



**Summary Report from the
Public Lecture by the Most
Honorable P.J. Patterson**



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**Strengthening the ties that bind us: South
Africa, Jamaica and the Caribbean**

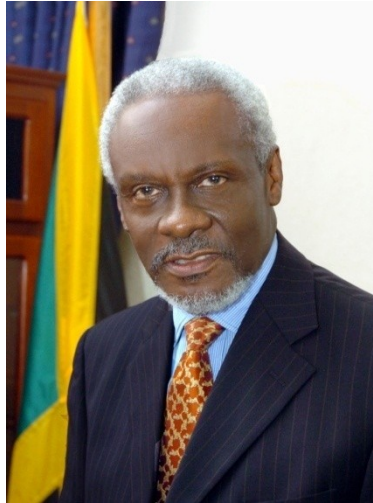
Friday 26th April 2013

Institute for Global Dialogue



Introduction

On the 26th of April the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD), the Department for International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) and the University of South Africa (UNISA) - College of Human Sciences - hosted the Most Honorable P. J. Patterson for a public lecture focused on the linkages between South Africa and the Caribbean. The Caribbean region, which is made up of islands connected to each other by history, culture and shared geostrategic economic challenges, is important to Africa. The two marginalized regions have cultural affinities formed out of a history in which Africans were ferried across the Atlantic Ocean during the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. It also shares Africa's imperatives for economic integration as a result of which it established CARICOM, a 15-member organization dedicated to the creation of a common market. The region is the focus in Africa's search for ways in which it could build mutually beneficial relations with its global diaspora. As a Prime Minister of Jamaica for 14 years, Mr Patterson played a crucial role in the search for a shared identity and common market as well as links with Africa. This presentation reflects on the road travelled so far and the opportunities that lie ahead for the Caribbean and Africa.



Honorable P. J. Patterson

“STRENGTHENING THE TIES THAT BIND – JAMAICA, CARICOM AND THE LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA”

ADDRESS BY

**THE MOST HON. P. J. PATTERSON, ON, OCC, PC, QC
FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF JAMAICA**

SALUTATIONS

Welcome this pleasant occasion which allows me to address the Institute for Global Dialogue, a thriving brainchild of our living legend, Nelson Mandela.

Not only sons and daughters of South Africa, or persons of African descent, but people all over the world who believe in a world where human beings, regardless of colour, creed or gender can dwell together in peace and harmony have a duty to promote the tremendous vision of an iconic leader.

The Motto of this Institute – *“Towards a Better South Africa: Towards a Better World”* is best driven by President Mandela’s liberating philosophy of forgiveness and reconciliation which should set the template for a global community hemmed in by patterns of exclusion and discrimination, by recurring crisis due to ethnic and religious conflicts.



The nations of the Caribbean share a strong bond with Africa, which was never severed by the dehumanizing trauma of the transatlantic journey nor destroyed by the obscenities of slavery.

The fierce resistance of our people to colonial rule is on the same side of the coin as was the fight against the pernicious system of apartheid and the war against imperial oppression to secure the liberation victory.

It was all part and parcel of one common struggle, for which many paid the ultimate price with their lives.

A significant majority of Caribbean people trace their ancestral roots to the Sub-Saharan nations of West and Central Africa, but there is ample evidence to establish that a significant number also came from Southern Africa, including Namibia, Angola and South Africa.

OUR ANCESTRAL ROOTS

That the African roots of Caribbean people run deep and are indestructible is unquestionable. We cannot ignore the ancestral heritage that resides in our DNA.

The late reggae icon, Peter Tosh, perhaps said it best, and I quote:

“No matter where you come from,
As long as you are a Blackman,
You are an African; never mind
Your nationality, you have got
The identity of an African.”

Geneticists have gone a step further. In affirming Africa as the birthplace of humanity, they have arrived at the scientific reality that every living human being presently on this planet of ours is descended from an African who at one time lived here in Africa. In this sense the whole world is the African Diaspora and those Africans of European descent are merely Africans who took longer to come home to their birthplace.

None of this, however, directly addresses the passionate and personal relationship that more CARICOM nationals feel when they speak or think of the sovereign nation of the Republic of South Africa. For us, apartheid was as abhorrent as the evils of slavery. That sentiment was reinforced by the intellectual vigor of the noted historian and political leader of Trinidad and Tobago in his enlightening publication – “Capitalism and Slavery”. It was followed by the brilliant Guyanese historian Walter Rodney, in his revolutionary exposé – “How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.”



