. This explains why President F.W. De Klerk's remarks in his opening speech to Parliament on February 2, 1990 came as a surprise despite the many changes which have taken place within the past decade. He proposed a new way of thinking in South Africa so that its people could move away from the laws which kept the members of this heterogeneous society segregated, and towards peace and unity.

Among the most significant steps announced during this speech was removal or bans of all political organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC), the South African Communist Party, and the United Democratic Front (UDF). Another important step was the release of many political prisoners including Mr. Nelson Mandela. At the present time, most of the major political parties including the ANC and the ruling Nationalist Party are open to all races. This creates an atmosphere conducive to the possible integration of parliament after the

terms of the new constitution have been established.

However, should parliament soon become integrated, it is possible that the minority groups (i.e. the Whites, Coloreds, and Indians) will be taken over by the Black majority. Right now that is one of the biggest fears of the minorities. The president has promised a means by which the rights of minorities will remain protected. This will have to be discussed during the negotiation process to address the fear that South African society will be permanently split along Black/White lines, and Whites will become an endangered minority. One possible solution is the recognition of the diversity within Black society. There are different interests of tribe, language, and class which could find expression in different political parties. Politics would then be based on economic and cultural interests that both Black and White groups could have in common. However, while some people see these cross-currents of political loyalties as very positive, many Black leaders see this argument as a variety of the old tactic of "divide and rule," weakening the Black community in its struggle for equality. The Black community at the moment is struggling within itself, to prevent fragmentation and self-destruction with conflicts of leadership.

Another topic of debate is centered around the choice of an economic system for the newly integrated society. At the moment most of the political leaders are inclined towards capitalism. However, if South Africa adopts a free-enterprise system it will be argued that since many Blacks in the past have been denied an equal opportunity for education and training, they will be at a disadvantage in the business world and will not be able to become as prosperous as the Whites. A possible solution which is being contemplated is affirmative action which will allow more Blacks to enter business. Affirmative action will cause friction in the country as many Whites, especially the right wing radicals, will see this as a violation of their rights. In any event, the government will have to provide extensive social services to compensate Blacks for the years of oppression.

The radicals on both ends of the scale, Black and White, have have grown resentful and have refused to abide by the realities of integration and

are threatening to take up arms. The conservative Whites have lost faith in their government and have started joining more radical groups which adhere to the firm belief that Whites are superior to all other races and should therefore continue to dominate the country. They do not wish to get rid of the Blacks because they will still be necessary to serve the Whites and to perform hard labor. They openly admit their neo-nazi ideology. On the other hand, there also exist Black radicals, who believe that South Africa is a country which belongs to the Blacks and should hence be ruled by them without the interference of the Whites. This implies that they want the Whites to leave the country. Neither have agreed to join the negotiations although both are a threat to the future harmony hoped for by the majority of the citizens.

By passing annual resolutions concerning Apartheid, the United Nations has been urging the government to assure that all people living in South Africa, irrespective of color, race or religion, are granted equal opportunity. If the system continues to be dismantled at the current rate, one can expect to see it gone before the 21st century. Most people in the country have begun to welcome the coming changes enthusiastically. Just recently, White parents in the Transvaal Province voted overwhelmingly to integrate their children's schools. However, there are still many obstacles in the way of creating a truly equal, multi-racial society in which the populace will be able to co-exist peacefully.

A "new way of thinking" will take constant effort and patience for it to be truly effective in remodeling South African society. If integration is to be successful, the different races must learn to accept one another and their diverse cultural backgrounds so that they are able to live and work together in peace and harmony.

Namibia

On March 21, 1990, Namibia became an independent nation, after seventy-five years of South African colonial rule. This struggle for independence was unique because its final stages

were not achieved through war or bloodshed but through peace. Namibia's experience is an example of how conflicts can be settled in a new world order.

Namibia was originally a German colony which was given to South Africa as a League of Nations mandate after World War I. It was named South West Africa and remained under South African rule as a United Nations trust territory after World War II. South Africa repeatedly delayed in giving the territory its independence, even after several requests by the United Nations. An independence movement soon developed called the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO). South Africa accused SWAPO of being aided by the Communist government in Angola and the whole conflict appeared to be as much a part of the cold war as a liberation struggle.

Organizing these elections entailed the most demanding phase of independence, and illustrated the kind of care and professionalism the creation of a new world order will require.

