

IIR Today

The University of the West Indies



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38 Years Ago: Words to Ponder Visions to Cherish

THE GENESIS OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Frank Clarke, Alumnus 1969:

The Institute of International Relations was established at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, in October 1966 on the basis of an agreement between the Government of Trinidad and Tobago and the Government of Switzerland, which was signed on January 7th 1966. It was formally opened on February 1st 1967 by Her Royal Highness, Princess Alice, Chancellor of the University of the West Indies. We wish to recall the auspicious occasion over the next few issues and highlight the hopes and aspirations of the founders, by reprinting some excerpts of their encouraging addresses.

Her Royal Highness Princess Alice:

"I am delighted to have the opportunity of being here today to attend the Opening of this Institute of International Relations; and on behalf of the University of the West Indies, I should like to commend the initiative both of the Government of Switzerland and of your own Government in establishing so valuable- and indeed-so essential a project.

The carrying out of the Agreement between the Governments has been entrusted to the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva and the University of the West Indies. Speaking for the University, I can assure you that there could be no more expert and experienced organization with whom we could be privileged to cooperate. We are greatly honoured at being affiliated with the Institute, and we extend a warm welcome to members of its teaching staff as members of our University staff.



One of the main purposes of your organization is study. You are a forum of discussion, not an agency for propaganda. You are not concerned with the formation of policy but with the acquisition of expert knowledge on which policy can be framed.

It is the aim of the Institute of International Relations to draw the attention of not only the students who are following the courses but also of the general public to the importance of regional and international cooperation. The way in which the Institute is able to achieve this is twofold. First of all, by teaching regular students in the main issues of International Politics, International Organizations and International Economics, and to familiarize them with the complicated problems involved. Secondly, by the composition of students who are following the courses and seminars. The fact that participants from the various Car-

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ibbean countries are brought closer together in one working body of students will help to foster, on a personal level, mutual understanding of the many problems with which the territories of this area are faced. This concerns also the Carnegie Seminar in Diplomacy, a second course which will be given for ten weeks in the third term for another twenty students of the Caribbean.

In former times, International Affairs were the concern, almost exclusively, of an elite few. But now the world has shrunk. Every nation is close at hand. And every nation is in some kind of uneasy bondage to the others. The private citizen may be vitally affected by something that is happening thousands of miles away. No country can live in isolation, and so every country must have a foreign policy. In a democracy, the foreign policy must be the cumulative views of individual citizens. These views must in turn be based on a widely diffused knowledge, not on mere sentiment, and certainly not on any form of hysteria. I would say that the first duty of an Institute such as this is to provide knowledge and to train men and women in the proper



Inaugural Class of the Institute of International Relations

use of that knowledge. But we need something more. We must understand not only the facts about other countries but their point of view. That does not necessarily mean that we must share that point of view – for it may be wrong. But it is essential that we understand it. We must also have sympathy, because whether we like it or not, we have to live side by side with nations who are by no means democratic. A great philosopher once said that the essence of tragedy was not a clash between right and wrong but a clash between two rights. And so it is true of nations as of individuals, that however much we may dislike them and disagree with their ideas, there may somewhere be a kernel of truth, and we must try and seek it out, no matter how deeply it may be concealed, under layers of perversion, falsehood, and sheer nonsense. An Institute of International Relations must not merely provide a limited number of educated men and women, well equipped professionally with accurate knowledge, which by itself would be useless. It must at the same time play its part in creating that spirit of understanding and tolerance without which true internationalism is impossible.



Left to Right: Governor Dwight Venner, Eastern Caribbean Central Bank; Professor Dennis J. Gayle, Executive Director; Dr. Hamid Ghany, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences; Dr. Bhoendradatt Tewarie, Principal

Size, Power and Development in the Emerging World Order

The Institute of International Relations,
The University of the West Indies
hosted a multi-disciplinary conference at the
Institute on 3rd to 5th March, 2004.

The Conference sought to address some of the emerging issues arising from the functioning of Caribbean States in the international system and the challenges posed by the changing world economic order. The primary focus of the conference was to address specific issues that are now gaining increasing attention as a result of these challenges. These issues were addressed by a range of scholars in different disciplines from within and outside the region. Special attention was paid to the issue of size and the policies and strategies which Caribbean states need to embrace to deal with the political and economic dynamics now being played out regionally and internationally.