Politically, we were further engaged in the question of Africa and Pan-Africanism by the protests of Haile Selassie at the League of Nations, and by a succession of bright African liberation voices from Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe and of course South Africa.

No other message resonated more with us than the voices of the ANC and of South African patriots like Steve Biko, John Harris, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and the clearest and most memorable of all such voices, that of Madiba, President Nelson Mandela.

SANCTIONS

Even before we had attained full self-government, Jamaica was at the forefront with India, already an Independent Nation, in sending a powerful volley that would eventually crumble the walls of apartheid. The Administration of Norman Manley banned trade of goods and services with the regime. It prohibited recognition of South African passports and travel to the outcast Republic.

History will record that despite the democratic changes in the electoral fortunes, no political party in Jamaica or the Caribbean has wavered or been equivocal in the condemnation and attack of these heinous crimes against humanity.

Our political leaders have been united and persistent in the denunciation of racial discrimination and exploitation under any guise. Many have, by their effective support for the struggles in Africa, incurred the wrath of powerful forces. You cannot be free while your brothers and sisters are chained.

Our conscious sporting personalities refused to be enticed into breaking the embargo by the lure of filthy lucre.

As Foreign Minister then, I was proud to be a part of the delegation which Michael Manley led to the 1977 Commonwealth Meeting in London and persuaded the Group to adopt the Glen Eagles Agreement as our total rejection of any accommodation of apartheid in the field of sports.

Our artistes also played their part – the calypsonians of Trinidad, the reggae artistes led by Bob Marley and Jimmy Cliff who like Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masakela became a source of comfort and inspiration to the great freedom fighters of Southern Africa during its darkest era.

REPARATIONS

Justice is yet to be served. The cries for reparation are becoming louder and the arguments more coherent. This is a global case for Africans in the Diaspora and in the homeland to vigorously pursue. We must not be afraid to make our voices loudly heard in every international assembly and in the corridors of power for our cause is just and our case is compelling.



The ravages of history have inflicted ruptures and scars which the entire Continent of Africa will require sound leadership and a well-designed mix of policies to repair. They are at the heart of much of what you confront today in the African Union, which underlie your costly Agenda for peace-keeping, for internal and external migration, for the prevention of desertification and for fighting many of the strange diseases which have afflicted the Continent.

It is a burning issue for the global Agenda and for providing context for global discussions about the major challenges which now confront humanity and the developing world.

Not for Aid, but resources for development. Resources for fixing the symptoms addressed in the first seven Millennium Developments Goals (MDGs).

Cooperation and singleness of purpose between Africans at home and in the Diaspora could win the support of other exploited and threatened groups in Asia and the Pacific and change the tone and dynamics of global discussions on the major issues on the global agenda including the crisis in the global economy, energy and climate change. Lest we think that this degree of influence is impossible, let us recall that in the early 1970's the Caribbean and Africa encouraged the scattered Pacific Islands into an alliance which changed our relations with Europe forever.

Let us also remember that through persistence and cooperation we changed the dynamics and made Apartheid history.

We now have institutions, for example, the AU and CARICOM; technology and communication systems, protected teleconferencing; safe instant document transfer. We are still in need of much more direct and reliable transportation.

Today, a free and democratic South Africa faces the global challenges of the 21st century at least assured that its citizens face these challenges together as one united people. As Africa's largest economy South Africa has much it can offer to CARICOM by way of trade and cultural sharing.



Honorable P. J. Patterson

FACILITATING TRAVEL

A critical part of that sharing is the need to facilitate long-term relationships between the Caribbean, African nations and North and South America. But a vital imperative is air and sea links between the Caribbean and the African continent.

It is unacceptable that Caribbean people have to travel to Europe in order to reach Africa. Trading links by sea are also almost non-existent and goods, unlike our ancestors, do not come directly across the old Slave Trade Middle Passage route.

The touchy issues of visa requirements and the treatment of Africans and Diaspora Africans as aliens/foreigners, must also be settled. We must find a way for the Caribbean and Africa to develop mechanisms to promote and facilitate informed socially conscious travel to their respective Heritage sites, regular tourist travel, and business travel between the capitals of the respective nations.

A transatlantic air route between South Africa and the Caribbean would make travel more accessible and affordable in both directions and ensure to the benefit of both regions while direct sea connections would be of tremendous trade value.



Scope for Practical Collaboration between CARICOM and South Africa

South Africa is now recognized as one of the large, fast growing developing countries, in the category of BRAZIL, RUSSIA, INDIA and CHINA or the BRICS GROUP. The CARICOM countries, mostly classified as Middle Income Developing Countries to remove them from any special consideration by the international community, need to build alliance with the BRICS Group. All are members of the GROUP of 20, which now seek to determine global economic policy. South Africa is a natural ally and intermediary.