The United Nations eventually succeeded in persuading South Africa to cooperate in granting Namibia independence and setting up a new government based on free and fair elections. Organizing these elections entailed the most demanding phase of independence, and illustrated the kind of care and professionalism the creation of a new world order will require.

Before elections could take place, the eligible voting population had to be registered. The deadline for registration, which had been set for September 15, 1988, was extended to September 21 because UN voter registration figures did not correlate with SWAPO's estimation of the population. Although UN officials were almost positive that they had registered every voter, it was important and necessary to double check in order to assure SWAPO that its potential supporters were not being undercounted.

The next phase was to prepare for the elections (i.e. political campaigns, political rallies,

the number of running parties). The United Nations was once again faced with a series of problems. To begin with, determining how many polling stations would be required became a very difficult task since Namibia is a large country with rugged terrain and a relatively small and illiterate population that had never previously been given the right to vote. As a result, a large number of polling stations had to be opened. Many were situated in the most remote and isolated areas. Despite these obstacles, the turn-out of the elections was quite remarkable, as the majority of the population voted during the first three days. Once election results were announced, the negotiation of a new constitution began. A major task of reconciliation was accomplished when the supporters of SWAPO and groups associated with the paramilitary South African defense forces were brought together. .

Much of the success of the Namibian mission was due to the overwhelming response of Namibia's people, and the international police force which created an example of objectivity and professionalism that was followed by all of the forces in the region. Together they restored a sense of confidence that the fairness of the process of gaining independence would influence the future development of a just and peaceful Namibian nation.

Cambodia

Cambodia is a nation with a turbulent history, where the vast majority of the population has suffered many hardships. In 1975, the Khmer Rouge, an extreme Communist movement, backed at that time by the Vietnamese government, overthrew the right-wing militarist government headed by General Lonloul. The Khmer Rouge was a radical regime and wanted to build a new society in which the government would be responsible for all aspects of the economy. They desired to eliminate all those who were suspected of opposing the government. They were especially suspicious of intellectuals and began killing people simply because they wore glasses or had soft hands. The Khmer Rouge committed gross violations of

human rights, including torture and genocide. It is estimated that two million Cambodians were killed under its regime.

This will be the first time in United Nations history that the organization will take such an active part in running a provisional government.

In 1978, Vietnam invaded Cambodia, supposedly to put an end to the genocide that was occurring there. The Khmer Rouge fled to Thailand but the problems of the Cambodian people did not end. The People's Republic of China took up the cause of the Khmer Rouge while the Soviet Union supported the Vietnamese backed government in Cambodia. Such big power support of the opposing sides made reconciliation more difficult. There was constant tension on the border with Thailand where the anti-Vietnamese factions had taken refuge.

The United Nations refused to acknowledge the government set up by the Vietnamese as the official government of Cambodia. In response to the occupation, U.N. resolutions were passed in 1979 demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese and all other foreign forces from Cambodia. The U.N. also called for free and fair elections immediately after the withdrawal. It recognized the coalition that was set up in 1982 which is comprised of three parties led by right-wing militarists, the Khmer Rouge, and former Prince Sihanouk.

The U.N.'s objectives in Cambodia were the withdrawal of foreign forces (the Vietnamese), to help the displaced Cambodian population in Thailand to return home, and to assist Cambodia in the process of self-determination through free and fair elections.

In order to achieve these goals, many informal meetings were held among the Cambodian factions, Vietnam, Laos, and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). In July-August 1989 a joint peace conference on Cambodia was convened by France and Indonesia in Paris but ended without a conclusive settlement.

In January 1990, the Security Council began

searching for a comprehensive political settlement for Cambodia. In late August, a general political framework was agreed upon and was endorsed by the Security Council and the General Assembly. At a meeting held in September 1990 in Jakarta, the three Cambodian factions accepted this proposal. They founded the Supreme National Council which will serve as the Cambodian government during the transitional period. The proposed framework foresees an enhanced role for the United Nations, including supervising the ceasefire, verifying the withdrawal of foreign forces, monitoring the cessation of arms supplies to all Cambodian factions, ensuring a neutral political environment for elections, and organizing elections. The United Nations will also sponsor programs geared towards rehabilitating the Cambodian economy, repatriation of refugees, and education in human rights. History should not repeat itself!

