

# **The Evolution of Diplomacy in the Caribbean**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

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## **Abstract**

This paper will focus on the development of diplomacy in the Caribbean and how it impacts the development of small Caribbean States, paying attention to the regional, bilateral and multilateral levels of diplomacy.

Through qualitative research, I will examine the factors which contribute to diplomacy in the Caribbean, including a historical aspect of diplomacy which will explain how diplomacy began in the Caribbean; a theoretical perspective of diplomacy in the Caribbean; the impact of diplomacy from a regional, bilateral and multilateral aspect; and culminating with a possible way forward for diplomacy to benefit the small Caribbean States.

Special attention will be placed on the work of the Organization of Caribbean States (OECS) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) in the region and the United Nations (UN), The Commonwealth and the African Caribbean and Pacific Group (ACP-EU) in the multilateral level of diplomacy

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## **List of abbreviations and acronyms**

<b>ACS</b>	<b>Association of Caribbean States</b>
<b>ACP – EU</b>	<b>African, Caribbean and Pacific group – European Union</b>
<b>ALBA</b>	<b>Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America</b>
<b>CARICOM</b>	<b>Caribbean Community</b>
<b>CARIFTA</b>	<b>Caribbean Free Trade Area</b>
<b>CBSI</b>	<b>Caribbean Basin Security Initiative</b>
<b>CDT</b>	<b>Caribbean Dependency Theory</b>
<b>CHOGM</b>	<b>Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting</b>
<b>COFCOR</b>	<b>Council for Foreign and Community Relations</b>
<b>COFAP</b>	<b>Council for Finance and Planning</b>
<b>COHSOD</b>	<b>Council for Human and Social Development</b>
<b>COTED</b>	<b>Council for Trade and Economic Development</b>
<b>CSME</b>	<b>Caribbean Single Market and Economy</b>
<b>CTBTO</b>	<b>Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty</b>
<b>ECCAA</b>	<b>Eastern Caribbean Civil Aviation Authority</b>
<b>ECCB</b>	<b>Eastern Caribbean Central Bank</b>
<b>ECSC</b>	<b>Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>European Union</b>
<b>FAO</b>	<b>Food and Agriculture Organization</b>
<b>FTA</b>	<b>Free Trade Area</b>
<b>ILO</b>	<b>International Labour Organization</b>
<b>IMF</b>	<b>International Monetary Fund</b>

<b>IR</b>	<b>International Relations</b>
<b>MOU</b>	<b>Memorandum of Understanding</b>
<b>NCDs</b>	<b>Non-communicable Diseases</b>
<b>OAS</b>	<b>Organization of American States</b>
<b>OECS</b>	<b>Organization of Eastern Caribbean States</b>
<b>SIDS</b>	<b>Small Island Developing States</b>
<b>STABEX</b>	<b>Stabilization of Export Earnings from Agricultural Commodities</b>
<b>SYSMIN</b>	<b>Special Financing Facility for Mining Products</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNESCO</b>	<b>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</b>
<b>UNICEF</b>	<b>United Nations Children Fund</b>
<b>UNSC</b>	<b>United Nations Security Council</b>
<b>US</b>	<b>United States (of America)</b>
<b>WTO</b>	<b>World Trade Organization</b>



## **Introduction**

Over the years we have seen changes in development and never really paid sufficient attention to the impact of diplomacy on small states and their development. In this paper I will focus on the relevance of diplomacy in the Caribbean; examining the growth and paying attention to the singular state, regional and international contributions to the development of diplomacy in the Caribbean. The manner in which diplomacy is conducted and the structures and methods through which diplomacy proceeds plays an important role in the development of Caribbean diplomacy.

The aim of this research is to examine the growth of diplomacy in the Caribbean from both the regional and international facets, to evaluate the impact of diplomacy on Caribbean development, the direction of diplomacy in the Caribbean and a proposal for enhancing diplomacy to the benefit of the small Caribbean states. I will explore the direct and indirect impact of diplomacy on the small developing states of the Caribbean. This will be accomplished through qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, namely in-depth personal interviews and textual analysis. The interviews will be conducted with different stakeholders, namely the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica, Director-General of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Director General of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), Dominica's Ambassador to the United Nations, and a known Historian in the Caribbean.

I define diplomacy as the organized interaction of states or organizations regarding issues of interest which includes human rights, trade, environment, to name a few. In the Caribbean the goals of diplomacy may be slightly different from the norm, since it depends heavily on diplomacy for its development and security. Therefore, the manner in which diplomacy is

conducted strongly affects the challenges faced by these small states. Diplomacy also promotes peace and friendship between states and so treaties are signed and they also impact the development of those states, though important. Regional groups have been established within the Caribbean as another mode of conducting diplomacy. Therefore, these matters will be brought to the fore and assessed on its impact on Caribbean diplomacy.

On evaluation of the impact and direction of diplomacy on the Caribbean thus far, I will propose a way forward for enhancing diplomacy to the benefit of the Caribbean.

## **Chapter I: Literature Review:**

Caribbean diplomacy is challenged in several ways from its historical beginnings to present. These challenges range from the smallness of these Caribbean states to the challenges of independence from colonial rule and globalization. Diplomacy has since become very important to the Caribbean states in order to attain security and development.

Sir Ramphal, in his presentation at the Caribbean Diplomatic Training Programme for Mid-Career Diplomats, discusses the role of Caribbean diplomacy with the international community. He starts by stating that the “most notable achievements have been in this field – at the United Nations, in the Non-aligned Movement, in the Commonwealth, in Brussels and in Geneva, in the ACP and at the OAS – and always on the right side of history” (StabroekNews.com, 2009). Sir Ramphal continues to explain that the consequences of Caribbean history created the need for Caribbean diplomacy. The Caribbean was not always made of independent states. Some were colonies of France, the United Kingdom and Spain. “More often than not it was simply an unquestioned assumption that it was a necessary incident of Independence: after all, at the constitutional level, Independence itself was essentially the relinquishment by the imperial power of its residual authority and responsibility for ‘defence ‘ and ‘foreign affairs” (StabroekNews.com, 2009). Independence brought with it some great responsibility for these small states.

Following independence, some countries like Guyana and Belize inherited some boarder disputes which made diplomacy very necessary in the Caribbean context. In these cases it was necessary

for smoothing out such situations and enhancing cooperation and understanding. Diplomacy in the Caribbean has always had a level of difficulty in having to prove its worth and continues to do so as it develops, he explained.

After a period of time, Caribbean diplomacy developed from singularly managing matters of the state to placing more importance on development of diplomacy as a region. In so doing deepening Caribbean regional integration has become fundamentally important. He extends that coordination of foreign policies is one of the objectives of CARICOM and that Caribbean diplomacy is two-fold with diplomacy as separate states and diplomacy as a collective. He also States that the CARICOM “sometimes take refuge from consolidation in the virtue of numbers. But that matters only in voting and increasingly, voting is giving way to consensus”, (StabroekNews.com, 2009) which now questions the value of sovereignty compared to one united force. Integration of the entire Caribbean and not only the CARICOM states seems the way forward for these small states offering a bigger voice and a stronger force.

Edwin Carrington, Secretary-General of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) in addressing the opening of the 2009 Diplomatic Training Exercise for Mid-career Diplomats of the Caribbean Community, stated that “crisis and opportunity seem to have been the dual inheritance of the Caribbean regional integration movement since its inception more than thirty-five years ago. It is to weather these crises and seize the opportunities, as a group, which prompted the founders of our integration movement to place foreign policy co-ordination as one of the foundation pillars of the Caribbean Community – the others being economic integration, functional co-operation and, more recently, security co-operation” (CARICOM, 2009).

He continues to explain how important the Community's Council for Foreign and Community Relations is, describing it as the sword and shield to carve out, protect and eventually broaden the spaces for its people in the global community. Caribbean diplomats played a significant role, he states, "in the struggle against regimes that shamed our collective humanity in Southern Africa. It was Caribbean diplomats who led the way in this hemisphere in recognizing Cuba at the height of the Cold War and paved the way for other countries of Latin America to do likewise. They are also integrally involved in the fight to get the international community to recognize the special circumstances of small vulnerable economies and to accept that small states should not be marginalized in today's rapidly evolving socio-economic and geo-political landscape. Caribbean diplomacy has therefore, made an indelible mark in Africa, Latin America, and the wider world" (CARICOM, 2009). This proves that the Caribbean states as a united force can achieve a lot since they have in the past achieved such goals which would be impossible as a single state working on its own. Alliances are important to diplomacy in the Caribbean.

In recognition of the changes in world affairs, His Excellency Carrington also noted the change in the art and science of diplomacy and a fundamentally changed global reality. He states that "This age is characterized by globalization and liberalization, facilitated by Information and Communication Technology, but also by dysfunctional global financial and economic structures, radically shifting geo-political trends, security and environmental threats and public health crises" (CARICOM, 2009). These issues also impact the Community's interests and the region must coordinate its position on such matters. The change in global financial and economic structures has severely affected the economies of the Caribbean state. The sale of bananas used

to be one of the biggest income earners for Caribbean state especially within the CARICOM and the OECS states with large shipments to the United Kingdom. These countries used to receive preferential treatment on the UK markets for sale of bananas but with the change in the structures these states had to diversify and in so doing faced great difficulty in securing the necessary income for development.

Recognizing the challenges of the smallness of the region he proposes the use of creativity and innovative approaches to effect the implementation of regional foreign policy formulation. A critical issue, he stressed, challenging the region's smallness is climate change. Not only does it challenge the smallness but the development of the region's sustainable development for which regional diplomats are to in a united voice find modes for mitigating the effects if not a solution, since it encompasses a threat to the very existence of the region.

As important as integration may be, there are challenges outside of diplomacy which embodies the circumstances of small states. Cross-Mike examines small state diplomacy taking into consideration the impact of the globalized international system. In her research she notes that the Caribbean states face the same challenges as other developing countries, but the characteristics of these small states augment these circumstances. "These small developing states, born out of a historical condition of colonialism; its processes and institutions, tend to have little recourse to the traditional realist options of significant military and economic power. However, there is the potential through diplomacy and soft power to surmount challenges, limitations and the pessimistic predetermined lot assigned". (Cross-Mike S., No date) She goes on to state that these small Caribbean states are faced with internal vulnerabilities which include, "environmental,

open economies and limited diversification, inadequate and weak institutional capacity and capabilities; whilst exogenous challenges are related to the globalization of the international system” (Cross-Mike S., no date).

She explains the effects of the contemporary international system on the Caribbean diplomacy stating that globalization presents both challenges and opportunities for Caribbean diplomacy. The international system has changed due to advances in the Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs), increased globalization, trade and financial liberalization which poses increased and new challenges to Caribbean states. Increased engagement with non-state actors also poses a problem. “It can compound existing and introduce new challenges for CARICOM states in their international relations. As such, to secure and safeguard their security and meet their overall developmental goals and objectives, they must ensure that they are effective participants in a dynamic and increasingly technologically determined international system through utilizing approaches in their diplomatic activity” (Cross-Mike S., no date).

The smallness of Caribbean states, she continues, contributes to their diplomatic challenges and effectiveness in the international system. The characteristics of small states also affect the manner in which they pursue their foreign policy objectives in the international system. These characteristics she explained are openness, insularity or enclave-ness, resilience, weakness and dependence (Cross-Mike S., no date). This in turn causes high economic costs and indefensibility or no military power. Therefore, they are forced to rely on diplomatic means in order to convey to other countries the nature of their national interests in the different areas of international

relations that are vital to their survival. Thus the need to be flexible and innovative in small states international relations.

In Cross-Mike's review of Caribbean diplomacy, she states that it is a "means by which states try to secure their foreign policy goals and objectives in the wider international system in order to advance and fulfill their national developmental agendas, mainly through negotiation" (Cross-Mike S., no date). Caribbean diplomacy is guided by its special circumstances and vulnerabilities during interactions in the international system and in so doing would need those international institutions to recognize these circumstances. "Having lost some of its traditional geo-strategic significance with the end of the Cold War, Caribbean states have wrestled with positioning themselves through diplomacy to benefit from alliances with more influential states on specific issues" (Cross-Mike S., no date).

