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## REVIEW ESSAYS

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### COUNTERPOINT AND CONCATENATION IN THE CARIBBEAN:

#### The Substance and Style of Foreign Policy

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- GEOPOLITICS OF THE CARIBBEAN: MINISTATES IN A WIDER WORLD.* By THOMAS D. ANDERSON. (New York: Praeger, 1984. Pp. 175. \$25.95.)
- THE CARIBBEAN CHALLENGE: U.S. POLICY IN A VOLATILE REGION.* Edited by H. MICHAEL ERISMAN. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1984. Pp. 208. \$22.50.)
- FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR OF CARIBBEAN STATES: GUYANA, HAITI, AND JAMAICA.* By GEORGES A. FAURIOL. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1984. Pp. 356. \$23.75 cloth, \$12.25 paper.)
- ISSUES IN CARIBBEAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.* Edited by BASIL INCE, ANTHONY BRYAN, HERB ADDO, and RAMESH RAMSARAN. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. Pp. 360. \$26.75 cloth, \$14.50 paper.)
- MARITIME ISSUES IN THE CARIBBEAN.* Edited by FARROKH JHABVALA. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1983. Pp. 130. \$11.95.)
- GEOPOLITICA DE LAS RELACIONES DE VENEZUELA CON EL CARIBE.* Edited by ANDRES SERBIN. (Caracas: AsoVAC, 1983. Pp. 317.)
- DOCUMENTOS DE TRABAJO.* Centro de Investigaciones del Caribe y América Latina (CISCLA), Inter-American University of Puerto Rico.

The late Percy Scholes, a distinguished English musicologist, once defined *counterpoint* as simply a combination of melodies. Woven together in contrasting, but parallel, fashion, the melodies may be regarded as polyphonic, or many-voiced.<sup>1</sup> One need not be a connoisseur of fine music to recognize the contrapuntal character of international relations in the Caribbean. The interests and issues of foreign policy mirror both the similarities and differences manifest in the region. As the burgeoning literature is documenting with increasing effectiveness, efforts at generalization are difficult. Students and scholars who focus on the Caribbean encounter frustration even in defining the area. For the purposes of this essay, the all-encompassing term *Caribbean Basin* is both a convenience and a necessity. There are multiple linkages that may be traced, although the many and diverse national actors in the region are in some ways unique.

Historical traditions range from those of Mexico to the original members of the old Central American Confederation, from the South American experience of Bolívar's ill-fated Gran Colombia to the islands of the Spanish colonial empire, and from the three continental Guiana territories to the independent ministates of the British Commonwealth experience. Even the insular Caribbean itself reflects varied patterns. There are such ministates as Antigua-Barbuda, with a population of seventy-five thousand on an area of 170 square miles, and Dominica, with eighty-three thousand on 290 square miles. The six-island Netherlands Antilles includes one member that seeks independence from the mother country. Anguilla, whose population of seventy-seven hundred rebelled against incorporation into a sovereign Saint Kitts-Nevis, stands in contrast to its neighbors. Meanwhile, French and U.S. dependencies still exist.

The gamut of political regime-types is also striking. The so-called middle-range powers include the competitive, party-based Venezuelan democracy and the thinly veiled authoritarianism of Mexico's one-party system; both contrast with Cuba's blend of Marxism and personalism. In Central America, the much admired, if economically bankrupt, Costa Rican democracy lies next to the revolutionary turbulence of Nicaragua, while civil war and violence rage in El Salvador and Guatemala. The island states that achieved independence within the past two decades experienced an era of so-called doctor politics,<sup>2</sup> dominated by such national leaders as Eric Williams (Trinidad-Tobago), Grantley Adams (Barbados), Alexander Bustamente and Norman Manley (Jamaica), and Juan Bosch (Dominican Republic). Those states that have not yet moved beyond this first generation include Antigua with Vere Bird and Dominica's Eugenia Charles, among others. Where political change has been pronounced, the sharp, but legitimate, shifts between the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP) in that coun-

try differ from Grenada. There, the quixotic repression of Eric Gairy and the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) was ousted by the New Jewel Movement and Maurice Bishop. Internal rifts, North American intervention, and a new round of elections then followed.

These random comments serve to illustrate the folly of undertaking broad generalizations concerning the Caribbean Basin. In many contexts, it is preferable to restrict analysis to, say, Mexico and Central America, the ministates of the Eastern Caribbean, and similar groupings. It nonetheless remains true that a number of geopolitical, cultural, and economic classifications are possible. The works under review here cannot be readily compartmentalized, but they do suggest the vigor that is developing in contemporary scholarship on international relations in the Caribbean. As recently as 1979, Basil Ince of the Institute of International Relations at the University of the West Indies wrote that although there "have been books published on the region in the fields of economics and domestic politics, . . . none has been devoted solely to the field of international relations."<sup>3</sup> Later that year, however, the collection edited by Richard Millett and W. Marvin Will appeared; it has now gone into a second edition.<sup>4</sup> Since then the quality and quantity of research has continued to progress.