In December 1990 a meeting was held in Paris where more detailed agreements were reached on most of the fundamental points. However, a number of issues still remain unresolved. These may be tackled at a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the Paris Conference on Cambodia which is expected to be held by March 1991. If an agreement is reached at the meeting, the Paris Conference will be reconvened to sign the accords for a comprehensive political settlement and the establishment of a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

This will be the first time in United Nations history that the organization will take such an active part in running a provisional government.

Korea

Though the reunification of Germany has become a reality, it is not the end of partitioned nations. One of these nations is Korea, which today is split into the Republic of Korea (commonly called South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (commonly called North Korea), led since 1945 by Kim Il Sung. Talks of reunifying Korea have been going on for more than 35 years, but the political,

historical, and economic conditions of the two countries are very complex and have prevented any plans of unification as of yet.

For most of its history, Korea has been under the direct or indirect control of foreign powers, predominantly China. After wars with China and Russia, the Japanese took Korea as a protectorate, and in 1910 Korea officially became a part of Japan, which it remained until the end of World War II. At that time it was occupied by the Soviet Union in the north, and the United States in the south, who "split" the country along the 38th parallel.

In 1950 the Korean War began when Communist troops from the north crossed the 38th parallel and pushed the Koreans from the south and their American allies into the south east corner of the country. The United States appealed to the United Nations to act in the face of this aggression. In the normal course of events the Soviet Union would have vetoed any United Nations action in this conflict, but it was boycotting the Security Council at that time to protest the United States veto against allowing the Peoples Republic of China to take the China seat in the United Nations. As a result, a United Nations force was assembled, the greatest part of which was from the United States. It was placed under the command of General Douglas MacArthur and eventually pushed the army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea back over the 38th parallel almost to the border of China with the aim of achieving the reunification by military means. The Chinese were drawn into the war and pushed the American troops back over the 38th parallel, causing the war to end, having achieved nothing except a re-emphasis of that border. A cease-fire was declared in 1953, but no official peace has yet been made.

An important problem for unification is that both countries have kept themselves relatively isolated from each other during the post-war years making it difficult for a possible "new" Korea to develop an economic and political system acceptable to both sides. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has a traditional system of communism, with little interest in the new ideas of perestroika. It is a centrally planned economy and has a political system led by one party. The

Republic of Korea, on the other hand, has a free market economy, a multiparty system and an increasingly free press.

An important problem for unification is that both countries have kept themselves relatively isolated from each other during the post-war years

These may be reasons why talks of reunification have been fruitless. However, recently new rounds of talks between the two countries have commenced. The talks are still in their early stages, but this time they may yield results owing to the fact that the cold war has ended. One would hope that the United Nations could, despite the difficulties, act as a mediator and propel new talks forward, so a peaceful solution could be found.

Women

"Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly 2/3 of its work hours, receive 1/10 of the world's income and own less than 1/100 of the world's property," according to the United Nations. In order for a new world order to come into effect, we must think seriously about women and their position in society. This new order can only be achieved if women play a greater role in the decision-making process of governments. The standard female argument is that if women ruled the earth, the world would be a much nicer place simply because women are far more sympathetic people than men. A different argument, often proposed by males, is that if women gain positions of leadership, then war would be waged every 28 days. Needless to say, neither of these beliefs are true.

The concept of having women in power is not a new idea. With the awareness of female resources growing, womanpower is becoming more evident. Women now gain respect for achieving high positions, and their talent for diversity and flexibility is finally being appreciated. It used to be that the female character was criticized for being

"weak," but what was then mistaken for weakness is now recognized as the strength to feel compassion, a quality which should be developed in all people!

Many blueprints for change are being put forward by national governments and international congresses and agencies. Women have served and are currently serving as heads of state in nations such as Israel, the United Kingdom, Norway, the Philippines, Pakistan, and India. However, these instances have not changed the face of global politics. Perhaps peace has not evolved, but neither has a third world war. Hence, the only conclusion that can be made is that both male and female leaders are prone to success as well as failure.

Women become more involved than men in the area of social welfare. As their social condition creates a more nurturing character, their concerns are frequently concentrated on issues such as childcare, education, housing, and medical services. Therefore, they show an excellent potential for facilitating change through positions in local government, where they can make contact with the people and meet their problems directly. Pat Schroeder, a U.S. Congresswoman, is a perfect example of such effectiveness. She is pushing the Congress to pass into legislation a Bill which would aid working mothers through a childcare plan which is both sponsored and run by the government.