Caribbean diplomacy is faced with challenges of varying degrees which presents a need for not just diplomacy but diplomacy which caters to the needs of these small states. Sir Ramphal took more of an historical perspective of diplomacy and how it developed to the level at which it is today. From the beginning he noted that there were challenges but not as great as today, but still diplomacy had to be put into action in order to attain some level of sustainability in the Caribbean. H.E. Carrington expressed the need for creativity and an innovative approach in order to advance diplomacy and deal with the challenges faced by small Caribbean states. Cross-Mike expressed the challenges compounded by globalization and diplomacy as a means of securing foreign policy objectives. Though all the authors spoke of the challenges of small states and the importance of diplomacy, they all took a different approach, but they all agreed on a need for



creative diplomacy and integration being important factors in augmenting Caribbean development.

## **Chapter II: Theoretical Framework**

Caribbean Dependency Theory (CDT) holds that the unique circumstances of the Caribbean require a separate theory to explain the functioning of their economies. The development of the Caribbean's foreign policy and the manner in which it conducts its diplomacy is heavily dependent on its economic abilities to maneuver and survive in this globalized world. The theory envisioned by Lloyd Best and Kari Polanyi Levitt "took place on two levels: Epistemic Dependency, which showed that the root of the Caribbean development problem lay in the reliance on "imported" concepts and theories of limited relevance to actual conditions in the region and Economic Dependency, the external controls which dominated and diminished the domestic economy of the Caribbean states" (Weedmark, 2013). The CDT was geared at terminating external controls over Caribbean development which was being imposed by institutions which enforced neocolonial structures.

In this age of globalization, however, Badr Bin Hamad Al Bu Said (2003) suggests that dependency is not an appropriate term to describe the situation of small states since these states are neither peripheral nor exclusively dependent. From his perspective small states are operating in an external environment largely shaped by actions and conflicts of larger and more powerful states or by geo-strategic realities over which small states have little or no control. He explains that, though there may be these external complexities which impedes the level of choice that small states possess, small states are not so limited that they would have to pick sides or enclose their markets. A good example would be that of having established relations with two states which are at odds with each other. Conduct of relations would have to be framed in a manner

that it does not offend either state but continue to enhance and develop relations with both states and encourage moderation between them. This way the small state can be seen as a mediator and still benefit through its diplomatic linkages with these states and others. He also suggests that small states may be able to act in ways that others cannot. “In the space between the big states, the major powers, both regional and global, small states have room for maneuvering that the big states themselves do not enjoy. Small states operate without attracting too much attention, conduct diplomacy discreetly and quietly” (Al Bu Said, 2003). The Honourable Prime Minister of Dominica, Honourable Roosevelt Skerrit in an interview on June 18, 2013, supported Al Bu Said’s statement, stating that “Dominica has friends around the world and sometimes see ourselves as a bridge between the north and south. We have not participated in any wars. Sometimes friction arises between countries and if you are friends of both then you can assist in bridging the divide and this is how Dominica sees itself”.

Through the Theory of Plantation Economy, the CDT argues that the structures which were put in place during colonization have never been disposed of and have been maintained by the developed world. This emerges from corporate plantations becoming family owned plantations and the evolution of the peasant class. Emancipation propelled the Plantation Economy which represents the situation in the Caribbean today, where the small trading companies have been replaced by “branches of multinational corporations to produce raw materials, as well as staple foods as exports to the metropole, ensuring the continued domination and ‘underdevelopment’ of the Caribbean States” (Weedmark, 2013). Critics argue that emancipation, the evolution of the peasantry, urbanization, industrialization and economic diversification had altered the structure of Caribbean society, enhancing its socio-political structure and economy. Therefore the

plantation theory has not sufficiently theorized the issues of underdevelopment in the region and needs to be continually modified as a result of the evolution of economic and social structures and processes in the post-colonial period, in line with Girvan (2006).

Decolonization for the Caribbean meant the possibility for development and economic growth but to the developed states meant the opportunity for economic growth within the free market international economy. This granted the developed states an opportunity to work with all states on an international level and for developing states to extend its foreign diplomacy, negotiate and improve its socioeconomic conditions. In accordance with the original approach for development in the Caribbean States by leading Caribbean Dependency theorists, there should be local control over the economy in order to facilitate economic growth and improve internal welfare instead of producing to feed the economies of the developed world through the policies of economic liberalism. “The goal of Caribbean Dependency Theory is to build a theoretical framework in which economic policy can be devised to allow Caribbean states to assume control of their own development and growth in a manner which ensures that the needs of the Caribbean peoples are met and that promotes their interests within their own countries through economic policy which does not impede local production, education or health care services” (Weedmark, 2013). Therefore, the CDT would only support humanitarian and economic aid which originated within the Caribbean since this would limit the Caribbean’s dependence on the developed world and increase the level of control of the economies of the Caribbean in its own hands.

The question today would be whether the Caribbean can sustain its needs for humanitarian and economic aid. The Caribbean sits on a very peculiar position with its environmental vulnerability

among others. The Caribbean is prone to hurricanes, earthquakes and also tsunamis. The occurrence of only one of these extreme natural disasters can destroy the economies and infrastructure in several states during the same period or at different times. Grenada for example, is still recovering from damages to its nutmeg plantations. Hurricanes Ivan (2004) and Emily (2005) severely damaged the nutmeg industry, which was a key driver of economic growth, and the industry is not expected to recover in the near future. Grenada has rebounded from the devastating effects of Hurricanes Ivan and Emily, but is now left with the debt burden from the rebuilding process leaving limited room to engage in public investments and social spending. Therefore, depending on humanitarian and economic aid from the Caribbean only would not be sufficient since other Caribbean states are also vulnerable to these same circumstances on a yearly basis. Therefore there would be a need for economic diplomacy to be extended on a multilateral and/or bilateral level.

The application of neoliberal globalization in the beginning of the 1970s gave the assumption that these small states were the same as developed states that had not accumulated enough capital. These states cannot be seen in such light because they are not nearly as developed as the developed states and gives no consideration to the experiences of these small states economies. Therefore, Caribbean states have complied through the use of sanctions or adjustment programmes or enticed with benefits from economic aid or trade preferences. “CDT argues, that capital in any form, coming from a metropole state or organization, is in fact a tool of the system of domination, thus it can have no positive effect on the ‘legitimate development’ of the Caribbean states. Instead, these adjustment programs, charitable givings, and bilateral agreements, promote the very cycle that CDT theorists would argue keeps the Caribbean

economy from long-term growth and the improvement of conditions internally (Weedmark, 2013). These scholars have revealed that development is not measured only in capital but also on the internal dynamics of the state. Grants, loans and aid coming from international institutions such as the IMF are seen as only promoting the values, interests and industries of the developed world. In the CDT concept development aid must take into consideration the needs and interests of the Caribbean peoples in order to be accepted. If we look at assistance received from the IMF in the Caribbean states and review the conditions for aid we may agree with the CDT scholars that the type of aid offered by these institutions do not wholly serve the needs or the interests of the small developing states of the Caribbean.

Modernization theory, on the other hand, asserts that “Western capitalist values and practices are the basis for “modernizing” third world countries and helping them become self-sustaining. Modernization is the term used for the transition from the traditional society to modern society as it is found today in the West. Modernization or development theory presents the idea that by introducing modern methods in “technology, agricultural production for trade, and industrialization dependent on a mobile labor force,” the underdeveloped countries will experience a strengthening in their economies” (Sorensen L., 2001). This gives these countries the opportunity to compete with the modern societies and a more level playing field. The lines of economic diplomacy would be opened to benefit the developing state but also presenting a loss of certain traditional values for the small states.

Latin American intellectuals such as Raúl Prebisch, Theotonio dos Santos, Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank, Fernando Cardoso, Walter Rodney, and Samir Amin debated the problem of

underdevelopment focusing on the dependency theory but coined it a bit differently. They argued “that the core nations (developed states) exploited raw materials from the periphery nations (underdeveloped states) from which they would make huge profits from the manufactured goods produced from the raw materials and the underdeveloped states would make” (Sorensen L. 2001) menial profits from the raw materials exported. Therefore, the underdeveloped states had very little for development while the developed states thrived on their exports. Thus it only made sense that the periphery would break ties with the core in order to develop its own economy. “They would have to deal and trade from within trying to expand their internal markets. This idea was influenced by the philosophies of neo-Marxism. It “drew on traditional Marxist idea, but incorporated a theory of imperialism” (Sorensen L., 2001). Diplomacy at this point would have more of a regional force rather than an international scope, creating a need for organizations such as the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Association of Caribbean States (ACS).

Al Bu Said believes that in order to maximize capacity for action small states need to identify those features of the external environment (shaped as it is by other larger players) that are likely to work most effectively to their advantage. He identifies four specific areas which he believes are important and that small states should share their experience and work together. Working together is a key factor for small states, since as small nations with limited resources simply do not have enough diplomats to do everything on their own. Therefore, there would be one embassy to represent the members of the Caribbean States as does the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States in Brussels. This gives even greater importance to integration within that organization to allow for effective diplomatic representation.

The first of those features is that small states should “seek always to maintain and enhance relations with their immediate neighbours” (Al Bu Said, 2003). This is especially important with neighbours who are bigger and more powerful. Small states always want to maintain good relations not only with their neighbours but with all states due to their inability to provide for themselves a military defense, their open economies and over all smallness. Globalization he also states is creating new proximities and new neighbourhoods which give all the more reason for small states to maintain good relations with their immediate and global neighbours.

The second feature support for regional associations. “Enhancing the integration of small states, supporting moves towards customs and eventually monetary union as well as advocating greater and more effective security and military coordination is one of the ways in which these small states can better relate to globalization and changing economic conditions” (Al Bu Said, 2013). This is already taking place in the Caribbean through the OECS Economic Union and the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) and is expected to enhance the economic conditions among the participating member states.

The third area is international respect for the rule of law which Al Bu Said emphasizes is an area in which enhanced cooperation between small states could be achieved. The rule of law he explained works as a mechanism which curtails the actions of the powerful states, through institutions such as the United Nations. “For small states, then, the strengthening of the rule of law in the space of international relations is intimately connected to the practice of multilateralism, so much so that I think it is helpful to think of the two ideas side by side because



that way we begin to develop more strongly the idea that certain kinds of action are simply not legal unless they carry some minimal degree of multilateral agreement. The implications of such a decision and its wholehearted implementation by the international community have substantial implications in fields as diverse as arms control, sovereignty, economic relations (especially trade) and human rights” (Al Bu Said, 2003). Therefore, advantages will be gained from international respect for the rule of law and rules will be established that not only legitimize the interests of the powerful states but also that of the small states as in the Caribbean.

The fourth feature is ‘ethics’. By this he explains that “a small nation may have a very particular historical experience, not shared by the ‘Great Powers’ of the world, which might shed a different light on ethical and legal problems, which might, for example, offer a new approach to the management of international situations” (Al Bu Said, 2003). Due to the peculiar situation of small states, the manner of thinking and dealing with various situations may be different from that of the developed states. It may not be understood by the developed states since their values are different. Small states may preserve as much of their natural features as possible because of their cultural or historical value while the developed states may see the potential from using certain raw materials and because of the expanse of land available to them the economic value may outweigh the cultural or historical value.

Modernization has to an extent impeded development in the third world countries and therefore diplomacy has to be fashioned to relate with the implications of modernization in these small states. These states are not laden with so many modern conveniences as in the developed world due to its exceptional circumstances and values of tradition and culture. The mode of diplomacy

has to be set in a manner that small states can thrive and compete on the international markets and equal contributions received in these small developing states in order to enhance their economic deficiencies. Dependency theory does possess some positive aspects for developing the Caribbean, but developing the internal markets alone will not be sufficient to sustain the Caribbean. The economy of the entire Caribbean needs to be strengthened if the Caribbean is to survive this globalized world. Possibly an economic union as proposed by the OECS would be a better option for the Caribbean at this time. The internal markets do need to expand but not on an individual state basis but rather as a wider Caribbean. Globalization questions the relationship between periphery and core. It has broken the boundary between periphery and core and produced a more fluid economic characteristic and wider options for trade, development and diplomacy. It has also brought about for small Caribbean states a more complex diplomatic dynamic to work with, but they were exposed to dealing with such complexities from very early on if we are to consider historical aspect of diplomacy in the Caribbean and Caribbean Dependency Theory. The Caribbean had to develop the type of diplomacy that would work for its development. CARICOM and especially the OECS have come to play an integral role in the development of such diplomacy.