Scholars from the Caribbean are demonstrating increasing skill and dedication, the flavor of which is suggested by the works under review. As a means of ordering the rather disparate foci and perspectives on Caribbean international relations, the smaller states will be considered first, then the middle-range powers, and finally the United States. A general overview that stresses the ministates is presented by Thomas Anderson in *Geopolitics of the Caribbean: Ministates in a Wider World*, part of the Hoover Institution series "Politics in Latin America." This work differs from the others in being the product of a cultural geographer. Nearly two-thirds of the book deals with geographical and historical background that, if scarcely uncommon, provides a useful review for the uninitiated reader. Anderson's research priorities are suggested by his delineation of six contemporary issues, including marine boundaries, petroleum trade, nonstate actors, and the roles of Cuba and the United States. Analyses of trade patterns and territorial seas are sharper than those of political factors. For example, his discussion of Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia as potential regional power brokers is superficial. References to the 1981 Nassau Group and to the emergence of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) are also sketchy.

Much more penetrating discussions of policy alternatives may be found in the volume coedited by Basil Ince and his colleagues. The product of a March 1977 conference held in Port of Spain to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Institute of International Relations, *Issues in Caribbean International Relations* includes papers on both theoretical and

substantive problems. The opening section offers a stimulating discussion of small states and their special problems in foreign policy-making. The subject has not been treated extensively in the literature,<sup>5</sup> but it is undeniably relevant for the Caribbean. James Rosenau provides a careful theoretical treatment of small state adaptation, which is followed by a modest essay by Morton Kaplan. Coeditor Herb Addo presents a knowledgeable response to both. His "Letter to Rosenau on the Three Basic Fallacies Attaching to His Theory of Adaptation of Small States" is rewarding, and the dialogue is perceptive. The labeling of the Kaplan piece as "bland restatement" of the traditional interpretation of U.S. policy is justified.

The three remaining sections of *Issues in Caribbean International Relations* are also sensitive to theoretical as well as substantive issues, especially in discussions of Caribbean integration and political regionalism. Havelock Brewster proffers an astute assessment of the movement toward regional community after the first decade of Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) and Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). Applying a "collective decision-making" model as a tool for evaluation, his 1977 judgment was blunt. "The degree of integration attained in the Caribbean Community is as yet minor, . . . the Community has not been deepened. As the functional scope widens, the degree of integration attained within that scope diminishes" (p. 89). The following paper by Vaughn Lewis examines the integration question through theoretical lenses that incorporate consideration of both centrifugal and centripetal historical forces.

The second portion of the collection is dominated by case studies grouped under the rubrics of negotiation and decision making. Regional interests are suggested in such papers as that by Winston Ex-tavour on the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Seas (LOS III). Greater country-specific material is included on Trinidad and Tobago. Trevor Farrell presents a splendid study of negotiation and bargaining between the government and the petroleum multinationals. The nationalizations of British Petroleum in 1969 and Shell in 1974 are analytic gems. Farrell documents the bargaining skills of the multinationals and the inexperience of government negotiators. British Petroleum willingly left the country after completing its exploitation of resources, and Shell also achieved a favorable position prior to withdrawing. The Farrell essay is in every sense worthy of joining the growing literature on similar bargaining elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>6</sup>

The Ince paper is a well-informed treatment of Trinidad-Tobago's 1967 decision to enter the Organization of American States. He employs a decision-making framework, as previously synthesized by Auma-Osolo.<sup>7</sup> Ince finds the question of political leadership crucial, ultimately concluding that Prime Minister Eric Williams's "dominant personality

and strong leadership lead us to believe that he was the most important factor that led his colleagues to ratify the decision to join the OAS" (p. 291). This view is consistent with other studies of Third World formulations of foreign policy. Although Ince cites Robert Rothstein on Indian policy and Jawaharlal Nehru, he could as well substitute Trinidad-Tobago and Williams. Rothstein observes, "Foreign policy tends to be the unfettered presence of the leader and his friends. The result is a highly personalized foreign policy. When the dominant leader is particularly popular and his rule is unchallenged, the distinction between his personal views and state policies may disappear."<sup>8</sup>

Anthony Maingot examines Trinidad-Tobago's foreign policy interests in comparison with those of Venezuela. He seeks a regionwide understanding of Caribbean issues and decision making via the dependency perspective. Maingot's observation that the Venezuelan perception of the Caribbean to which it relates is both historically and culturally contrary to the view of Trinidad is effective in reminding readers of the definitional problems involved. Foreign policy-making therefore becomes susceptible to differences in outlook. As concerns the issues of fisheries and maritime rights that divide the two nations, Maingot describes the Venezuelan position as relatively independent and that of Trinidad as more dependent. The rival definitions of the Caribbean also reflect a broader group of foreign policy-making elites in Venezuela than in Trinidad, on which Maingot would agree with Ince's assessment of personalized leadership.