This is not to say that a woman should be confined to such positions, but instead suggests that each sex has different assets. We should draw from both and establish a partnership which would enrich our new world.

Women are a valuable resource that is often abused. It has been found through considerable research that when men and women receive equal care and treatment, women live significantly longer. Therefore, one would expect the ratio between men and women to be at the very least equal. However it is estimated that approximately 11 percent of the women in South Asia, West Asia and China are "missing," ie - their deaths could have been prevented had they been given better treatment¹². It is quite evident that women (especially in developing countries) are the victims

of discrimination and neglect.

All human beings have needs, but women have special needs as bearers of children. In order to have healthy children, they must be healthy themselves. However, in societies that value men above women, girls are not cared for as well as boys. They don't eat as well, don't go to school as long, and often work harder than boys. As a result, they often give birth to underweight babies.



The single most important change that would improve the condition of women is education. Educated women insist on proper health care for themselves and their children, plan the size of their families and often enter the work force to earn an outside income to help support their families. They would be recognized as productive members of society, thereby coming closer to achieving the point of equality between men and women. Educated women can indeed participate in decision-making that influences and shapes society. By preventing women from developing their potential, society as a whole is committing a tremendous injustice as well as wasting a valuable human resource that has great potential.

In denying women the opportunity to show their true worth, we are putting ourselves at a disadvantage and, in essence, settling for half the use of our human resources when we could avail ourselves of the whole. Yet by putting women alongside men, and having each individual work in that area to which he or she is best suited, we are

assuring ourselves the best of both worlds, and hence, improvements are virtually guaranteed.

Media

This working paper profiles a new world order that may never have existed if it were not for the various media institutions that reported on it. In a matter of seconds, the world learned of vital information concerning the dramatic openings in the Soviet Union, the flight of thousands across the border of the GDR, and the freedom of ANC leader Nelson Mandela from a South African jail; all of which prompted political reforms and public activism in many other countries around the world.

The advent of television has surpassed all other forms of communication in shaping our view of the world. Its obvious advantages lie in the fact that it permits whoever has control of it to transmit, at any given moment, information that may be deemed important to a large audience by appealing to their sensitivities with interesting images and commentary. Yet, depending on the individual nation, problems may result. Television programs and news reports aired in all of the Warsaw Pact nations had to pass through a myriad maze of censors, for fear that the wrong types of messages might have caused a public outcry or even a rebellion. With this tool, a government had the capability to shape every aspect of its citizens' lives through perpetual propaganda and false images of Marxist progress.

As recent history may attest, in order to propagate a revolution, communication to the rest of the nation on what is actually occurring is a critical first step. The revolution in Romania, for example, began with a small band of insurgent rebels taking over the television station in Bucharest. From there, they were able to transmit pictures of street battles between loyal government troops and civilians, interim government meetings and then later, the trial proceedings and execution of the tyrannical Nicolae Ceaucescu and his wife, thus reassuring the nation that change and freedom would soon prevail. However, in the same way that communication could cause the revolutions in Eastern Europe, it can also prevent the peaceful

establishments of new governments. People are becoming aware of many differences among them, and hence fear those images that television brings them. Hopefully, this freedom to see all sides of a confrontation may also bring the benefits of seeing a compromise.

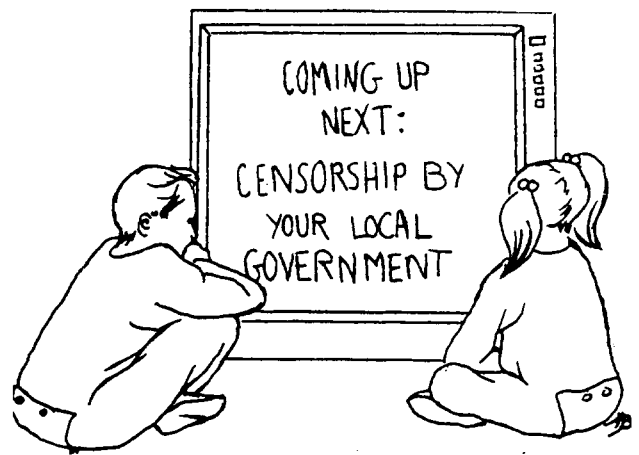
The future of media, especially television, will become increasingly important in those countries that are only now beginning to allow democracy and liberty to exist. Yet, with this newly liberated tool come certain responsibilities to curb its abuse. Whoever regulates television may inadvertently control a nation's future. If, for example, a news director continues to readily censor and "rectify" information pertinent to the people, then progress towards political reforms will not occur.