## **Chapter III: The Beginning of Diplomacy in the Caribbean**

### **Formation of Caribbean Society**

The human race lived on other continents before coming to the Americas in accordance with history. Prehistoric men and tribes followed wild beasts for food across Asia and on to the Bering Strait which was made of land and ice in the formation of a bridge to the Americas. Some settled in North America while the others continued down the continent to the south. Honychurch (1995, p 9) states that, “After 10 000 BC the ice-cap receded and the Bering Strait became sea once more. The only way people could come to the Americas afterwards was by boat”. Before the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 the Amerindians were already living there. There were different tribes known as the Lucayans, Tainos, Arawaks, Ciboneys and Caribs. These tribes migrated from the Southern and Central American mainland on canoes to the Caribbean islands.

Then, Christopher Columbus arrived in the Caribbean on October 12, 1492, on his voyage to reach the east by sailing west and discovered the Caribbean. He first landed on a small island he called San Salvador now known as Hispaniola being shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic. “Once word of a ‘new world’ reached Europe, the British, French and Dutch joined the Spaniards in the Caribbean. The newcomers brought with them diseases like measles and smallpox for which the native people of the Caribbean had no immunity. Therefore, outbreaks of measles and smallpox depleted their population. Later, in the 1640's Portuguese Jews emigrated from Brazil to Barbados taking with them the techniques of cultivating sugar cane, thus the sugarcane plantations of the Caribbean” (KEWL, 2010) and sugar production.

The colonizers then needed labourers to work on the plantation and took advantage of the slave trade from the coast of West Africa which was started by the Portuguese. “Chiefs and traders met the demand through warfare or by raids on small towns and villages” (PORTCITIES Bristol, no date). The slaves were taken to the Europeans who stayed on the coast and traded for ammunitions, alcohol, cotton, pearls etc. Then they were transported to Europe and then to the colonies in the Caribbean or America to work as slaves on the plantations. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) describes it as the first system of globalization. The transatlantic slave trade, often known as the triangular trade, connected the economies of three continents, Africa, Europe & the Americas. “The transatlantic slave trade was the biggest deportation in history and a determining factor in the world economy of the 18th century” (UNESCO, 2012). Millions of Africans were torn from their homes, deported to strange lands and sold as slaves.

“As the sugar and tobacco trade developed in the West Indies, English plantation owners were in dire need of manual laborers to work in the fields to harvest the crops. The native Caribbean people had been suppressed, thus, planters were forced to look further afield for the needed workers” (Exodus, 2013). With the benefits of sugar production, the people of Europe saw an opportunity for work especially those who lived in poverty. “Some of the migrants were willing participants in the process, and worked as indentured servants on the island plantations for periods of five to ten years” (Exodus, 2013), and as payment would receive ownership of a small plot of land. “Though many chose indentured servitude of their own free will, others were sadly

exploited; signing contracts yet on arrival, they were sold into slavery and were bought, sold, traded, and mistreated by their owners” (Exodus, 2013).

This explains how the Caribbean started to become a melting pot of races and the early development of Caribbean societies. The ancestors of the Caribbean people came from different races from every other continent, settling on the various islands before and during colonization. All of these races had to find a way to coexist with different cultures, languages, and beliefs living in small places and facing at most times harsh conditions.

### **Diplomatic History of the Caribbean**

An interview conducted with Dr. Lennox Honychurch, Historian, on May 24, 2013, revealed that, “Caribbean unity was born of a resolution of tension. How can so many people of various backgrounds live in the same place and very often such small spaces yet carry-on an open democratic society?” He explained that it required a great deal of give and take which given the smallness of the places even those of larger Caribbean countries such as Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica (which are also small states), people over the generations have come to terms with an accommodation. There have been tensions throughout the 20th century; particularly from the middle of the 20th century there have been resolutions in dealing with conflict and for the sake of a peaceful society there has been this level of give and take which led to diplomacy. Therefore, it was not a situation where unity was automatic but one of compromise for the greater good.

There was also the colonial imposed relationship in the Caribbean. From the arrival of Christopher Columbus came the issue between the European powers of how to divide this new world that they had discovered. Dr. Honychurch stated that, “They turned to the pope of the day and based on his word would have the division of the so called ‘new world’ through the Treaty of Tordesillas which divided the new world between Portugal and Spain.” The Pope therefore drew a line roughly in the middle of the Atlantic and agreed everything to the east would be for Portugal and everything to the west for Spain. What they did not realize at the time was that the line went down and crossed Brazil and this is why today Brazil is Portuguese speaking and is of Portuguese colonial origin. Then the other European powers felt that they had been cut out of this new world and “Francis the 1st of France said ‘I want to see the clause in Adam's will that denies me a piece of the world'. And so French, English and Dutch adventures went into the Caribbean and started to attack Spanish control of the island. This was followed by a period when a series of treaties were signed over the years determining which colonies belonged to whom,” he stated. The French and the British continued to battle with each other to own the sugar islands and then met at Treaties and decide how they were going to be divided. For example he shared that, the main Treaties involving Dominica was the Treaty of Paris in 1763 in which Dominica was ceded to Britain. Then the French attacked the Island and took it over for 5 years, but the Treaty of Versailles 1783 determined that it be handed back to Britain. Therefore, Dominica became a British colony.

The British and the French in trying to settle the island were having resistance with the Carib/Kalinago people and there was a school of thought that if one or two islands were left for them, they would settle on those islands and would not leave to attack the other islands.

Dr. Honychurch in the interview explained that, in 1660, the French and the Caribs agreed that the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent were to remain neutral islands to be untouched by the Europeans for the indigenous Carib/Kalinago people. In 1667 the British also agreed that the islands should be left to the Kalinago people. In 1650 sugar was introduced to the islands and the value of the islands went up and the British and the French saw the value of keeping Dominica and St. Vincent to themselves instead of to a few thousand indigenous people. The French then started to move across to Dominica and slowly started to settle and the British noticed and told the French that they have broken the treaty. In June 1761 Roseau a little French Village was attacked by the British and won which gave the British full rights to Dominica at the Treaty of Paris.

Emancipation eventually became important in the colonies. Due to the mountainous nature of Dominica, the estates and plantations were along the coast with nothing inland, no roads across the island. The slaves from Martinique and Guadeloupe heard that getting through that corridor through the plantations and into the hills, and join the camps of the maroons which were there and basically escape slavery. When the news got into Guadeloupe and Martinique Dr. Honychurch continues to explain, that bit by bit small canoes would sail to Dominica at night to be emancipated, breaking the colonial treaty because Guadeloupe and Martinique were French and Dominica was British and so they had crossed the boundaries. This matter got very intense when “Britain passed the emancipation act and freedom of the slaves in Dominica is declared in August 1834. The French only abolished slavery in 1848 leaving 14 years of freedom in Dominica,” he stated and because the news broke out to the French islands, large numbers of slaves landed in Dominica since they would experience freedom from just touching Dominican

soil. Some stayed but others returned after emancipation was passed in the French islands. There was a network of officials and a network of the people based on the situation that existed at the moment with regards to emancipation.

Although Britain controlled Dominica, Dr. Honychurch in the interview explained, they were not against French citizens coming to work on the island since most people would have to pay taxes and customs dues and that would help the British government in running Dominica. What happened in Martinique and Guadeloupe in the early days of colonization was that there were very strict laws that made life difficult for the free people of colour. To escape these laws these people escaped to Dominica. They were educated, they had slaves, they had money and set up their estates and they were free to do as they please and the British did not mind because they were citizens and were paying money and although the French attacked from time to time, Dominica never changed hand until independence in 1978.

From 1978, the agreement on how to run Dominica also changed. It became part of a British colony that was called the “Southern Caribees” managed by a Governor based in Grenada which entailed Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica. Then individual groups within that one colony started requesting their own government and own House of Assembly. In the case of Dominica, Dr. Honychurch continued, Dominica got its own House of Assembly in 1770 with its own governor and other islands followed. As the years passed Britain felt that these individual colonies which were connected to the colonial office in London were very cumbersome and expensive systems to maintain. Therefore, thought it would be easier to maintain by having grouped the islands together and had one Governor and Lieutenant Governor. In the case of Dominica in 1871, it became a member of the Leeward Islands Colony (Federated



Colony of the Leeward Islands) Dr. Honychurch stated. Other members included Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts & Nevis and Anguilla. Then the ones to the south St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbados were to be part of the Windward Islands as another colony but Barbados revolted against it because they wanted to keep their own individual colony and they were successful in the end remaining its own colony. All of this, he explained, was happening at a critical time in the Caribbean; sugar prices declined, slavery was over and colonial countries were more interested in getting colonies in Africa and Asia, the Caribbean had become backward – become expensive to run, not making the kind of money it used to make. Therefore the colonial countries are trying to make it cheaper to run the islands by grouping them together and this led to the different groupings. This was the beginning of the unification of the Caribbean islands, starting even from the colonial era.

“Dominica which was not similar to the Leeward Islands being mountainous with rivers and its products being limes, oranges and coconuts was similar to St. Lucia and St. Vincent of the Windward Islands and so in 1940 Dominica was removed as a Leeward Island to be a Windward Island” Dr. Honychurch stated. He explained that one of the features of being a Leeward Island was that they were all one colony. People of Montserrat, Antigua and St. Kitts could freely travel to Dominica because they were part of the colony and the head of the colony was in St. Johns, Antigua. This allowed the movement of people in the post emancipation period from the smaller islands to settle in Dominica in search of jobs which is part of an integrated process within those colonies. Therefore, when the news went out that plantations were being opened in Dominica, the changing of sugar plantations to cocoa and limes and the need for people to work because the Dominicans in Dominica did not want to work on the estates due to the fact that they owned their

own lands on which they could survive, people moved to Dominica for work and eventually settled. This is the reason for having these different people of different backgrounds and faiths living on the islands. This is also an example of early perception of integration among the colonies.

Then there was the experiment of federation, Dr. Honychurch continued, where all English speaking islands were grouped as one federation by the British and headquartered in Trinidad. This is where the Caribbean began to experience some limitations to unity within itself. Different perceptions of growth and development started to develop among the nations. The Jamaicans, he stated, felt like they were left out, that those islands of the federation were too far away, that it would be a strain on their economy. Therefore, after four years Jamaica decided that they were going to have a referendum and the vast majority of the people decided that they wanted to leave the federation. Then the federation eventually could not continue and collapsed after four years and the British had to find a solution to deal with the islands that were left over. Trinidad followed and became independent, Barbados followed in 1966 and as did British Guyana and became Guyana. Afterwards there were seven islands left in the federation. Of the seven islands that were left, the British Government created something called 'Associated Statehood' where Britain was no longer responsible for the internal self-government. The Governor who would be appointed would come from the islands and was the first step to independence. Eventually, Grenada in 1974 became independent, Dominica in 1978, and the others followed very quickly and they all became independent states.

Independence was a big change for these small Caribbean states. Dr. Honychurch recounted that the small states soon realized that they could not exist without some sort of linkage to the outside

world, even if it was not political – “Linkages to discuss areas of foreign affairs, telecommunication, air communication, shipping, health care etc. - and so early in the 60s they formed the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) which then became the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which focused on the common market”. In 1981, he said, the smaller islands decided that they were not getting a fair share in respect of CARICOM and they should form another organization among themselves and formed the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). Independence was a step from associated statehood when Britain was responsible for defence and external affair which had been passed on to these small states at independence. Since no one was going to attack any of these islands, ‘Foreign Affairs’ was the most important thing that Britain handed over. It meant that these Caribbean states could now have their own seats in the United Nations and other international bodies.

Caribbean societies began with tribes that migrated from the Asian continent through the Americas and up the Caribbean chain. The first settlers developed their societies and the arrival of Christopher Columbus and other Europeans, slaves from Africa and indentured servants transformed the population and societies in the small states. From the colonial days we begin to see the small states being grouped together but the intention was not for the development of these states but to find a cheaper way to run for the benefit of the colonizers. This explains part of the Caribbean Dependency Theory where the Caribbean states were being exploited of their wealth to support the developmental needs of the colonizers. Following this the states became independent and did recognize the need for having diplomatic relations with foreign states in order to survive. They also recognized the need to work together, forming the OECS and the CARICOM to enhance their development. From then on these small Caribbean states functioned

as independent states holding on to policies of the regional organizations to which they had agreed. Working together to enhance development was critical at that time and still is.