South Africa can only effectively mediate, to require a flow of information and periodic discussion on strategy from the Caribbean.

TRIANGULAR Trade and Development is the way forward – Africa, Brazil and the Caribbean. Brazil has the world's largest black population after Nigeria. We are to explore the Southern gate rather than remaining under the control of the Northern axis.

It [the Caribbean] will have to depend much more on its intellectual, touristic and cultural products. This will require it to strategically align and organize to meet the market where people tend to assemble. South Africa would be one logical centre.

At the same time, South Africa should have an interest in the Caribbean market in which it has little presence as well as a Central American, Northern South American Southern United States market, which has a significant portion of the American African DIASPORA and can be more easily accessed from the Caribbean.

Last week, the OAS staged an Africa Business Forum to forge a partnership for Development based on mutual benefits.

Jamaica is advanced in planning a major logistics hub and transshipment centre to take advantage of the expansion and deepening of the PANAMA CANAL. This provides opportunities for investment in a range of areas. It will also facilitate the movement of goods between areas in the Far East, including China and Western and Southern Africa. South Africa could be a natural corresponding centre. This can provide exponential opportunities for expansion.

The presence of diplomatic representation in Kingston and Pretoria means that the channels for communication and cooperation are already in place. We now have to add content.



Dr Siphamandla Zondi (Director IGD), Honorable P. J. Patterson

POLITICAL RELATIONS

CARICOM-SOUTH AFRICA:

South Africa is a key geo-political player in the South Africa region and the larger African continent. It is also an increasingly influential actor in global geo-politics in its own right, and in the context of its South/South partnership with such emerging world powers as China, India, Russia and Brazil (BRICS).

Since the defining political gesture of solidarity made by CARICOM in opposing Apartheid, [the Community] has enjoyed even closer political ties with South Africa over the years. This is evidenced, *inter alia*, by the following:

- key visits of successive South African Presidents (Mandela 1998, Mbeki 2003, Zuma 2009) to the Region;
- The accreditation of a plenipotentiary representative of South Africa to the Community in 2009, the first and only such accreditation of an African country;
- The hosting by South Africa of former Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide following the latter's forced removal from Haiti in 2004.



During his meeting with CARICOM Leaders in November 2009 in the margins of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, President Zuma expressed the view that a CARICOM collective presence in South Africa would be important to strengthen ties. President Zuma proposed that:

- efforts be made to broaden people to people ties through tourism;
- that it would be important to identify specific areas for collaboration, for example university cooperation, climate change, trade, air links and security;
- a practical mechanism to ensure that the required follow-up to the CARICOM South Africa/AU interface be implemented.

CARICOM Leaders for their part:

- emphasized the importance that CARICOM places on having its concerns raised within the G20, a responsibility that they hoped South Africa would be willing to undertake;
- Underscored the need for a special category for small, vulnerable, highly-indebted MICs;
- Mooted the idea of cooperation with South Africa in the area of security (particularly intelligence sharing) in view of the increasing prevalence of drug trafficking routes through Africa, and to the provision of ammunition taking into account South Africa's well developed military capacity.

In May 2012 South Africa hosted the African Diaspora Summit - a process and event on which the African continent placed great emphasis and which CARICOM had steadily supported.

CARICOM relations with South Africa have also been pursued within the context of the South African Development Community (SADC) of which South Africa is an important member. The last meeting between the CARICOM and SADC Secretariats took place April of the year 2000 in Nassau, The Bahamas. In interactions between SADC and CARICOM the following issues have been discussed –

- cooperation in improving market access through the exchange of technical expertise between the two Secretariats and through the private sectors of both sides;
- exploration of trade and investment opportunities;
- development of a programme of technical cooperation between CARICOM and SADC;
- Collaboration in international negotiations, capacity building and institutional strengthening.



THE SIXTH REGION

The AU Diaspora Process constitutes an effort by the AU membership to more actively engage the African Diaspora in the development of the African Continent. It is of particular interest to CARICOM Member States since the AU views CARICOM citizenry as part of its Diaspora. This perception renders CARICOM's role in the process unique.



The audience at the dialogue

The AU Executive Council has defined the African Diaspora as follows: *The African Diaspora consists of peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union.*

The AU sought, through the African Diaspora process, to operationalize the concept of the Diaspora as the Sixth Region of Africa as a means of ensuring representation of the Diaspora within the African Union's structures and mobilizing the Diaspora for development.