The primary aim of this conference was to locate the role, constraints and limitations of small states in the global political economy and governance system to enable policy-makers, academics and students to understand and interpret recent global developments and their implications for the Caribbean. Some of the Papers presented included:

- Small State Development Options and Contemporary International Relations - **Professor Vaughan Lewis**. Institute of International Relations, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- The New American Empire: Universal Capitalism, the New Imperialism and the Caribbean. **Professor Hilbourne Watson**. Bucknell College USA.
- The US Embargo and the Development of Self-Reliance in Cuba. **Professor Carlos Alzugaray Treto**. Advanced Institute for International Relations, Cuba.
- Intellectual Property Rights and its Complementarity with Human Capital Formation and Trade Openness- Implications for Small States. **Dr. Bhoendradatt Tewarie & Dr. Roger Hosein**. The University of the West Indies. St. Augustine

The Current Impasse in Trade Negotiations

Taimoon Stewart SALISES, UWI

Negotiations can break down when there is a misreading of the vital interests of the opponent and/or the strength of a coalition by one side or the other. This could result in intransigence where there should be movement in concessions. At Cancun in early September 2003, negotiations from the Europeans and the United States clearly misread the strength of the G20 + coalition, backed by the ACP coalition, which equals the vast majority of developing countries. Not since the 1970s has there been a coming together of South countries like they have in recent times in the WTO, culminating in the Cancun table with their concession on Singapore issues until the 11th hour, by which time it was too late. Lines had been drawn and hardened. It was difficult at the last stage to break the coalition, or to get them to back down on their positions re agriculture, the Singapore issues, and cotton.

Nor did they expect the African countries to take a strong stance on the cotton issue as they did. Indeed, the fact that the US could come back to the table after days of negotiations and refuse to remove subsidies but offer assistance to help African countries diversify away from cotton showed not only that they have misread the mood of the other side, but also the response of the other side to this offer. It was viewed as contemptuous, and infuriated the Africans, and all developing countries.

The performance of the Chair also played a crucial part in the collapse of the negotiations. The fact that the Chair came back to the table on the last day with the Singapore issues, when all were expecting agriculture to be discussed first, was seen as a deliberate move to either get the concessions from the developing countries first, or then let the developing countries take the blame. Finally, it is most interesting that the Mexican Chair brought the meeting to an abrupt end several hours before it should have been concluded. Most parties considered this move to be premature. There is a conspiracy theory that the US may have persuaded the Chair to end the meeting if there was no movement on the Singapore issues, so that the talks would collapse over this, and not Agriculture or Cotton. Even this backfired, as the blame for the collapse of the talks only strengthened the resolve of developing countries, and gave them a sense of achievement and renewed courage to stand up to the injustices of the trading system imposed by the North.

The Miami Ministerial which took place in November 2003 was conducted in the shadow of the failure of Cancun. Indeed, the impasse started as far back as late September 2003 at the Trade Negotiating Committee (TNC) in Port of Spain, Trinidad. The TNC consists of Vice Ministers who monitor the progress of the Negotiations and provide guidance to the Negotiating Groups. That meeting ended in stalemate, with the major stumbling block being the same issue that brought down the WTO Ministerial in

Cancun, that is, agricultural export subsidies and domestic support, with Brazil insisting that the US remove these subsidies because of the harm it causes to MERCOSUR countries. The Ministerial Declaration was a compromise hammered out between the United States and Brazil, and put to the other countries without any possibility of change, hence the fact that the meeting lasted less than a day. There was nothing to debate. It left all the questions unanswered, except for posing the possibility of two-tiered negotiations, the details of which were left undeveloped.

The Trade Negotiating Committee of the Vice Ministers met in the first week of February 2004 in Puebla, Mexico to complete the unfinished work of the Ministerial. That meeting was crucial to forging the direction that the FTAA negotiations would take. It ended in stalemate over the same issue of agricultural export subsidies and domestic support, and exposed the Miami Ministerial Declaration as a band-aid to avoid a repeat of Cancun. The meeting was adjourned with a resumption date of mid April 2004. However, all was not lost. Significant advances were made at that meeting in fleshing out the procedures by which the two-tiered negotiation would operate.

There will be a common tier in which all countries would negotiate, and a plurilateral tier, which takes the obligations to a higher level. Countries which are not negotiating the plurilateral tier could sit as observers in the negotiations, but exactly what rights the observers have are still under discussion. At present, the proposal on the table is that observers may speak, but their position will not be counted in determining consensus. Countries may decide to enter the plurilateral negotiations at any point. Whether they could influence the text that has been agreed upon at that point and seek changes is still being debated. At one point it was mooted that there could be several different arrangements within the plurilateral tier, which countries able to accept obligations on some provisions but no others. This could lead to a nightmare of uncertainty for the business sector, having different levels of openness with different countries. This also needs to be clarified.