## **Chapter IV: Regional Organizations**

The Caribbean is made up of several organizations but there are two main regional organizations of which their membership is made up of small island states. These two regional organizations are the Organization of Caribbean States (OECS) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which assist in the development of its member states. They also contribute to the manner in which diplomacy is conducted between states and in the international arena.

### **Organization of American States (OECS)**

The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) was established on June 18 1981, when seven Eastern Caribbean countries signed a Treaty of Basseterre, agreeing to cooperate with each other and promote unity and solidarity among the Members. In so doing the OECS aims to “promote co-operation among the Member States at the regional and international level; promote unity and solidarity among the Member States and to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; assist the Member States in the realization of their obligations and responsibilities to the international community with due regard to the role of international law as a standard of conduct in their relationships; seek to achieve the fullest possible level of harmonization of foreign policy among the Member States; seek to adopt, as far as possible, common positions on international issues and to establish and to maintain wherever possible, arrangements for joint overseas representation and/or common services; promote economic integration among the Member States and to pursue these purposes through its respective institutions by discussion of questions of common concern and by agreement and common action” (OECS, 2013).

This organization was created as a means to generate a more formal arrangement to assist with development efforts after independence from Britain. The OECS is administered by the Central Secretariat which is located in St. Lucia and now comprises nine members, Antigua and Barbuda, Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia and St Vincent and the Grenadines. Anguilla and the British Virgin Islands are associate members of the OECS. The Secretariat is headed by the Director General, Dr. Len Ishmael, who is responsible to the Authority. Over the years several subsidiary and autonomous institutions have been created. This includes the OECS Organs which include The OECS Authority, the Council of Ministers, the OECS Assembly, the Economic Affairs Council, the OECS Commission, the Secretariat, and Institutions in the OECS – the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB), the Eastern Caribbean Civil Aviation Authority (ECCAA), and the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court (ECSC). “The Islands share a single currency, the Eastern Caribbean Dollar (\$2.70 ECD = 1 USD). The operation of the currency is overseen by the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank, the monetary authority for the seven OECS governments and the government of Anguilla (The British Virgin Islands uses the US Dollar as their de facto currency)” (OECS, 2013). The Islands also share a common Supreme Court: The Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court. The Eastern Caribbean States also share a representative mission in Brussels – the Embassies of the Eastern Caribbean States and Missions to the European Union. It maintains a joint diplomatic presence in Europe and while maintaining friendly relations between the two regions. Through this Mission the OECS has successfully established partnerships with the European Union and the African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP). It represents the shared priorities of the Eastern Caribbean States which include “tackling the complex challenges posed by climate change and

natural disasters, achieving the millennium development goals and making real the aspiration of self-sustaining growth” (OECS, 2013).

Since its inception 32 years ago, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States has positively impacted the development of Member States with its shared common institutions, jointly undertaken initiatives in other areas, such as regional security, pharmaceutical procurement, functional cooperation, overseas diplomatic representation and the harmonization of policy in various sectors. Its regional institutional arrangements have allowed a certain level of stability over decades, and have enabled member states to channel their scarce financial resources in a more cost-effective manner, thus reducing the burden on local governments and resulting in cost savings. In fact, the OECS was born, not only out of a noble vision for a more unified sub-region, but also out of sheer practicality. In light of the small size of member states as individual countries, it is far more pragmatic to have a single Aviation Authority rather than individual aviation authorities, given the small air-space. In addition, a single common currency managed by the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB) was another practical decision, which has allowed for monetary stability and greater credibility, as well as a common pool of foreign exchange reserves. The sub-regional integration process pursued by Member States of the OECS has enabled a combination of strengths and pooling of resources in ways which are more efficient and conducive to development, in comparison to facing enormous global pressures entirely on their own. One of the principal merits of the establishment of the OECS, is that it has better prepared member states for the overwhelming challenges of the twenty-first century, namely the phenomenon of globalization, which thus far includes: financial and environmental

crises, the technological advancement, economic partnership agreements with the EU, on account of progressive trade liberalization and the end of preferential trade agreements.

Being extremely small, with a narrow resource base, Member States are among the most vulnerable and least influential members of the international community. Therefore, it is much harder for individual Member States to be competitive and viable in a fast-paced global economy. With the signing of the Revised Treaty of Basseterre during the 51 Meeting of the Authority of Heads of Government which took place in St. Lucia on June 18, 2010, Member States committed themselves to establish an economic union, where the factors of production – capital, labour, goods and services – would be able to move freely across national borders, and allow for a higher degree of economic performance and enhanced competitiveness. This Treaty creates a “single financial and economic space within which goods, people and capital move freely, monetary and fiscal policies are harmonized and countries continue to adopt a common approach to trade, health, education and environment, as well as to the development of such critical sectors as agriculture, tourism and energy. Significantly, the Treaty paves the way for the introduction of legislative competence at the regional level, so that Member States of the Organization act in concert to develop and enact legislation in certain areas specified in the Treaty” (OECS, 2013). This platform provides small states with new direction for socio-economic development and future integrative efforts.

Furthermore, the Revised Treaty has established new sub-regional architecture in the form of 5 new organs: the Authority (comprised of Heads of Government, whose unanimous decisions are now binding upon Member States), the Commission (comprised of appointed Commissioners of



ambassadorial rank from each Member State, who ensure that OECS law is implemented at the national level), the Assembly (a platform where legislation for enactment by the Authority is discussed and debated by parliamentarians from both the ruling administrations and opposition of Member States), the Council of Ministers (responsible to the Authority and consist of Ministers of Government from each Member State, according to theme/sector. For example, for matters pertaining to tourism, the respective tourism ministers of individual member states shall convene) and the Council of Economic Affairs (comprising chairperson and senior ministers of government nominated by Member State to discuss issues related to the Economic Union Protocol of the Revised Treaty). The Economic Union is expected to create a single financial and economic space, which, through a process of aggregation, should lead to the following advantages for its member states: “Economies of scale in production, distribution, marketing and public administration; the spread of risk across a greater land space and a bigger population; and increased capacity to negotiate with third countries, groups of countries, regional and international institutions and foreign private investors” (OECS, 2013). In a short interview with Dr. Len Ishmael Director general of the OECS on June 30, 2013, the present and immediate priority areas for the OECS seemed to circulate “the main areas of focus of the Revised Treaty of Basseterre Establishing the OECS Economic Union, and the smooth implementation of the provisions of the treaty. These areas are namely the free movement of persons regime, and the free circulation of goods and services” and the continued repositioning of the OECS with the world to better benefit member states. While the Revised Treaty has been signed and ratified by each Member State, there are administrative and legal arrangements – including the provision of required legislative amendments - which need to be put in place in Member States to comply with the provisions of the treaty and allow the full and effective operationalization of the

Economic Union. With full implementation of the Treaty provisions it is expected that the unimpeded movement of all factors of production throughout the OECS would allow for increased economies of scale, since it would expand the market size of the sub-region as one single financial and economic space, which should then attract foreign and domestic entrepreneurs to invest more and would in turn encourage job creation. Increased competition for goods and services should result in higher levels of growth and increased government revenues.

In terms of diplomacy the OECS impacts its Member States in a variety of ways. Just as in CARICOM, in no way does the OECS impinge on the right of Member States to determine their individual foreign policy paths as sovereign nations. Regardless of their membership of the OECS, states actively engage others on a bilateral and international level with no interruptions from the organization. Smallness in the international arena can make it quite difficult to be heard when faced as individual Member States. Therefore, when addressing common issues of concern such as socio-economic, environmental etc., in the international or multilateral fora, Member States may choose to coordinate their position on specific issues, which gives strength to their positions and a “greater” voice. The OECS has become more visible by third parties in recent years. Countries have been establishing relations at the diplomatic level with the OECS since 2009 at the sub-regional level: Spain, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, Argentina, the U.K., the U.S., France, Germany, Finland, Austria and the European Union. However, these states continue to initiate projects and offer assistance with Member States at the bilateral level.

Given the inherent vulnerability of Member States, the OECS integration process has been designed to empower Member States in the international arena, as well as enhance the capacity

of their national economies to stimulate greater levels of development for their citizens. Through collective action Member States can punch above their weight in global affairs and multilateral fora on global issues whilst speaking with a unified voice; an economic union will result in improved competitiveness, allowing for enhanced growth, and for the sub-region to be better inserted in the global economy; resources can be pooled, which leads to tremendous savings for Member States.

### **CARICOM**

The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) was established on July 4, 1973 at the signing of the Treaty of Chaguaramas which followed the transformation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) into a common market in 1972. It consists of 14 member states. Though a free-trade area had been established it did not provide for free movement of labour and capital or the coordination of agricultural, industrial and foreign policies. The Revised Treaty in 2001 allowed the transformation of the Common Market into a single market and economy in which factors move freely as a basis for internationally competitive production of goods and provision of services.

The objectives of the Community are: “to improve standards of living and work; the full employment of labour and other factors of production; accelerated, coordinated and sustained economic development and convergence; expansion of trade and economic relations with third States; enhanced levels of international competitiveness; organization for increased production and productivity; achievement of a greater measure of economic leverage and effectiveness of Member States in dealing with third States, groups of States and entities of any description and

the enhanced co-ordination of Member States' foreign and foreign economic policies and enhanced functional co-operation" (CARICOM, 2011). The CARICOM Secretariat is the principal administrative organ of the Community and is headed by a Secretary General, His Excellency Irwin LaRocque, who is the Chief Executive Officer of the Community.

The main organs of the organization include: The Conference of Heads of Government (and its Bureau) and The Community Council of Ministers (The Community Council). These principal organs are assisted by four 'Organs', three 'bodies' and by the CARICOM Secretariat. The organs are: The Council for Finance and Planning (COFAP); the Council for Trade and Economic Development (COTED); the Council for Foreign and Community Relations (COFCOR); the Council for Human and Social Development (COHSOD); the Council of Ministers responsible for National Security and Law Enforcement. The bodies are: The Legal Affairs Committee which provides legal advice to the organs and bodies of the Community; The Budget Committee which examines the draft budget and work programme of the Secretariat and submits recommendations to the Community Council; and The Committee of Central Bank Governors which provides recommendations to the COFAP on monetary and financial matters.

CARICOM has afforded its member states collective representation with other international agencies, organizations, blocks of countries, in that as a single country in CARICOM for example Dominica, Barbados or Guyana singly on their own would not be able to trade on the international market as effectively as if they were to trade as a block. The world does not trade by one country versus one country. It trades in blocks. CARICOM serves as a clearing house/headquarters where these programmes are received for member states collectively. With

this arrangement it has served a lot of Caribbean states, assisting in their development. In terms of foreign affairs, at an interview with the Minister for Employment, Trade, Industry and Diaspora Affairs in the Commonwealth of Dominica, Honourable John Collin McIntyre on Thursday June 13, 2013, it was indicated that, though countries may have their separate foreign relations with other countries, “with the CARICOM aspect, some countries may opt to assist with development programmes for the region. Having the opportunity to implement these programmes through an organization like CARICOM rather than a country to country basis because the member states are much too small on their own; unless there is a particular interest, for example Trinidad has energy in petroleum products you would find that a particular set of countries would want to trade with Trinidad because of that, but not every member state has this luxury”.

CARICOM being governed by a treaty with rules and regulations as to how business is conducted has assisted significantly in a number of different programmes. There is also the Single Market and Economy and the free movement of people which are programmes being pursued under the Treaty which still needs to be accomplished. Single currency is another aspect which is being considered right now but will take some time because there are different currencies with different values and that would need to be sorted out. From a Foreign Affairs point of view CARICOM also establishes bilateral and multilateral relationships from which its member states benefit. His Excellency Sebastián Piñera Echenique, President of Chile participated in the Twenty-Third Inter-Sessional Meeting of Heads of Government of CARICOM in an effort to strengthen and deepen relations between CARICOM and Chile through enhanced cooperation in a range of areas and the adoption of common positions in

hemispheric and international arenas. “The President of Chile highlighted the shared feature of political and institutional stability in Latin America and the Caribbean in an era of democracy and economic growth. This, he said provided a unique opportunity, through education, to reduce poverty and collaborate in dealing with challenges such as global warming and climate change, organized crime, drug trafficking, terrorism and corruption” (Caribbean Community, 2012) Honourable McIntyre in his interview endorsed this concept and highlighted that the foreign policies of states are not compromised during the establishment of these relations. He said that at a recent CARICOM meeting with the Chinese President an offer was made for bilateral meetings with individual member states but the nine states which have established diplomatic relations with China met with him collectively as CARICOM and he has pledged a \$3 billion package for infrastructural development and \$1.5 billion for other development programmes. Other member states who had not established relations with China were excused from this meeting in respect for their sovereignty and foreign policy.