The May 2012 AU Diaspora Summit provided the opportunity for the Community to consolidate ties, not only with South Africa, a member of the BRICS, but the entire African continent at both the level of government and civil society. This is critical at a time when the African continent is being courted by the global community which views it as an emerging political and economic force. The Summit also provided a forum in which CARICOM, African and other leaders of emerging countries, such as those of Brazil, and Mercado Común del Sur Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) countries, could commit to concrete mechanisms that strengthen political and economic ties between their peoples and their states, thereby enhancing south-south cooperation.

To this end, the Joint Declaration adopted by the Summit speaks, *inter alia*, to political cooperation including inter-governmental cooperation, economic cooperation, and government action to foster economic partnership, knowledge and skills transfer and cooperation in science and technology.

KNOWLEDGE –

Wealth in today's world is decreasingly driven by natural resources and commodity production but instead is increasingly fueled by knowledge.

New products in world trade, principally based on computers and information technology, accounts for more than 50% of the value of total trade. Even to retain our share of the world market in traditional categories, we have to step up the process of innovation and product development.

And so, we are obliged to educate highly trained people with the capacity to run sophisticated operations, based upon the latest technology, persons engaged in scientific and investigative work that can devise new products and designs, who can innovate at every stage of production and trade.

THE TIES THAT BIND

I am especially looking forward to receiving the honour to be conferred on me tomorrow by the Government and People of South Africa when I am to be made a Gold Member of the Order of the Companions of O.R. Tambo. I am especially pleased as it is named for Oliver Tambo for whom I have the greatest admiration, and who made a memorable address during Jamaica's 25th Independence Celebrations in 1987.



In that speech at the PNP Founder's Day event, Tambo noted that the ties which bind Jamaica and South Africa and which made him pay tribute to Jamaica's national heroes was, "...*the vision that instructed their lives, that the voiceless can and must have a voice; that the downtrodden and the despised should have an unfettered right to shape their lives; that none has a prerogative to set himself up as a God presiding over the destinies of others.*"

Such passion, eloquence and graciousness will never be forgotten. Be of no doubt that I am humbled by the singular honour of becoming a Member of the Order of the Companions of O.R. Tambo. It is an Award which I will always treasure and am humbled to receive as a representative of all those persons in the Caribbean, some past and others still alive, who have contributed so much to this epic battle.

The development of our human resources is the most critical and indeed an indispensable element if Africa and the Caribbean are to gain their rightful place in today's global market economy. The provision of high levels of education and skills, with the concurrent ability to absorb and apply new technology is now the dominant feature of international competitiveness.

Let us, with the advances and advantages of modern communication technology, focus on the resources, the techniques and the means by which we will build a metaphorical bridge that reconnects and unifies our people as we secure our rightful place in the 21st century and beyond.

We of the Diaspora may live on the other side of the Atlantic pond, but no longer let the ocean separate us.

We must all join together to take our place in the building of one world; a new global environ that is peaceful, equitable, prosperous and humane.

Only then will we have attained our ultimate goal.

Let us, our Governments, Institutions and Civil Society resolve that never again will our people be exposed to the atrocities of the past – that we will work assiduously to strengthen the ties that bind us as we chart our own future, taking confidence in the culture of resistance, survival and the triumph of human dignity over a history of destruction and despair.

Presentation concludes



Concluding remarks



Dr Siphamandla Zondi , Director IGD

In his concluding remarks Dr Zondi, Director of the IGD, thanked the Most Honorable Patterson for sharing his wisdom as we continue to work towards a better Africa and better world. He also noted that the presentation had raised a number of areas for further research, including building partnerships - or the 'metaphorical bridge' - with Jamaica. Dr Zondi went on to note that in sharing his view the Honorable Patterson was commissioning us to the next phase of development – particularly on the new triangular relationship between the Caribbean, Africa and Brazil and that a focus on these relations is particularly timely in light of the current thematic focus of the African Union on an African renaissance and pan-Africanism.



Biographical Information:

Prime Minister, Jamaica 1992-2006

PJ Patterson's interest in politics and international relations began as a student, when he served as Chairman of the University of the West Indies External Affairs Commission, during which period he gained exposure to world leaders and international political thought through attendance at a number of international student fora. It was also at university that he developed a commitment to Caribbean regionalism as well as to the causes of the countries of the developing world.