The reporting of the war in the Persian Gulf has made us realize the problems of what we have come to consider a free press. To what degree are the media reports censored directly or more subtly by the choice of images that are shown or not shown? Does a battery of sensational pictures make us mindlessly hunger for more? What do we need to see to help us understand how to achieve a just peace? One side's fact is another side's propaganda. How do we sort out which is which? Does the media guide or confuse us? How free is the media?

Freedom is not a gift; it is a hard-won privilege that must be constantly checked by critical analysis. The media can only be free if it incorporates within its collective body the source of its self-criticism. People must have more than one source of information to formulate ideas about the world and their own situation. Although biased reporting is impossible to eliminate completely, it must never result in the type of propaganda that hid the failures of the Communist system for so many years.

Looking Towards the Future

On the one hand we have praised diversity and differences as qualities that enrich our world, but on the other hand, we recognize the need for unity. Can the world survive if we all go our own



way? Should there be one authority that imposes a standard of behavior on nations and individuals to protect our environment and prevent conflict? Would it have power to enforce its rules? And who would be the "watchdog" of that power?

The Role of the United Nations in a New World Order

The United Nations was created to deal with the problems that arose from two world wars and to shape the world order in the postwar era. However, the creation of this world order was determined by the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States rather than by the United Nations. The cold war limited the role of the United Nations. As the United Nations enters the post-cold war era, it must foresee a more enhanced role for itself in international affairs.

The United Nations has always been subject to criticism. However, during the past several years it has been able to resolve conflicts in Afghanistan, Central America, Namibia, Cambodia, and is currently attempting to end the Western Saharan conflict. The success of the United Nations in these areas illustrates that it serves an important function in settling international disputes.

The world has become increasingly interdependent. It is now important to develop several approaches to single problems such as the environment, the refugee crisis, hunger, drug trafficking, and underdevelopment. Furthermore, new conflicts continue to arise including the

North/South division, the Persian Gulf crisis, and a renewal of nationalism and separatism around the world. It is clear that problems of international importance will have to be solved by an international organization.

Many suggestions have been made on how the United Nations and its many agencies and departments can be made more effective. Two former senior United Nations officials, Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, have written a report that suggests several changes in the system. They maintain that the Secretary-General and the heads of all the individual United Nations branches should form a cabinet of ministers in order to coordinate the efforts of the 30 autonomous U.N. agencies. The report also advocates the creation of three Deputy Secretary Generals who would assist the Secretary General in his duties. The problem that these changes try to address is the inefficiency of duplicating jobs on the one hand, and the more effective use of the U.N.'s resources on the other.

Aside from the structural problems of the United Nations system itself, the main reasons for the organization's difficulty in leading the world to a new order are political. There are 159 member nations in the organization, many with opposing needs, and all reluctant to give up their national sovereignty to the decisions of the organization. The 159 members are not equal in wealth and power. They mistrust the self-serving nature of the resolutions that a majority might pass to support one group while opposing another. The five "great powers" of the aftermath of World War II have the privilege of the veto in the Security Council, a privilege which has become an obstacle to further reform.

Many of the developing nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia fear they will be the losers in a new world order. They see their influence diminishing at the United Nations. The end of the cold war has diverted attention to the problems of Eastern Europe, and the rise of two new giants of industrial development, Germany and Japan, has altered the balance of power within the North, without shifting it to the South.

However difficult it may be to change the United Nations system, it is the only international

organization capable of mediating international disputes. Only the United Nations can develop a unified approach to world problems. It has had experience in peace-keeping activities with the "Blue Helmets," as well as many successes in negotiating settlements. It has the expertise and the trained personnel to deal with many technical, economic and social problems.