Though the CARICOM has provided a lot for the Community there is need for change within CARICOM to be more effective. At the Twenty-Third Inter-Sessional Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government of CARICOM, Prime Minister Denzil Douglas of St. Kitts and Nevis, the then Chair of CARICOM stated that CARICOM must continue to adapt and reinvent itself “in terms of how we function, how we operate, the extent to which we are, or are not, efficient, effective, relevant, with a sharper focus on being more results oriented,” (Caribbean Community, 2012) not only taking account of failures but allowing new energy to pervade possibilities. His Excellency, President Bouterse of Suriname also supported this view adding that “We have no reason to be poor. Look at what we have amongst us: oil, gas, gold,

diamonds, bauxite, forests, sea, sun, sugar, rice, spice, coffee, water, and so much more.” With such resources he said, “we can do more than survive. We can flourish” (Caribbean Community, 2012). Some states like Venezuela are also providing CARICOM with assistance under the PetroCaribe initiative in ensuring energy security. To countries like Trinidad that also supplies member states with its petroleum products could consider Venezuela a competitive threat but this should not be so since the oil reserves in Trinidad are not certain to be able to supply the entire Caribbean. With Petro trade for example, energy security of the region provided not only from Trinidad’s point of view but also Venezuela and other countries with that resource. Initiatives like geothermal as Dominica is pursuing and has taken the lead in for providing energy security should be taken on by CARICOM as another means of energy security for the region.

Honourable McIntyre also indicated that the new thinking of CARICOM presently in terms of foreign affairs is that which is referred to as convergence. CARICOM is looking to expand its membership to include other states who have stated an interest and to include Latin America. When put together it will be CARICOM, Latin America and even the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA) component which will make it a stronger block with one vote each and will have a better impact globally. This is an opportune time to redefine the integration process in the context of production integration. CARICOM, broadening the membership of the organization to include states with more resources such as Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico can have a significant impact globally. “This time it is not production integration for the region’s economic space, but for building competitive industries globally. The resources in the region, coupled with the political will and the very fertile involvement of the private sector could create some new

possibilities” (Dookeran, 2012, p129). If done properly, convergence can have a very positive impact on the development of the Caribbean states.

Some priority areas within CARICOM would include food security (Agriculture is a major priority), Value added products, health, energy security, empowerment in youth and education and research and development especially in the area of agriculture, in accordance with Honourable McIntyre during his interview. He stated that “small Caribbean states cannot depend on investments in agricultural education from Universities in North America for example, where they grow different crops. This should be done right here in our region where we have research and development, but it is costly. Therefore, if we can establish programmes which generate revenue to research and development and agriculture, we can sustain healthy people in CARICOM and a higher level of food security for our people”. In so doing some sustainable jobs can be created as well.

“The security of the Region continues to be of high priority, especially in the context of the international criminal architecture confronting the Region” (Caribbean Community, 2012). The Caribbean is very often used as a transit port for illicit drugs and small arms. As the safety and security of citizens is recognized as a fundamental human right the Community recognizes the urgency with which this matter must be treated. At a meeting of CARICOM Heads of Government with the Attorney-General of the United States of America, Mr. Eric Holder Jr., where they “focused on the importance of regional and international cooperation in fighting trans-national organized crime, the importance of assessing the effectiveness of current frameworks in addressing the issues and the need for implementation of an agreed Crime and



Security Strategy” (Caribbean Community, 2013). In providing greater security for the citizens of the Community, CARICOM continues to receive technical assistance in the areas of judicial system strengthening and reform through the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI). CARICOM also “adopted a Regional Crime and Security Strategy which addresses many of the issues of Member States and which provides a common platform from which the Region could advance their fight against issues such as illicit trafficking, gang and youth violence, terrorism, cyber security while simultaneously addressing the issue of crime prevention”. (Caribbean Community, 2013)

Another priority for CARICOM is the global economic and financial developments. The global financial crisis has complicated already existing problems within the region and finding possible ways of addressing these matters and bringing stability to the states. CARICOM’s focus is placed on growth and development and projections for the immediate future. Attention is being given to “developments in the financial market which have implications for the region and for the economies which are major markets for CARICOM goods and Services. CARICOM has “identified various sectors of the economy, including tourism, agriculture and construction, as economic sectors that offered prospects for early resuscitation of economic growth and reiterated their conviction that regional integration has all the possibilities for supporting competitive production and production integration and that particular attention needed to be given to Caribbean convergence in the development strategy. They agreed on the need to develop a Caribbean Investment Programme to support the efforts at stabilization and growth as well as competitive production” (Caribbean Community, 2012).

The Single Market and Economy which promotes the advancement of the Integration Movement within CARICOM Member States is another priority. It is intended to provide increased and better opportunities to produce and sell goods and services and to attract investment. The CSME seeks “full use of labour (full employment) and full exploitation of the other factors of production (natural resources and capital); competitive production leading to greater variety and quantity of products and services to trade with other countries. It is expected that these objectives will in turn provide improved standards of living and work and sustained economic development” (CARICOM, 2013). CARICOM endorsed agreements reached at the Meeting of the Prime Ministerial Sub-Committee on CSME on 3 July 2012 and emphasized the following elements, among others, for strategic focus for an effective CSME:

“• The expansion of the categories of skilled Community nationals, including the introduction of additional categories;

• Adherence by all Member States to the decisions that make CARICOM nationals welcome in other Member States. The decisions include the automatic grant of a period of six months upon entering a Member State, subject to security exceptions;

• Creating the environment for competitive production;

• Making key institutions more effective;

• Acceptance of the principle that Member States able to proceed with integration at a faster rate should be allowed to do so, provided that the door is always left open for other Member States to join when they are able” (Caribbean Community, 2012).

“Functional cooperation is one of the three main pillars of our Community as set out in the Treaty of Chaguaramas. It embraces a range of activities that contribute to enhancing the quality of life of the people – an integral part of the Community’s sustainable development. These activities give life to Community policies aimed at reducing poverty, improving health, increasing opportunities for acquiring knowledge and skills, enhancing avenues for employment, engendering equality between male and female, reducing the demand for drugs and placing emphasis on culture to forge social cohesion out of member states economic, geographic and ethnic diversity. The objective of these policies is Human Resource Development, which is fundamental to the effort to develop an economically and socially viable Caribbean Community” (CARICOM, 2005). Through cooperation among states and with other organizations, the Community is able to achieve those goals. Through the Community’s collective action, member states benefit significantly when dealing with international issues. In many international matters small states like those of the Caribbean are normally forgotten. At the Organization of American States (OAS), one country one vote, with 15 members from small states, CARICOM can be more impactful because its collective position can assist the region politically and other wise.

Through Organizations such as the OECS and CARICOM, small Caribbean states benefit in a variety of ways. Globalization has definitely impacted the Caribbean in more ways than one. The structures put in place by these organizations have helped to shield member states from the full effects of globalization and the economic crisis and other developments around the globe. Regional organizations are continuing to reform themselves in order to provide their member states with more benefits or access to better standards of living.

## **Chapter V: International Organizations**

Multilateral diplomacy is a challenge for both small and developed states. Negotiations are now set on a larger playing field with many more players, but this does not change the fact that the state carries its mandate of promoting its foreign policy and objectives in such forum. Brett D Schaefer, participating in an American Foreign Service Association panel stated that “multilateral diplomacy is challenging and often underappreciated. In a bilateral negotiation, you generally can quickly determine what are the sticking points are and what needs to be worked out to finalize a deal. The more negotiating partners you have, generally the more difficult it is to identify the source of negotiating sticking points” (The Heritage Foundation, 2011), but this does not make multilateral diplomacy less important.

In small states the multilateral institutional framework is of great importance. “Within such institutions there is the ability to engage in alliance building between like-minded states to enhance diplomatic influence, especially in economic diplomacy” (Cross-Mike, no date). These institutions such as the United Nations enforce the rule of law. Therefore, the actions of the more powerful states can be regulated and the interests of both the developed and small states can be legitimized in the international sphere. Small states are also limited in resources and can result in under-representation in international negotiations which is to the disadvantage of small states. “To alleviate this situation, funding has been provided in some cases for joint regional representation offices in Geneva, for providing advisory as well as human resource assistance for missions, and technical assistance to address the institutional gaps which exists in their respective trade administrations” (Cross-Mike, no date). During an interview with His

Excellency Vince Henderson, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Commonwealth of Dominica to the United Nations on June 14, 2013, it was confirmed that “multilateral diplomacy impacts the Caribbean through a collective approach and a unilateral approach”. At the United Nations for example every CARICOM member state has its own Permanent Representative who seeks to advance the foreign policy of his/her state but as members of the Community, seek as well a unified position on certain issues to ensure harmonization and to have one person represent the interest of CARICOM. Through integration, he explained, “there is one representative from member states on a number of issues. For example there is a common position on UN Security Council reform for the region. It is also a form of strengthening CARICOM, because if necessary the vote as a block can be more impactful with 14 votes rather than voting as an individual state with only one vote. There is also no legal instrument binding states to give up their sovereignty or give up their vote as in the EU. Therefore, members can have different positions”.

Over the years states have gained membership to several organizations and this poses both advantages and disadvantages to the state. Organizations are formed to serve varying purposes and also bind the state to certain obligations which can negatively impact the state. Small states especially with small economies may not be able to keep up with the legal, financial and reporting obligations since their offices are small and therefore their human resources are limited. With open economies and other vulnerabilities they may not be able to keep up with the financial aspect and may then be subjected to lose benefits from membership of such organizations. In continuing the interview with His Excellency Vince Henderson, he added that Organizations and states have varied interests but states do not have to be interested in various

multilateral organizations but may be interested in joining. There may be states with which we hold bilateral relationships who may be interested in certain organizations and may try to entice us to join those organizations and on joining we may not be able to meet our commitments and this may impact negatively with human and financial costs, being listed negatively as non-cooperative or not fulfilling its obligations. He stated that “we need to participate for national interests like making a decision whether to join the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO) etc. From time to time we have obligations as a member of the international community to support certain organizations or interests and so have to join these organizations. Therefore we have to be on guard as to what we commit ourselves to so as not to allow these decisions to engulf us and our energy”. Some of the major international organizations with which the Caribbean has established relations are the United Nations (UN), the Commonwealth and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group. From these organizations the Caribbean states have benefited through both regional and bilateral levels.

### **The United Nations (UN)**

The United Nations main purposes are: “to keep peace throughout the world; to develop friendly relations among nations; to help nations work together to improve the lives of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other’s rights and freedoms; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals” (United Nations, 2013). Its main bodies entail the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice. Member States have the right to voice their opinions through these bodies and other committees of the United Nations. The CARICOM received observer status to the UN in 1991. “As a Community of small states,

the United Nations offers an opportunity to have the voices of these small states heard on issues which affect us and to influence decisions which otherwise might be made without regard to the interests of small developing states” (CARICOM Secretariat, 2005). The Caribbean Community benefits from agencies within the United Nations with which they have established formal ties. Through these relationships the Community receives financial and human resources towards development efforts. Some of these agencies include: the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO). The CARICOM and United Nations Secretariat had also signed a Cooperation agreement in 1997 “to develop ... measures to promote and expand cooperation and coordination between both secretariats in order to increase the capacity of the two organizations to attain their common objectives” (CARICOM Secretariat, 2005). This agreement promoted assistance from the United Nations in some of its priority areas from which member states continue to benefit to date. These benefits include: Development of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, Positioning of CARICOM in the global economic environment by addressing trade and development issues, Institutional and legal development with regards to copyright, poverty eradication and social development, and sustainable development of Small Island Developing States.