The two-tiered approach has both dangers and benefits for CARICOM Countries. There are advantages in that this approach allows us to be part of the agreement at the common tier, without having a struggle for Special and Differential treatment to the extent that we would have to, if it were a single undertaking. It takes some of the pressure off CARICOM. By the same token, it leaves us out of the more meaningful agreement, and we may have been able to get greater concessions out of the other parties but limit our obligations in a single undertaking. That is what we were trying for before the modus operandi of the negotiations changed. If it decides later in the negotiations to join the plurilateral negotiations, then it may not be able to influence changes in the un-bracketed text that has been developed to

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Dr. Patricia Elaine Joan Rodgers

Permanent Secretary – Ministry Of Foreign Affairs



Dr. Patricia Elaine Joan Rodgers was appointed Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 7 April 2003. She had served as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Tourism since April 1995. Dr. Rodgers was formally Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Bahamas High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and Ambassador to France, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Economic Community. She was appointed to her foreign-service posts in May 1988.

Born in Nassau to the late Dr. and Mrs. K.V.A. Rodgers, Dr. Rodgers in September 1966, entered Aberdeen University, Aberdeen, Scotland, where in June 1970, she obtained a Master of Arts Degree with honours in English. Returning from Scotland in 1970, Dr. Rodgers joined the Ministry of External Affairs as an Administrative Cadet. From September 1971, to June 1972, she did post-graduate work at the Institute of International Relations at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad. She received a diploma (hons.) in International Relations.

Her diplomatic service includes appointments as Counsellor and Consul, Bahamas Embassy, Washington, D.C., from February 1978, to May 1983. During this time, she also served as The Bahamas' Alternative Representative to the Organization of American States (OAS), Washington, D.C.; Chargé d'Affaires of The Bahamas Embassy, Washington, and non-resident Acting High Commissioner to Canada. From June 1983, to April 1986, Dr. Rodgers was Deputy High Commissioner to Canada, acting as High Commissioner. In May 1986, she was confirmed in that post where she served until she received her appointment as Bahamas High Commissioner to the UK and Ambassador to France, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Economic Community.

Dr. Rodgers was a member of the delegation to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held in Caracas in 1974 and in Geneva in 1975. She was also a member of a Bahamian delegation to the OAS General Assembly in 1982, the Canada/Commonwealth Caribbean Heads of Government Meeting, Kingston, Jamaica, in 1985 and the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings in Nassau in 1985 and in Vancouver in 1987.

She served as Chairman of the Board of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation from 1989-1991, and was a member of the Commonwealth Election Monitoring Group in Lesotho 1993.

CENLAC Our onsite link to Latin American Studies and Research

Launched in January 2003, the major goal of the Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean (CENLAC) is to promote research and co-operation among academic centres in the two regions and beyond. The Centre is the product of collaboration between the Faculty of Humanities and Education (St. Augustine) and the Institute of International Relations of the University of the West Indies, and is headed by Dr. Lancelot Cowie. Based at the Institute of International Relations the CENLAC provides a space for language learning, comparative research in the Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, and Humanities. Cenlac has as its broad philosophy, the promotion of networking systems with other Latin American study centres in South America, Europe and Asia.

CENLAC

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Recognition



Professor Ramesh Ramsaran

by Mr. Anselm Francis

It has been a signal honour for me to be associated with my friend and colleague for almost a quarter of a century. He joined the staff of the Institute as a Research Fellow in 1976 and in the course of his career earned promotion to Senior Lecturer, Reader and Professor, the position he currently holds. One takes great pride in saying that he has observed the tradition of the great academics through the quality of his teaching and the monumental research output. With minimal research support available, he has succeeded in publishing several books, the most recent being **The Fiscal Experience in the Caribbean: Emerging Issues and Problems** (ed.) and numerous articles in reputable journals.

The whole truth is not being told correctly if one merely cites the number of his published books. It must be said that they have been published by internationally recognized publishers and are available in leading bookstores of the English-speaking world. Another feature, which distinguishes his works, is the fact that they address not only academic concerns, but also issues of policy.

In spite of his unquestioned accomplishments, Professor Ramsaran may be considered an enigma. He has steadfastly refused to have a launch of any of his books, fearing that this would mean promoting himself. He spends a great deal of time in teaching and supervising students, as well as in research, and in conference or seminar development. However, he is never willing to take his place on the head table at the formal opening of the conference. His research has to speak for him and, one hastens to add that it does so eloquently.

On a more personal note, Professor Ramsaran is a decent human being. He is a hard working, conscientious teacher but above all he is honest and humble. He shuns the limelight, preferring to remain in the background, thinking about his next book.