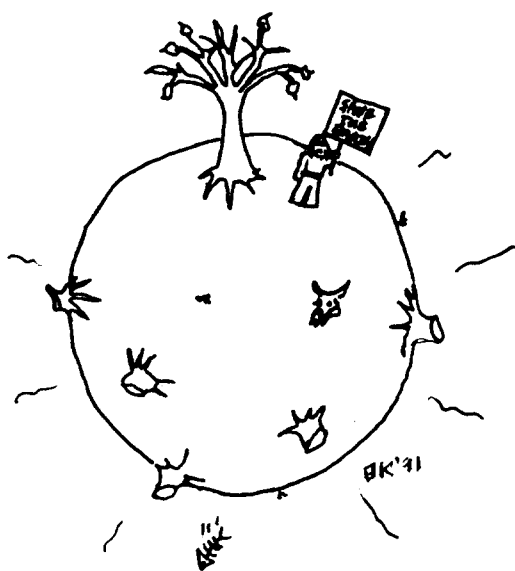
The main obstacle is the fact that it is an organization of nations, not above nations. As long as national rivalries take precedence over our view of ourselves as one humanity, the United Nations will not be able to fulfill its potential in a new world order.

The Environment

Today, the world faces a major problem of environmental degradation, and if the process of deterioration is not stopped, there may not be a physical earth on which to build a new world order. We face problems like the depletion of the ozone layer, destruction of rainforests, global warming, acid rain, water pollution, radiation contamination, and soil erosion. Our oceans and the organisms that reside in them are being killed by large oil spills, sewage, and massive dumping of waste. At the same time, we produce smog and poisonous chemicals that pollute the air we breathe and destroy the atmosphere. Pollution travels without consideration for national boundaries. A problem created in one country may very easily flow into another.

These are grave problems, but an even more serious one is the difficulty of generating the political will to solve them. The politicians who hold the power to protect the world's environment usually refrain from using it because people do not see that it is in their self-interest to make the necessary sacrifices. Personal lack of responsibility has also "taught" us to be wasteful in our energy consumption and to literally diminish all of the world's natural resources. Environmental protection plans are usually "spanned" over a large period of time and tend to cost a lot of money. As a result, a better environment does not bring any immediate benefits to any politician and, due to its

lack of "vote-catching" potential, the environment is always placed last in the preparation of a federal budget.



However, protecting the environment is no longer a national concern, but an international one. The whole world's atmosphere is affected by the Brazilian peasant who cuts down the oxygen-producing trees in the Amazon rain forest in order to clear land for farming. If he is to be stopped, he must also be helped. The Brazilian peasant is not the only one responsible for the deterioration of the rain forest. The largest destruction of rainforest is due to major corporations and public works like oil exploration, cattle ranching, and dam building. When governments in developed countries protest against such activities, the developing countries argue that the industrial nations built up their economies before the world became aware of the problem of pollution. If the costs of anti-pollution technology were added to the industrialization of developing nations today, they would become prohibitive.

What are the rich countries willing to give up to stop polluting and help other countries to stop also? People must be better educated to preserve the environment for their own benefit. Each generation is born into the environmental crisis that is handed down from the generation before. Still, it is not too late to change the present state of decay if

we are willing to compromise our comfort for the benefit of the future. Political and economic changes are taking place to achieve a more just world, but the existence of this planet and humankind could be doomed, due to our ignorance of the real situation. The search for alternative forms of energy, packaging and waste disposal must be found in order to sustain future populations.

The world is like a car riding down-hill without brakes or a driver. The world is in need of this elusive "driver" and the only institution to fill this post has to be an international authority, perhaps the United Nations itself. Unlike present governmental and non-governmental institutions for the environment that lack political force, such a newly established authority must have the option to enforce its global resolutions. There will be a major United Nations Conference on the Environment in Brazil in the summer of 1992. It will commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the first Environment Conference in Stockholm which established the United Nations Environment Programme. Perhaps at that time the International community will be ready to give more power to a global environment authority. Such an authority would deal with the problems of sustainable development, which might mean that people living comfortable lives today, may have to give up some of their material benefits so that their children and grandchildren can survive in the future.

Now, as the need to address this issue becomes more urgent, it has become evident that to solve the problems of environmental deterioration the world must act as one unified force. Such a unity can only be achieved if every nation realizes the immediacy of the situation and that cooperation in a new world order is the only way to preserve our environment.