One of the main issues at the United Nations is the reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) which affects all of its member states; some directly and others indirectly. Reform of the UNSC is a very complex issue with different groups having different positions on issues arising from the need for reform. Some of these issues include: categories of membership, veto power, regional representation, size of the council, working methods and relationship with

the General Assembly. UNSC reform can have both a positive and negative effect on the Caribbean states depending on how it is handled. The Council for Foreign and Community Relations (COFCOR) in May 2011 endorsed a “CARICOM position paper that called for expansion in both categories of membership, improved working methods, respect for the legitimate interests enshrined in the consensus African position, and provision of dedicated, non-permanent representation for Small Island Developing States (SIDS)” (Caribbean Community, 2013). Ambassador Henderson in his interview stated that the Caribbean will not receive any significant benefits from UNSC reform; there is no permanent member from the Caribbean. “We are simply playing an international role and could probably not make a change. Everyone will still be looking for their own interests and may put us in a difficult position with our allies”. Caribbean states have established relations with several other states – Japan, China, India, The United States of America – and they will all lobby their positions and seek the support of the Caribbean States. The relationship of these small states with their allies is very important to their development and therefore geopolitics may be difficult for the Caribbean to deal with at this time. The Caribbean states will have to be practical in their decision making. Ambassador Henderson also suggested that the small states ask themselves a few questions to determine how important UNSC reform is to them. Questions which need to be answered are: why support UNSC reform and what can be achieved from it; can the Caribbean afford to spend the dollar on UNSC reform; can the Caribbean contribute in a human, financial or material manner when at present we cannot do so much because of our lack of resources. The Priorities of Caribbean states, he suggested, need to be defined and or refined and not seek to be distracted from its mission. Priority areas on the agenda in the UN for the Caribbean at present includes climate change, energy, non-communicable diseases (NCDs), arms trade treaty which is very important



to security in the Caribbean and was adopted by the General Assembly on April 2<sup>nd</sup>. Heads of Government of CARICOM have expressed grave concern over the unregulated trade in conventional weapons, including small arms and light weapons and their ammunition, which has exacted an unbearable toll on the security and the well-being of their citizenry, and the development of the small States. An Arms Trade Treaty is necessary to close those loopholes which allow the diversion of weapons from the legal trade to the illicit market through the adoption of commonly agreed global standards, which would be backed up by a legally binding set of rules (Caribbean Community, 2013).

Ambassador Henderson also suggested that the post 2015 agenda is important and Caribbean state are to be careful in defining new goals - sustainable development goals would be of interest to the Caribbean and should stay on the agenda.

### **The Commonwealth**

“The Commonwealth is a voluntary association of 54 countries that support each other and work together towards shared goals in democracy and development” (Commonwealth, no date). These states are former British colonies and are united through the association’s values of: democracy, freedom, peace, the rule of law and opportunity for all. The association promotes development, democracy, debt management and trade while working toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals through programmes implemented by divisions within the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Secretariat consist 13 divisions and units and is headed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kamallesh Sharma. Member States participate in the biennial summit of the

Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM), the main decision making body. All Member States of CARICOM are members with the exception of Haiti and Suriname.

CARICOM signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Commonwealth in 1996 assisted in augmenting the relationship between the Commonwealth and the Community. “The MOU provides a framework for the two organizations to jointly implement projects, exchange information and consult regularly on matters of common interest” (CARICOM Secretariat, 2005). From this Memorandum, the CARICOM benefited from both financial and human resources from the Commonwealth in the areas of diplomatic training, , services, information technology, education, technical and vocational training and regional animal health training. Through CARICOM member states have also benefited from annual small states forums in collaboration with the World Bank which highlights themes of special interests to small states; technical assistance programme which provides experts, training and in-house consultancy services to accelerate economic growth and alleviate poverty; and the Joint Office for Commonwealth Permanent Missions located in New York. The Joint Mission houses ten permanent missions of small states including three from CARICOM. It is funded by three major donors at thirty percent each and the ten small states, one percent each.

### **The European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group**

The European Union (EU) is the CARICOM’s second largest trading partner and provides the largest source of grant aid to the region. “Relations between the Caribbean Community and the EU are conducted mainly within the framework of the ACP-EU Conventions, namely the four Lomé Conventions and their successor, the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement, commonly referred

to as the Cotonou Agreement, signed in 2000”. (CARICOM Secretariat, 2005) Under the Conventions, ACP Member States receive trade preferences on key export products and assistance in areas of agriculture, cultural and social cooperation, energy, food security, private sector development among others. For purposes of the Convention, Haiti and the Dominican Republic are also included in the region and together with CARICOM comprise the Caribbean Forum of ACP States (CARIFORUM).

The African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) is an organisation comprising 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific states, which is headed by the Secretary General, Alhaji Muhammad Mumuni. The objectives of this organization are: “sustainable development of its Member-States and their gradual integration into the global economy, which entails making poverty reduction a matter of priority and establishing a new, fairer, and more equitable world order; coordination of the activities of the ACP Group in the framework of the implementation of ACP-EC Partnership Agreements; consolidation of unity and solidarity among ACP States, as well as understanding among their peoples; establishment and consolidation of peace and stability in a free and democratic society” (ACP, 2011).

States have and continue to benefit from the ACP- EU Conventions in several forms. Due to these conventions “exports from the Caribbean enter the EU market duty free; through Commodity Protocols and Special Trading Arrangements Caribbean states also receive guaranteed quotas on the EU market relating to sugar, bananas, rum and rice; a guaranteed system to maintain average export earnings from selected agricultural products in the face of declines in prices and/or quantities through the Stabilization of Export Earnings from

Agricultural Commodities (STABEX) and similar arrangements for mining through the Special Financing Facility for Mining Products (SYSMIN); and provisions for other forms of financial assistance such as grants, for national as well as regional indicative programmes, supplemented as required, by emergency assistance for debt relief” (CARICOM Secretariat, 2005).

Through Organizations like these, small states can and have benefited in several ways, providing a significant sum of resources to the small Caribbean states. It presents a remarkable amount of advantage for the small states but due to several reasons the small states may face great difficulty in accessing the resources being provided. Small state economies are not as stable as that of developed states due to varying issues and as a result the state may need to seek the assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which often enough imposes austerity measures the state’s finances which makes it difficult to keep up with payments of contributions to organizations with which it holds membership. This in turn results in the state’s inability to access benefits from the organizations that it is member of because of its debt and being listed negatively as it cannot keep up with its commitments. In other cases lack of capacity and/or complicated procedures prevent small states from attaining benefits from organizations or agreements signed with organization since both human and financial resources in small states are scarce. This could be one of the issues that Caribbean Dependency theory would label as a contributor to the Caribbean development problem and suggest the assumption control over development and growth be maintained within the Caribbean.

In theory it seems ideal but politically, Ambassador Henderson in his interview stated, it seems like the Caribbean would be overestimating itself and questioned whether the islands are viable

economically. He explained the Caribbean cannot speak about an economy like there is nothing surrounding it. “We are in a global economy and the playing field is not balanced. Agriculture for example is very subsidized in the developed states therefore we cannot compete on the market with the larger states. We have to look into what we can trade”. The problem has nothing to do with dependency, he stated. “We have not taken enough chances”. Due to globalization changes need to be made in the approach to development he agreed and explained that St. Kitts for example has come from sugarcane to a service oriented economy with loan restructuring and debt forgiveness. He states that “the government has to pay a more active role in the economy, minimize risks for private sector and invest in public/private sector agreements”. Government would not be able to provide some basic elements for the country if they do not go out for assistance. “A lot of emphasis is placed on fiscal health but there is need to look into the pockets of poverty and the level of development of some countries in the Caribbean and use the generosity of other countries and organization to aid in development”. Government must with whatever assistance received direct some of this assistance toward social and economic programmes to develop the state. They are to also give incentive to produce in providing programmes such where beneficiaries from these social programmes can also contribute to the development of the state. Therefore, Caribbean states are not dependent and needs to go out of its region to seek assistance in order to develop as stated by Al Bu Said. Caribbean organizations have set programmes for assisting member states in various ways but they would not be able to provide everything on their own. The Caribbean organizations such as the CARICOM and the OECS have signed agreement with other organizations or states in order to access funding and programmes geared toward the development of small states. Collective action, Ambassador Henderson states, causes small states to punch way beyond their weight and has fostered the

opportunity to have a greater presence rather than individually. “It has given prominence to CARICOM; CARICOM has gained the admiration of the international world”.

Multilateral diplomacy has brought about a lot of change to the Caribbean and its development. The Caribbean is moving along with globalization and is making the necessary changes to deal with the phenomenon. Multilateral diplomacy is conducted on both a bilateral and regional level not only to access modes for development but also to contribute in the international arena and to support other states in their needs. Through multilateral diplomacy the Caribbean has gained great respect and has contributed in the multilateral fora. Most recently Dr. Carissa F. Etienne had been elected Director of the Pan American Health Organization which is a great achievement for her, the Commonwealth of Dominica and the Caribbean. It shows that the Caribbean holds great potential in the international arena and though small with limited resources can and has a significant contribution to make on a diplomatic level.

## **Chapter VI: Bilateral Diplomacy**

Through bilateral relations, sovereign states are able to forge stronger economic and trade ties and promote friendly relationships. Through these relationships these states are able to implement specific action plans and encourage dialogue. By means of economic partnerships, and political and cooperation agreements small states are able to receive assistance in political, security, environmental, and socio-economic issues. In the Caribbean, from the time of independence, the need for a relationship with the outside world for its own survival was seen as a necessity. The small states became members of regional organizations such as the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) which was then Transformed to the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and then expanded to other international organizations and establishing bilateral relationships with other states. On a multilateral level, bilateral relations also present an opportunity for coordination on global issues and strength in promoting common values. Not only do states benefit on such levels but also in times of disaster bilateral partners seek to assist each other. “Following devastating hurricane damage in 2008, the European Commission provided Euro 4 million in emergency and humanitarian assistance to Cuba. An additional Euro 36 million was earmarked in 2009 for cooperation in post-hurricane reconstruction and rehabilitation, food security, culture, climate change, renewable energy, and business management” (ProQuest, 2010).

Bilateral diplomacy is very important to small states and more and more, small states are expanding their relationships on a bilateral level to serve their interests and that of their foreign policies. “In a large body of literature in International Relations (IR), the foreign policy of small

states is seen as responsive to the constraints and opportunities of the international system, rather than to domestic politics. The reason for this seems to be the assumption made in previous research that small states are typically faced with external threats to national security. This makes them more attentive to the characteristics of the international environment, and less constrained by the domestic political process. By contrast, domestic politics are assumed to play a greater role in the study of the foreign policy of great powers” (Doeser F., 2010). Domestic political factors also play a fundamental role in influencing the foreign and security policies of small states. In western democratic countries, Doeser explains that domestic politics and foreign policy stems primarily from the domestic political need of retaining political power. “One goal for political leaders is clearly to retain political power and, if possible, enhance the political support needed for keeping their positions. If foreign policy concerns are incompatible with the domestic situation, leaders may need to adjust foreign policy in order to make it more consistent with those domestic demands” (Doeser F., 2010). This theoretical perspective selects two domestic political factor which influences foreign policy and changes within it which in turn will influence bilateral diplomacy. These factors are political party opposition and public opposition which can either be considered a carrier/incentive for or a barrier/hindrance to foreign policy change. If there is strong political support from opposing political parties or the public opposition for current policies, then these factors would act as barriers to change. If it is the other way round with strong political support from opposing political parties or the public opposition demanding change for current policies then they would be considered carriers for change. The barriers and carriers for change are the determinants for foreign policy which influences the direction of bilateral diplomacy of small states.