In 1969 Patterson managed Michael Manley's campaign to become President of the People's National Party, and he was later appointed Campaign Manager for the party's successful bid for power in the 1972 General Elections. PJ Patterson was appointed to the Jamaican Cabinet where he held diverse portfolio responsibilities for areas as varied as trade and industry, tourism, foreign affairs, finance and planning. During his tenure as Jamaica's Foreign Minister he served as President of the ACP/EU Ministerial Council and led negotiations for the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States with the European Community.

As Chairman of the ACP/EEC Ministerial Conference, he played a pivotal role in forging an agreement on the basic framework for the original Lomé Convention, which influenced the outcome of subsequent negotiations that led to the Convention signed in 1975. He has served as President and Spokesman of the ACP Ministerial Council on a number of occasions.

PJ Patterson became Prime Minister of Jamaica in 1992 following Michael Manley's resignation. This was a period when the Caribbean island nation was facing the formidable challenge of securing a place in a new global order of economic liberalization and deregulation, and Patterson led efforts to strengthen the country's social protection and security systems—a critical element of his economic and social policy agenda to mitigate, reduce poverty and social deprivation.

His significant investments in modernization of Jamaica's infrastructure and restructuring of the country's financial sector are widely credited with having led to Jamaica's greatest period of investment in tourism, mining, information and communication technologies and energy since the 1960s. He also ended Jamaica's 18-year borrowing relationship with the International Monetary Fund, allowing the country greater latitude in pursuit of its economic policies.



His policy of liberalization attracted over \$4.7 billion in foreign direct investment to the country and resulted in the expansion of the private sector into several areas of economic activities, leading to greater access to goods and services at competitive prices. The liberalization of the information, communication and telecommunications sector also positioned Jamaica as a gateway country in the Caribbean that possesses the infrastructure to transact business and facilitate economic activities in timeframes comparable to the developed world.

In one of his final initiatives as Prime Minister, PJ Patterson launched a program of radical transformation of the island's education system aimed at the development of quality human capital equipped to succeed in the competitive global economy. As a result of his deliberate pro-poor policy, Jamaica surpassed the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty, which declined by 70% between 1991 and 2006.

PJ Patterson played a seminal role in the process that marked the transition from the first steps in integration of the Caribbean region to the founding of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) and its evolution into the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). He drew upon his expertise in law and trade to steer the regional body toward the development of a Caribbean jurisprudence through the Caribbean Court of Justice, and a borderless regional economy through the CARICOM Single Market, which came to fruition in 2005 and 2006 respectively. As Chair of the CARICOM Prime Ministerial Sub-Committee on External Negotiations since its inception he is credited with developing a unified negotiating position of CARICOM countries in the international arena. He also contributed to numerous Conventions and Statements in the international arena including the Valletta Statement on Multilateral Trade and the Gozo Statement on Vulnerable Small States. These have helped to shape north-south relationship and influence the negotiating position of developing countries.

He was also chair of the UN Security Council during his tenure as Prime Minister (in 2000-01).

Activity after public politics

PJ Patterson has extensive experience and acknowledged expertise in national, regional and international policy and political issues in a broad range of areas including international trade and negotiations, which he has garnered in his more than three decades in government. He has served as Chair of the Group of 15 developing nations (G-15), Group of 77 and CARICOM.

Between 2006 and 2007 PJ Patterson chaired the Committee on Commonwealth Membership, which presented its report on potential changes in membership criteria for the Commonwealth of Nations at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2007 in Kampala, Uganda. He has also played an integral role in settle cross border conflicts between CARICOM countries.



In March 2010 PJ Patterson commenced duties as CARICOM's Special Representative to Haiti, following the catastrophic earthquake of 12 January 2010.

Mr. Patterson has addressed world leaders in just about every international and regional forum including the United Nations, Group of 15, Group of 77, Non-Aligned Movement, Summit of the Americas, Commonwealth of Nations and CARICOM. He has delivered numerous lectures on issues of international trade and negotiation, the development agenda for developing nations and regionalization at universities in the Latin American and Caribbean Region and the United States of America.

Memberships and Associations

- Member of the Club de Madrid
 - Member of the Interaction Council
 - Member of the Carter Centre Council of Former Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas
- (Source: www.globalleadershipfoundation.com)



The IGD is an independent foreign policy think tank dedicated to the analysis of and dialogue on the evolving international political and economic environment, and the role of Africa and South Africa. It advances a balanced, relevant and policy-oriented analysis, debate and documentation of South Africa's role in international relations and diplomacy.

The IGD strives for a prosperous and peaceful Africa in a progressive global order through cutting edge policy research and analysis, catalytic dialogue and stakeholder interface on global dynamics that have an impact on South Africa and Africa.



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