Conclusion

In the course of writing this Working Paper we have come to the conclusion that a new world order can be achieved and that if we remain optimistic, our ideals may one day

become reality. The positive changes which have recently occurred were the first indications that a new world order was evolving. But these changes cannot continue to develop unless we continue to labor for their success. For a new world order is not guaranteed. Even the current developments are only a beginning stage. To insure their success, a complete metamorphosis of the way in which we view the world must take place.

The aspect of the world that troubles us most is the lack of equality. On the one hand there are the lucky few who have more than they need, and on the other hand there are many who must struggle for their survival. There is more than enough food and land for the world's population to live comfortably, yet only a small percentage enjoy a decent standard of living. We do not see how a new world order can be based on such injustice. We need new values where the elite is willing to sacrifice some of its luxuries in order to close this wide gap. When these two extremes of wealth and poverty balance each other, we'll have reached our ideal. For it is by considering each human being as equally precious and rejecting selfishness that problems of injustice are solved.

There cannot be a new world order without political, economic and social justice. Poverty and oppression are terrible conditions to live under. We know that these conditions

can lead to conflict and wars, but we allow them to continue nevertheless. A war broke out in the Middle East. Most of us found it very difficult to work under the strain of anxiety. It was distressing to see the triumph of force over diplomacy. Our value system has to change before our politics will change.

As the younger generation, we are expected to feel a sense of euphoria and optimism, and to an extent we do. However, we are very conscious of how hard change is, and how our individual good will is only a beginning that needs the support of many others. We veer from hope to pessimism. But as long as we have an understanding of the present state of the world and the magnitude of what still needs to be done, we can contribute to solving some of the problems.

It is a modest aim, but a practical one. We do not end with high-sounding resolutions but a quiet dedication to intelligence and decency in the way in which we see ourselves and our world, and the hope that the sum total of our individual resolves will help to build a new world order.

"A genuinely fundamental and hopeful improvement in systems cannot happen without significant shift in human consciousness."

-Vaclav Havel

Perceptions

At six o'clock on the morning of February 2nd 1990, my mother came rushing into my room to tell me that President F.W. de Klerk had lifted the ban on almost all political organizations and freed many political prisoners in his opening speech to parliament. Immediately I jumped out of bed and played "Nkosi Sikilel' i Afrika" on my stereo. Finally a 'New South Africa' in which people of all races could feel they belonged to and could participate in was promised to its citizens!

Nine days after this famous speech I sat glued to the television so that I could witness, along with the crowds waiting for him, Nelson Mandela's first steps of freedom after having been detained for almost three decades. His imprisonment represented the imprisonment of the black majority under the laws of the South African constitution commonly known as Apartheid.

In July of 1990 I went home to South Africa. This was one year after my previous visit. I was amazed at the omnipresent change in attitude. There was much greater openness and acceptance between people of different races, especially amongst younger generations. They realize that if there is going to be a change, it can only occur if they reach out to one another. I left South Africa with great optimism, hope and confidence in being a South African.

However, now, a year after President F.W. de Klerk's opening speech, there is an atmosphere of increasing tension within the country. Now that a free and democratic society has been promised to all races, a power struggle has arisen, not between Black and White, but between the ethnic groups, which is leading to a civil war - especially between the Zulus and the Xhosas who are the two strongest black tribes in South Africa.

On the other hand, White radicals are beginning to feel betrayed by their government and are also threatening to take up arms. Although the radicals on both sides represent a minority, they still impede the process towards a peaceful solution for a free South Africa.

What I saw and experienced last June with such optimism has turned to fear. My future lies in the destiny of South Africa. When I return to live

there in the middle of this year I hope to return to the country I left in the summer of 1990. I do not want to be afraid to walk in the streets of my own country. Change had to come, and we cannot anticipate its twists and turns. I can only hope that in the end South Africa will be a part of the fabric of peace in the new world order.

- Ashley Shearar

I come from a country where it is rare to see a person that is not white. I still remember my amazement at seeing a black person for the first time. I had heard of black people and seen them in pictures and TV, but to see one in the flesh! I could not believe that it was possible to have skin so dark. The closest I ever came to it was a deep red in the summertime.

But all of this changed when I was six years old and my family moved to New York. My parents enrolled me in the United Nations International School, and on my first day of classes, I came home and told them that my teacher, who was Nepalese, was brown. It was a new experience for me to have children in my class from all over the world, to learn through first-hand experience about cultures other than my own. Being at UNIS changed my way of looking at the world. It taught me that my opinion was not the only valid one and that there was no such thing as a completely good person or culture or a completely evil one.