In an interview with the Honourable Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica, Roosevelt Skerrit, on June 18, 2013, it was explained that “Dominica’s foreign policy is driven by its national policy and national interests which is necessary to determine our own economic endeavors. Globalization even more than ever has brought us to work closer with the international community on matters of climate change, global security, trade etc.” Since independence, bilateral diplomacy has been very important to Dominica and small states in the Caribbean as it serves its foreign policy. In the case of Dominica, the first state with which it established diplomatic relations was with Venezuela on January 15, 1979 through the signing of a Joint Communiqué by former Prime Minister Patrick John and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela His Excellency Simon Alberto Consalvi, during the visit of an official delegation of Dominica to Venezuela. An Embassy was opened shortly after the formalizing of relations between the two countries in 1979. While most of the basic principles for the establishment of diplomatic relations have not changed, relations between Dominica and Venezuela have grown steadily and undergone significant transformation in the last decade, due in part to a shift in Government’s foreign policy that sought to deepen and strengthen bilateral relations with Venezuela, as well as greater focus on south - south cooperation by the Chavez administration. In the interview, he also stated that Venezuela and Dominica have always had very good relations. Under the presidency of Hugo Chavez other forms of relations were created such as ALBA, PetroCaribe and the relations have drastically increased.

Today bilateral diplomacy is even more important to Dominica and other small Caribbean states. They have benefited from the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) and PetroCaribe programmes which were forged through their bilateral relationships with Venezuela.

ALBA is an international cooperation organization based on the idea of social, political, and economic integration between the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It is associated with socialist and social democratic governments and is an attempt at regional economic integration based on a vision of social welfare, bartering and mutual economic aid, rather than trade liberalization as with free trade agreements. PetroCaribe aims to develop a comprehensive and sustained integration and cooperation process aimed at contributing to the energy security in the Caribbean and complement primary energy sources available with the potential and development of renewable energies. These programmes have benefited the small states of the Caribbean who form part of the OECS in several ways which includes growth promotion, employment generation and poverty reduction, greater level of integration through a new system of trade, cooperation and fair treatment that would improve the standard of living of their citizens. Presently in Dominica, Honourable Roosevelt Skerit stated that Renewable energy in the form of geothermal energy is a priority area for Dominica's development but Dominica does not have the expertise and has to depend on its development partners for assistance in terms of studies, advice, financing and exporting energy to neighbouring countries. Health care and education are also important because there is need for specialized personnel and procurement of medical technologies and having bilateral relationships has been helpful in those areas. He also explained that Government has set a goal to have one university graduate in every home which has been facilitated by development partners to name a few, China, Venezuela and Cuba. These bilateral relationships tend to be more direct and immediate in their delivery than in multilateral relationships and are a good stimulus for growth in several sector. The friendships established are to be maintained by both parties and be true in order to receive the benefits. Bilateral diplomacy can be a very effective part of foreign policy and in some states it has proved to be so.

Indonesia is a good example of bilateral diplomacy contributing immensely to its development in that it has contributed to making Indonesia an emerging economy and a regional power with global interests and responsibility. “Because of its magnitude and depth, bilateral diplomacy has been able to generate deliverables that stimulate progress in various sectors. And key to this quality is strategic and comprehensive partnership” (JakartaGlobe, 2012). In accessing this type of partnership the government of Dominica in 2004 broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan to recognize the People’s Republic of China and sign-on to a policy of ‘one China’ “and according to the Prime Minister, this has had a major impact on the development of infrastructure across the island” (GIS Dominica, 2012).

From bilateral advancement, Indonesia gained the following: “Under the Jakarta Declaration (Indonesia-Germany Joint Declaration for a Comprehensive Partnership: Shaping Globalization and Sharing Responsibility), the two countries are committed to advancing, enhancing, and deepening bilateral diplomacy. Economic return is an obvious dividend coming out of the bilateral diplomacy; In order to advance those economic gains, which include trade and investment benefits, Indonesia utilized a variety of collaborative modalities with its partners — from the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, Closer Economic Partnership Agreement, Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement, and Strategic and Economic Dialogue, to the Bilateral Free Trade Area, Bilateral Trade Agreement, Bilateral Investment Treaty, Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement and the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement; Friendship is another important dividend. Through friendship and collaboration, Indonesia harvests mutual trust and confidence” (JakartaGlobe, 2012). These are other methods through which the small Caribbean states can look to advancing their bilateral

diplomacy to better assist with fulfilling the needs of their nations though Caribbean Dependency Theory would discourage such action.

The theory states that the Caribbean development problem lays in economic dependency and external controls which dominated and diminished the domestic economy of Caribbean States. The theory enforced that the Caribbean should assume control of their own development and growth and should only accept humanitarian and economic aid from within the Caribbean. Honourable Skerrit in his interview refuted this stating that it is an academic theory but in truth every Caribbean island is exposed to external shocks. These external shocks have a severe impact on the development on any small state. At several levels he explained “decisions are taken without the input of small states. Developed states also take action against Caribbean states which can negate development”. He continued by asking whether the Caribbean can sustain itself and explained that there is need for foreign exchange to grow the economy. “There are other vulnerabilities such as climate change, drought and natural disasters that often times when a small state makes one step forward they have to take two steps backward because of these circumstances”. Therefore, states need to look out of the Caribbean for the necessary assistance for development whether it is through regional linkages with external partners, multilateral or bilateral mediums.

Bilateral relations are also established by regional organizations such as the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and the Caribbean Community. “CARICOM has initiated bilateral trade agreements or negotiations with Canada, Costa Rica, Central America, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Venezuela, and Cuba. All are limited in scope but none is comprehensive

in the sense of the bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) undertaken by the United States, reflecting CARICOM's concerns over its members' abilities to meet obligations of highly complex comprehensive agreements" (Hornbeck J.F, 2008). These agreements also include matters of mutual interests and concern to the sub-region and the state with which the agreement is established. The Australian government for example has established bilateral relations with CARICOM, signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 2009. "The MOU builds on areas of mutual interest including climate change and disaster risk reduction, economic resilience, and people-to-people and institutional linkages" (Australian Government, 2013). Part of this MOU was a A\$60 million, four year Development Assistance Partnership (2010 – 2014) with the region. Australia continues to engage the Caribbean through both regional and direct bilateral aid programmes. These programmes include, "37 initiatives in 15 countries. Aid implementation is primarily carried out through regional, CARICOM-endorsed organizations. Some specific funding allocations include A\$17.5 million mostly for fast start climate financing partly through the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre, as well as A\$26.7 million in Humanitarian support to Haiti since 2010. Australia has also funded 48 development scholarships, 38 fellowships, 4 volunteers and training for 49 diplomats" (Australian Government, 2013). Therefore, the Caribbean has the opportunity to benefit in two ways from bilateral relations but it is not always so beneficial. The formation of the European Union (EU) for example has caused alterations in the manner in which diplomacy is conducted between the Caribbean and the EU member states. Though these states continue to conduct relations with other states on a bilateral level there are development programmes that they contribute towards within the EU due to its integration process. Small states are expected to take advantage of these programmes but this can sometimes be difficult due to the processes and requirements to access

these programmes and the amount of assistance can also be limited coming from those programmes. The EU also has agreements with CARICOM that is difficult for CARICOM itself to access due to these same reasons and this affects bilateral diplomacy to a great extent in small states.

From interview with Honourable Roosevelt Skerrit on June 18, 2013, he indicated that between bilateral, regional and multilateral relationships none is superior to the other. “It depends on the specific situations but benefits can be derived from them all. In bilateral relationships there is more focus on the direct needs of the country unlike multilateral or regional diplomacy”. Therefore, all forms of diplomacy plays an integral role in the development of any state whether it is small states or developed states. China for example which is not a small state but a developing state has shown a change in its diplomatic activities and has been to its benefit. “Since the mid-1990s, China has expanded the number and depth of its bilateral relationships, joined various trade and security accords, deepened its participation in key multilateral organizations, and helped address global security issues. Foreign policy decision-making has become less personalized and more institutionalized, and Chinese diplomats have become more sophisticated in their articulation of the country's goals” (Medeiros E.S. and Fravel T.M., 2003). China is becoming more capable and skillful in the diplomatic field that at opportunities for cooperation it will contribute more than before; it is getting better at protecting its interests as it expands its influence and refines its diplomacy; China has also improved its relationship with India over a border dispute and the same with Russia and Central Asian states which allows China safer borders. “The more recent transformation began in the early 1990s, with Beijing's drive to expand its bilateral links. Between 1988 and 1994, China normalized or established

diplomatic relations with 18 countries, as well as with the Soviet successor states. Then, in the 1990s, it began to build on these new relationships, establishing various levels of "partnership" to facilitate economic and security coordination and to offset the United States' system of regional alliances. The pinnacle of this process was the Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation that China signed with Russia in 2001" (Medeiros E.S. and Fravel T.M., 2003). Through regional, multilateral and especially bilateral diplomatic relations China has begun to see positive change. As the Honourable Prime Minister stated it depends on the situation at hand that one type would bring more benefits over the other.

Bilateral diplomacy in the Caribbean is very important and forms an essential component of the foreign policy of these small island states. Not only is it important to establish the friendship but to build a mutual relationship between states. Through bilateral diplomacy it is easier to meet the direct needs of bilateral partners. In times of disaster, they are the first to bring in relief aid. It also helps in enhancing the security of the state having friendly relations established with states within the region and others. Bilateral relations are not and should not only be established with developed states but states of similar nature, even only to support each other in comparable plight. On the international and regional front accessing support for positions or candidates at different organizations is very useful. Lobbying bilateral partners and getting the support or partners from the regional block assists in succeeding with those efforts. In terms of development, signing of cooperation and political agreements can assist in building the economies of small states and meeting the needs of the people of these small open economies.

## **Chapter VII: Proposal for enhancing diplomacy to the benefit of the Caribbean**

From the arrival of the Amerindians across the Bering Strait, the formation of society began in the Caribbean. The arrival of Christopher Columbus began the history of control over the region that we have come to know as the discovery of the 'new world'. "Europe's discovery of America marks the start of modern imperialism. Capitalism and imperialism intertwine as the dominant threads within the history of the Caribbean Basin" (Grugel, 1995). Finding the new world meant the discovery of gold, the increase of wealth, but these small islands did not possess the type or the quantity of wealth that was being sought. Yet, the islands were colonized for economic and commercial reasons. Cultivation of sugar plantations was a source of income for the colonizers on other islands like Dominica and St. Vincent cocoa and limes were also produced and these were used for trade. "The 'Discovery' established the first linkages between the Caribbean islands and the European metropolis with major consequences for regional development. Firstly, the export orientation of the colonies was established from the outset and has remained the dominant feature of the regional economies. Secondly, and tragically, the early fever for precious metals and the use of indigenous population as a source of unpaid forced labour and diseases brought by the newcomers, led to the extinction of the Taino Arawak people" (Grugel, 2005). As a result, they took advantage of the transatlantic slave trade and imported slaves from West Africa to replace the Arawaks and continue the sugar cultivation on the small islands. In recognition of the benefits coming from the sugar and tobacco plantation, more Europeans became interested in the Caribbean and eventually migrated to the Caribbean in search of work. This, brought change to the dynamics of the Caribbean states societies.



Diplomacy started in the Caribbean with the signing of treaties between colonizers regarding which country belonged to whom. Trading of Caribbean products brought a source of income for running the islands. “The plantocracy had controlled the political system of the region and assured the continuance of policies – economic, cultural, social and political – which benefited them, in spite of periodic challenges to their power. Nevertheless, the dynamics of regional politics, in the course of the last thirty years especially, has meant a reorganization of the state to take into account the internal changes which have occurred in the region, and also as a result of external pressures” (Grugel, 2005). Emancipation brought about some of these challenges but with limited goods to trade the colonies lost economic significance. The decline in sugar prices and the end of slavery made the countries expensive to run and started the unification of the Caribbean states, grouping them together, and another change in the diplomatic functions of the states. The British colonies were divided into federative colonies of the Leeward and windward and run by a Governor and Lieutenant Governor. This was followed on by independence from colonial rule and another level of diplomacy on recognition of the need for having a relationship with the outside world. “The most outstanding feature of regional politics is the contrast between the political systems of the Commonwealth Caribbean, and the Central American mainland and the Spanish and French-speaking insular Caribbean. In the English-speaking Caribbean politics is based around representative democracy, meaning regular free elections, a competitive party system and the peaceful handing over of power from one party to another. Britain inculcated a respect for democracy into its colonial subjects whereas Spain bequeathed a legacy of caudillismo, militarism and authoritarianism” (Grugel, 2005). Under colonial rule, the colonizers were equipped with a military but the small states have never been able to have on since they

were too small and this contributed to the weakness of the states. Recognizing their weakness they formed organizations to assist in reaching the outside world for the help that was needed for their development and survival as independent states. Therefore, the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) was formed and then converted to the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) from which the smaller states were not satisfied with the level of representation they received and decided to form an organization among themselves called the Organization of Caribbean States (OCS). The world is now faced with different aspects of globalization, and small states have to maneuver to survive. To both organizations integration is an important factor for advancement of their member states. In CARICOM's view it is intended to provide increased and better opportunities to produce and trade goods and services and also attract investment, but the OCS looks to ways which are more efficient and conducive to development, in to facing global pressures. Though the organizations may be different they both aim to rise above the consequences of smallness and to survive despite vulnerabilities. "Cooperation and integration between the countries which make up the region have long been perceived as strategies which would strengthen regional economies and increase their bargaining power within the international system. Regional governments have recognized the value of cooperation, and external agencies concerned with development. The importance of expanding the mechanisms of regional cooperation was further stressed by the emergence of moves towards south – south dialogue and cooperation. Regional cooperation could help countries of the region towards economic development (by deepening the industrialization process and expanding regional competitiveness). And international cooperation could help reduce dependence on developed countries and pressurize for a reversal internationally in terms of trade. However, in spite of the very positive reasons in favour of integration, the obstacles are enormous" (Grugel, 2005).