Alumni Profiles

Prof. Norman Girvan C.D.



Dr. Norman Girvan is currently a Professorial Research Fellow at the U.W.I Institute of International Relations, UWI St. Augustine Campus. In February 2004 he completed a four year term of office as Secretary General of the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), an intergovernmental organization with 25 member states and three associate members from the Greater Caribbean region. He is well known in the Caribbean and internationally for his work in Caribbean

development and integration, having combined his academic work with wide experience in government and international organizations.

Over the years, Professor Girvan's research and publications have ranged over the subject areas of foreign capital and transnational corporations, technology transfer and development, debt, relations with the IMF, and Caribbean development and integration. He is the author and editor of ten books and monographs and author of over 70 journal articles in these and other areas. He was the founding President of the Association of Caribbean Economists and has served as Chairman or Board Member of a number of Jamaican and regional organizations. He has been adviser to regional governments and consultant to several regional and international organizations.

Among his awards are the Institute of Jamaica Centenary Medal for Distinguished Contribution in the field of History and the Social Sciences; an entry in *Who's Who in Economics*, MIT Press, 1986; the U.W.I. Vice Chancellor's Award for Excellence; Honorary Membership of the National Association of Cuban Economists; and the George Beckford Award from the Association of Caribbean Economists. In 1998 he was made an Officer of the Order of Distinction, Commander class, by the Government of Jamaica for his contribution in the field of economic research and scholarship; and in 2002 he was the recipient of an Honorary Doctorate from the University of North London. The UWI-IIR is indeed proud to welcome Professor Girvan on board!

ACADEMIC YEAR ACTIVITIES 2003/2004

WORKSHOPS

- "Negotiating Techniques for Multilateral Trade Negotiations", February 6th-7th, 2004 (in collaboration with CARICOM, the OECS Secretariat, and the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery)
- "Special Research Methods Workshop", April 13th - 17th, 2004
- "Invited intensive in-country human resource development workshops concerning the international relations challenges of the Caribbean, conducted by teams of Institute facilitators: July 5-9, 2004 in St. Kitts and Nevis; August 9-13, 2004 in St. Lucia; September 13-17, 2004 in Antigua and Barbuda. Topics include protocol and the Vienna conventions; human resources management; challenges of multilateral diplomacy; current issues in Caribbean Trade; The Caribbean/European Union relationship; challenges of implementing the CARICOM Single Market and Economy; Implications of the General Agreement on Trade in Services; the diplomatic context of international law; international commercial law; international trade, finance, debt and investment policy; the Caribbean-US relationship; and advanced negotiations skills and techniques, including simulations.

CONFERENCES

- "Size, Power and Development in the Emerging World Order", March 3rd - 5th, 2004

PUBLIC LECTURES

- "President Jawaharlal Nehru: an architecture of Modern India - October 6th, 2003, Delivered by Professor K. L. Tuteja (In association with the High Commission of India)

GUEST LECTURES

- "Illegal drug trade in Colombia and U. S. foreign policy towards" - April 7th, 2004, Delivered by Dr. Lancelot Cowie, Director of Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean (CENLAC)
- "Trade liberalization and regional integration in Latin America and the Caribbean" - March 29th, 2004, Delivered by Mr. Juan Carlos Martinez, Director of PROCOMER

Regional Issues

Unresolved Caribbean Maritime Issues

by Anselm Francis



In the decades of the seventies and eighties, Caribbean states, like many others, took advantage of unfolding developments in the Law of the Sea at the time and extended their maritime jurisdiction. More specifically, they all claimed an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles. These extensive claims primarily addressed the intensive fishing by long-distance fishermen in Caribbean waters but they created their own problems. In light

of the close proximity of the states to one another, a 200-mile claim must be seen as a mere hyperbole in a Caribbean context.

Obviously, exclusive economic zones in the Caribbean overlap and negotiations for determining their outer limit become imperative. Negotiations on delimitation should not be seen in a narrow hydrographical context because they would invariably involve the distribution of maritime resources – both living and non-living. For this reason, neighbouring countries which enjoy harmonious relations – for example, France/Britain, Germany/Denmark/Netherlands – found it necessary to resort to third party means of resolving delimitation disputes.



Happily, mechanisms for resolving such disputes are provided in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. More importantly, there is a wide choice of fora, thus obviating the need for the Caribbean to establish its own dispute settlement machinery for resolving Law of the Sea matters.

On a more positive note, exclusive economic zone claims can also be viewed as a potent force for cooperation. Even after there are agreed lines of delimitation, it would redound to the benefit of all countries to pool their resources for scientific research and the optimum sustainable exploitation of the resources of the Caribbean Sea.