Now that the United States is involved in a war, society tells me that I must make a choice. I must say, "This is the side I support. The other is just a bunch of greedy madmen." But I don't want to say that. I don't believe it. I may have an opinion about which of the two sides is more wrong than the other, but I know that other people have a different opinion and I respect it. It makes me angry when I see people around me take sides on issues such as this one without anything on which to base their opinions. It frustrates me that so many adults act this way. They're supposed to be the mature ones and instead, they're too immature to view the world with an open mind.

But what's even more frightening is that some young people act like this as well. So many of the

people I speak to frighten me. They frighten me with what they say, with how they act. But what really scares me is the thought that I might have been one of them. I am grateful that I was exposed to so many cultures starting at such a young age; that my friends and the people I know are all so different. I love these differences. I think that in order to create a new world order, it is necessary for people to look at each other and to love these differences, to learn from them. Otherwise, it will be very difficult for the world to survive.

- Victoria Blinder

When I try to establish a preference for either capitalism or socialism, I admit that I have none. I know that I live in a capitalist society, but I also witness its failures everyday. I see the homeless, the unemployed, the diseased, the poor and the starving; products of the system that I patronize. What right have I to be so privileged, to have all that they do not have? I am not extremely intelligent or exceptional and yet I seem to have a perfect life compared to the unfortunate in the streets. Why have I benefited and why have they not?

I have always thought that human nature has somehow interfered, weathered away the prime objectives of each of the systems, capitalism and socialism. Socialism in theory is an ideal system. It preaches equality, expecting its members to sacrifice their own personal interests and labor for the well-being of the whole. The cooperation manifested within socialism is not part of capitalism's own structure, and this is what has led to its failure. Socialism has failed in its aims, failed because people are selfish. Capitalism is the more popular of the two, but Socialism will always be the more ideal.

And yet, for all its faults, I appreciate what the capitalist system has provided me. I enjoy luxuries that ninety percent of the world does not. Why me? Why not all of us? I know that I will never admire or tolerate the failures of capitalism, but I know that I will succumb to the wealth that it represents. I will be attracted by greed, as will most of us, and labor to acquire what I personally desire. I know that I will always be concerned with the injustice of its unwritten law, the survival of the

fittest or most competent. But I am only part of the majority. I am selfish. I am human.

- Majal Aguirre

The world is constantly changing. New ideas become old ideas within a few years. Presently, we are trying to set up a new world order. This new order has great possibilities for achieving peace and as the younger generation we have an opportunity to set them in motion.

It is important for us to follow through with this opportunity. The means of setting up this world are equally as important as the end result. The end result is ultimately, a peaceful world, but the means of achieving it must also be peaceful. As a student this is the way in which I would like to think, but perhaps my thoughts are too idealistic. Reality must be dealt with, and perhaps when reality becomes harsh we must sacrifice idealistic means for the end result - peace. But if we sacrifice our ideals are we also sacrificing peace?

As I have gotten older I have become more cynical. I do not know if world peace, which is the goal of all our efforts, will ever exist. But there is something that does exist and that is our attempts to achieve that goal. From attempting to achieve world peace at least the individual achieves personal peace and due to these attempts we may bring a little more peace or happiness to the world. Therefore, our efforts are not in vain. Maybe the inhabitants of this world will never all be able to join hands and smile together, but maybe one person will be able to hold hands with another person and work together at achieving peace. Certainly this must be worth something.

- Hayley Finn

Endnotes

¹ Foreign Affairs, Spring 1990, p.30

² Ronald Reagan in his inaugural speech, 1981

³ Reddaway, P., "Empire on the Brink," The New York Review of Books, January 31, 1991.

⁴ Statistics from Ruth Leger Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, 1989.

⁵ All the above quotations have been taken from: Vaclav Havel, Disturbing the Peace

⁶ The Challenge to the South, The Report of the South Commission

⁷ Poverty, World Development Report, 1990

⁸ Meeting the Population Challenge, UNFPA

⁹ International Literacy Year, UNESCO, 1990

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ "34 Leaders Adopt Pact Proclaiming a United Europe." The New York Times, Nov. 22 1990

¹² Amartya Sen, "More Than 100 Million Women are Missing," The New York Review of Books,

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