In responding to globalization, small Caribbean states need to be nimble and flexible in thought, using diplomatic efforts to reach the goals set to enhance development. Hendrickson J SB (2013) in a public lecture ‘Size and Survival in the Era of Globalization’ supported the thought that new thinking is necessary to bring about development stating that this new thinking has to go beyond the norm and capture fundamental moments which will enable the region to survive. He continued to state that, “The world, in which we live, cast as it were in a globalization cauldron, is a world where today’s innovations are, for practical purposes, tomorrow’s antiques. To that end, if the regional thinking is not set in motion to capture the paradigmatic moments of change, we may be playing a desperate game of trying to catch-up with the rest of the world. We cannot afford to (continue to) play by linear rules of development when development and change are taking place in an exponential space. Population size, and all of the other limitations noted earlier about the vulnerability of (our) small states in the (OECS) region, should merely be seen as nominal limiting problems and not as permanent impediments. The public sector, the private sector, all (of us) who make the (region) our homes, will have to move beyond problems to possibilities. This will call for unconventional thinking. Today, more so than ever, unconventional thinking is the norm (on the global stage). Conventional thinking which saddles us with linear, one-dimensional approaches to development possibilities must go the way of the dinosaur. (Hendrickson J.S.B., 2013). Nonetheless, in the OECS diplomacy will most likely evolve to take a more coordinated foreign policy approach in some instances, the decision will always remain at the discretion of individual Member States – who always have the sovereign right to choose which foreign policy initiative to embark on in whichever way that they deem appropriate - whether at the bilateral level or at the OECS level. Therefore, the role of bilateral

diplomacy will not diminish in the future, but in some instances, the pursuit of national interest at the international level can be supported or complimented by greater foreign policy coordination when deemed necessary or pragmatic by Heads of Government. In an interview with the Honourable Prime Minister, Roosevelt Skerrit, on June 18, 2013, he stated that “the way forward has to be based on the certain principled positions on where we want to take our people. It cannot be based on emotion but on principle. Better coordination of our foreign policy and more timely position on global interests. We need to be active participants in shaping the world. At present in large measure we are spectators and don’t participate significantly. We are small states but should be respected and consistency should help us be heard. We also need to have clear objectives to achieve our goals”.

Lalta S. & Frekleton M. (1993) state that “development is about people, about the concrete context of their existence and this is largely influenced by social conditions they inherit and the movements and rhythms underlying them. It is also important not to underestimate just how depressing daily life is for the broad mass of Caribbean people who are poor and powerless and how stark the contrast between their lifestyles rich and powerful. The existence of this inequality is a clear reminder of how easy it has been for social forces of underdevelopment and dependency to reproduce themselves and how, under conditions of negative real growth and declining per capita real incomes, a minority can still prosper”. Truly, the small Caribbean states have inherited socio-economic conditions from the time of colonialism. The main aim of the colonizers was not to develop the Caribbean states but to exploit them of their riches to further develop themselves – whether it was Britain, Spain, or Portugal. Britain tried to run their colonies as inexpensively as possible dividing the states into federative colonies and installing an

integrative movement between the states but not investing in development of the states. Social class was also introduced during the period of colonization and the states were dependent on their colonizers to survive. Today, through multilateral regional and bilateral diplomacy some perceive the small Caribbean states as being dependent but from the interviews conducted the Caribbean Dependency Theory was refuted by all the interviewees stating that the Caribbean is not strong enough on its own to depend only on itself to develop its economies to survive especially in light of the many vulnerabilities and circumstances of these small island developing states. Lalta S. & Frekleton M. (1993) also recognize that size imposes a significant constraint on the region's development and there is need to follow a path to development which is in the interest of the poor and powerless with an unyielding pursuit of regional unity and transforming the Caribbean economies will take the form of an extended social project.

“The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) has proved rather more successful despite its limitations. It established a Common External Tariff, harmonization of fiscal incentives to industry, tax agreements and the formation of a Caribbean Investment Cooperation, though economic growth within the English-speaking Caribbean is sluggish and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) suffers from extreme external vulnerabilities” (Grigel J, 1995). CARICOM serves a useful purpose but there is need for redirection because of changes that have taken place and are continuing to take place around the globe. There are problems of adversity, unemployment, wanting a voice and the strapped system of the older people ruling over young people in dynasties and they are revolting. In an interview with Minister for Employment, Trade, Industry and Diaspora Affairs, Honourable John Collin McIntyre on Thursday June 13, 2013, he stated that for the future CARICOM needs to address the needs of the young people. He

mentioned that there is a growing problem of unemployment among young people and programmes need to be put in place to keep everything functioning properly and having a more positive impact on the people. CARICOM needs to have a closer relationship with the youth within CARICOM member states. He also mentioned the need for diplomatic outreach to development partners for funding and assistance in developing programmes and projects targeting especially the youth and creating new opportunities for them. He also stated that there is also a need to explore the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the rules governing trade in the world. “There needs to be a more level playing field when it comes to trade competition. There must be some sort of protection and preferential programme for small developing states and CARICOM needs to push more for that. The US and other states are subsidizing their people but they are doing it technically and say to the small states that they can’t do it”. The conditions for development that are allowed to small states are very limited while the developed states use those limitations to their advantage technically. He used the US – Antigua situation with the gaming industry as an example. Though Antigua has won the case they have not received the benefits of their winnings. He also stated that the developed states are permeating the banking systems of small states on the premise of terrorism – with all respect to the need for controlling terrorism. “The developed states want to get into the banking system and have the banks say to them who is putting money in our banks but this pressure from the developed states only cripples the growth of the small island developing states and give no regard to the lives of their citizenry. This is why we need to develop programmes within CARICOM geared toward our people and empower them to get to that level to create a balance from that imbalance that exists to avoid a major catastrophe in the region”. He also supported the notion that development needs to be more focused stating that at CARICOM there is need to tackle one set priority areas, know what

are the shortcomings and develop programmes around those priority areas instead of trying to do everything at the same time.

Multilateral diplomacy has benefited the small island states of the Caribbean in both a collectively and a unilaterally. States on a bilateral level have established representation at various multilateral organizations. At this level both states and institution get the opportunity to build alliances which is beneficial to enhancing diplomatic influence, especially in economic diplomacy which is very important to small states. Winters A. L. (1996) states that “Regionalism, by allowing stronger internalization of the gains from trade de-restriction, seems likely to be able to facilitate freer trade in highly restrictive circumstances or sectors”. Through CARICOM, member states have benefited from freer trade from its ACP-EU relationship where exports from the Caribbean enter the EU market duty free and also benefit from special trading arrangements with guaranteed quotes on the EU market for specific products. “The direct effect of regionalism on multilateralism is important, but possibly more so is the indirect effect it has by changing the ways in which (groups of) countries interact and respond to shocks in the world economy. The way in which the existence of fringes of small partners affects relations between large players seems to be a fruitful avenue, as does the structure of post-integration institutions” (Winters A. L. 1996). Through the integration movement in the Caribbean in regional organizations such as the CARICOM and the OECS member states are protected by shocks from the world economy. These states are highly vulnerable with open economies and the benefits derived from these organizations work as a mechanism to protect the small states from such occurrences. His Excellency Vince Henderson in an interview on June 14, 2013 stated that the way forward for Caribbean diplomacy through multilateralism would be through defining the

interests of Caribbean states and restricting their investments to areas where they can maximize inputs. In certain cases he stated small island states are too apologetic and too militant in other cases. "Governments are to seek what is available on the table through negotiations. No country takes positions based on principle but on interests. In the case where there is a principle there is also a direct political interest".

The Caribbean being made up of two major organizations such as the OECS and the CARICOM stand to gain in several ways. Not only do the states benefit from the direct contributions from the organizations but also indirectly from relationships established by these organizations and in international fora. The organizations have put structures in place which shields the small open economies from the direct shock of globalization. Small states need to continue using the avenues set by these organizations to advance their development. Certain aspects of these organizations may need to be reformed or explored in more detail in order to be more effective. Important as well is the foreign policy of small states which decides the direction of diplomacy and the level at which it is conducted on a multilateral, regional or bilateral level.

On a bilateral level, small states need to ensure that their foreign policies are truly guided by their national interests and not by the need to yield power. Diplomacy should be conducted in a manner that can enhance the development of the state. It is good to have friendly relations with states but the types of agreements signed between bilateral partners should not all be the same since different states can offer several versions of assistance geared toward the development of the states. Small Caribbean states may want to examine closely how Indonesia used its bilateral



diplomacy to now become an emerging economy and a regional power with global interests and responsibility.

Multilateral diplomacy also needs to be tied in to the foreign policy of states. Small states need to be aware of the interests that the various organizations serve and whether they are in need of what is being offered and if the state can afford being part of the organization. Small state economies are fragile and must be careful not to join organizations when they are unable to keep up with their commitments (financial or legal) and be listed negatively. Many Caribbean states are indebted to organizations and may be losing benefits because of their inability to pay their contributions and therefore may need to seek debt forgiveness or a structured payment plan. Through Multilateral diplomacy the small Caribbean states have gained great respect from the international fora through its significant diplomatic contributions.

## **Conclusion**

Diplomacy in the Caribbean has justly evolved and continues to impact small Caribbean States and their development positively. Diplomacy has been imperative to the Caribbean from the colonization era when treaties were signed to demarcate which of the islands belonged to the various colonizers. Diplomacy grew from the simple colonial rule to federation to independence where a bilateral relationship was established with the colonizing state and other states, the development of regional diplomacy, the creation of regional organizations to assist in liaising with the outside world and receiving development assistance. Today small Caribbean states have strengthened their diplomatic relationships on the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels. Diplomacy has taken a very prominent and pragmatic role among Caribbean states in view of their smallness, vulnerabilities and special circumstances.

The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and the Caribbean Community have put in place structures to protect their small, vulnerable member states. CARICOM is moving toward the CARICOM Single Market and Economy and has developed relationships with other organizations and have also established cooperative bilateral relationships with sovereign states from which their member states benefit. The OECS has established the Economic Union and is moving toward full implementation. They have also forged relationships with bilateral partners having better representation internationally, providing its member states with representative missions which cut down on costs of running an embassy state by state. States are also expanding their relations with other states and organizations seeking assistance toward development.

Through these facets of diplomacy, Caribbean states are developing at a slow but steady pace. The impacts of climate change and globalization continues to severely affect the development of these state but they continue to tread toward their enhancement. Through qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, namely in-depth personal interviews and textual analysis I researched this topic. The interviews were conducted with different stakeholders, namely the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica, Honourable Roosevelt Skerrit, Minister for Employment, Trade, Industry and Diaspora Affairs of the Commonwealth of Dominica, Honourable John Collin McIntyre, Director General of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), Dr. Len Ishmael, His Excellency Vince Henderson Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Commonwealth of Dominica to the United Nations, and Historian, Dr. Lennox Honychurch.

On evaluation of the impact and direction of diplomacy on the Caribbean I have also proposed a way forward for enhancing diplomacy to the benefit of the Caribbean.

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