Regional Issues



Memorandum of Understanding signed between ACS & The UWI IIR

A Memorandum of Understanding between the Secretariat of the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) and the UWI Institute of International Relations was signed on Friday June 4th 2004 at the UWI IIR Boardroom, St. Augustine Campus. The signing of the Memorandum serves as a precursor to the development of a Framework Agreement for Cooperation between the ACS and the UWI IIR.

The objective of the Agreement is to create a framework for the development of joint activities involving inter-institutional collaboration in order to promote exchanges in areas of common interest. Some of the activities that will be developed include facilities for inter-library exchanges and loans; reciprocal invitations to participate in conferences on matters of common interest; joint organization of courses, seminars or conferences; 1-3 month internships for 6 registered UWI IIR students; provision of a maximum of 3 places at UWI St. Augustine for ACS Secretariat staff; participation of selected ACS Secretariat staff on UWI IIR post-graduate student dissertation committees; provision of guest lectures at the UWI IIR by selected ACS Secretariat staff; provision of inter-institutional collaboration in research projects and cooperation and collaboration in other areas of common interest, including regional human resource development.

Book Profile



Governance in the Twenty-First Century University: Approaches to Effective Leadership and Strategic Management

**Dennis John Gayle,
Bhoendradatt Tewarie,
and A. Quinton White, Jr.**

Professor Dennis J. Gayle is Executive Director of the Institute of International Relations; Dr. Bhoendradatt Tewarie is Principal and Pro Vice Chancellor of The University of the West Indies' St. Augustine Campus; Dr. A. Quinton White is Dean of Arts and Sciences at the University of Jacksonville, Florida. Both Professor Gayle and Dr. White are Fellows of the American Council on Education. This book explores approaches to effective leadership and strategic management in the twenty-first century university, using a distinctive entry point: the perceptions and attitudes of university leaders toward the institutional structures and organizational cultures within which our universities are lead and managed, together with the implications of these attitudes for the central concerns of higher education. After reviewing the historical educational environment within which university governance evolved, a discussion is had over twenty-first century demands on governance, primarily but not exclusively in the United States of America.

Significant changes in the higher education environment have lead to several instrumental questions: How are governance systems most effectively structured, and how is the interplay of organizational culture, institutional mission, and university governance structure best specified? What exactly is the difference between managing universities as businesses, or between education and training? What kinds of institutional leadership will best address the challenges discussed? The stage is thus set for a return to the concerns posed by competing perspectives and expectations on the part of university stakeholders. Based on content analysis of the literature, we identify three core governance-related issues for further discussion: teaching and learning, information technology and distance education, resource allocation and accountability.

This work is rooted in both realist and pragmatic approaches to the internal and external institutional environment. The goal is to encourage and assist higher education leaders to do all we can, where we are, with what we have to improve the quality of governance in higher education institutions. A practical view of things is taken, examining the realities, assessing their implications, and suggesting possible ways forward.

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that point. CARICOM is arguing that it must be able to apply the principle of Special and Differential treatment to the text as agreed to at that point.

CARICOM countries have a very difficult course to traverse. The internal differences in these countries, with Trinidad and Tobago in particular having a very difficult agenda for the LDCs, make it quite complex to negotiate as a single unit. In such a situation, it is the floor not the ceiling that is used to develop a position, meaning the level at which the smallest country could meet obligations. That brings us very much to the level of the common tier being proposed, which would be a much downscaled agreement that would be signed by all.

Meanwhile, the impasse continues. Two informal meetings of Vice-Ministers, and a flurry of behind-the-scene negotiations, particularly between the US and Brazil, have taken place, with the last informal meeting (late March 2004) failing to end the impasse. The date of the resumption of the adjourned TNC meeting of early February 2004 was left undetermined, with a proposed time being sometime in May or June. Indeed, until the impasse in the WTO is resolved, one can anticipate that there would be very little movement in the FTAA, because compromise in one avenue would influence the position of a country in the other. Moreover, the Presidential elections in the US later this year would have a dampening effect on US negotiators ability to move forward on issues.

Of course, it is now near impossible to meet the proposed date of January 2005 for signing the agreement. For this to happen, negotiations would have to be completed by September 2004, to allow for a TNC meeting by October 2004 to review the draft Agreement, and finalize documents to be submitted to a final Ministerial meeting, which should take place by December or January 2005. That gives negotiators three months to remove thousands of brackets from the draft Agreement. Given the slow pace at which brackets have been removed during the last five years, that is an impossible task, even with the two-tiered approach.

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