Differing markedly from these 1977 conference papers is Georges Fauriol's *Foreign Policy Behavior of Caribbean States: Guyana, Haiti, and Jamaica*. Originally a 1981 dissertation completed at the University of Pennsylvania, the book "has been tinkered with," according to the author, who is currently an associate at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. Its flavor is still that of a dissertation, however, especially given the obligatory review of the literature and analytic approaches, as well as its closing remarks about the implications for future research. Fauriol relies principally on the methodological use of events-data analysis. As developed by such scholars as Edward E. Azar,<sup>9</sup> the use of foreign events data sets permits a quantification of issues and state behaviors over time. Fauriol considered three available compilations of chronologies before choosing Azar's own COPDAB (Conflict and Peace Data Bank), although he notes that its Caribbean data "was really not in a usable format" (p. 26). Fauriol records the data and techniques at length.

The data rely heavily upon the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a weekly publication of the U.S. government drawn from a variety of sources. Fauriol acknowledges the inadequacies of FBIS data, including its systematic bias and random errors. While

events-data analysis involves other problems as well as benefits,<sup>10</sup> more serious reservations can be expressed about the basic employment of this approach. The disciplinary and methodological debates that have recently emerged extend beyond the purview of this essay. For those who share this reviewer's skepticism, the substantive core of *Foreign Policy Behavior* is limited to the two chapters out of nine that deal with foreign policy systems and activities for the three states since 1960. Even this discussion largely predates the mid-1970s: Haiti is discussed less in terms of Baby Doc than of his father, that is, the period before 1971; Michael Manley's first term in Jamaica is emphasized; and Guyana's border dispute with Venezuela is discussed in a dated fashion.

Whatever the possible merits of events-data analysis, the reader will not find enlightenment on the foreign policies of the three states in question. Neither is it evident why Fauriol chose these three rather than other Caribbean small states. The final words of Fauriol suggest the book's limitations: "to remain generally complacent about the international activity of such lesser states as Guyana, Haiti, and Jamaica has become a major omission" (p. 254). Whatever the level of complacency, it will not be significantly dispelled by this study.

For those who might similarly decry inadequate attention to Venezuela as a middle-range power, *Geopolítica de las relaciones de Venezuela con el Caribe*, edited by Andrés Serbin, provides a positive antidote. In March of 1982, the thirty-second annual convention of the Asociación Venezolana para el Avance de la Ciencia (AsoVAC) focused on Venezuelan policy in the Caribbean, and the results have now been published.

The progressive deepening of social and political science research in Venezuela has become manifest since the beginning of the 1970s, paralleling the rise of Venezuelan activism in the Caribbean. As I wrote elsewhere, the drive for hemispheric leadership and an opening to the Caribbean was vigorously promoted by the government of Rafael Caldera, which took office in 1969.<sup>11</sup> It was further extended by the two administrations that followed, although the present economic recession and large foreign debt may curb somewhat the activism of Jaime Lusinchi's government. The progressive nurturing of democracy has also led to recent efforts at professionalizing the diplomatic corps.<sup>12</sup> Academic as well as diplomatic contacts have increased. Further impetus came from the 1978 publication of Demetrio Boersner's historical analysis of evolving Venezuelan relations with the insular Caribbean.<sup>13</sup> Significant programmatic developments include the 1979 founding of the Asociación Venezolana de Estudios del Caribe (AVECA). These and similar events are narrated in Andrés Serbin's introduction.

The second portion of the collection centers on comparative political analysis, including treatments of pre-1983 Grenada and the Westminster Model, decolonization of the Dutch Antilles, and the domestic

situation of Curaçao. Of particular interest are the previous contributions on Venezuelan-Caribbean relations. Leslie Manigat describes national perspectives on the definition of the Caribbean, and this contribution is complemented by the geopolitical and historical discussions of Pedro Cunill Grau and Nweihed. Mirlande Hippolite de Manigat is particularly good in discussing Venezuelan dealings with CARIFTA and, since 1974, with CARICOM. While the ministates in most instances have seen Venezuelan membership as a counterweight to such neighbors as Jamaica and Guyana, the latter have blocked any such measure. Other chapters worthy of note are Carlos Guerón's analysis of policy options on the Guyana border dispute, along with Boersner's characteristically astute assessment of the Cuban-Venezuelan relationship. Readers with a strong theoretical bent will wish to peruse Carlos Romero's application of game theory to the same two nations.

Among the more narrowly drawn studies is that of renewable natural resources by Kwaldone Nweihed. He also presents a Venezuelan perspective on maritime issues in *Maritime Issues in the Caribbean*, edited by Farrokh Jhabvala, a volume derived from an April 1981 conference at Florida International University. As Jhabvala writes, the world was attempting for the fourth time in five decades to codify the Law of the Sea. The 1970s saw a pronounced swing toward the two-hundred-mile limit, a range that is, however, complicated in the semienclosed Caribbean. Moreover, many of the existing regional understandings were negotiated by colonial powers who have since departed. Advocacy of the two-hundred-mile patrimonial sea, a resource-oriented measure adopted in the 1972 Declaration of Santo Domingo, was of particular benefit for a Venezuela blessed by a long coastline. The notion of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ), while not without merit, was disadvantageous for the ministates in particular.

Conference participants who engaged in debate included Nweihed, Vaughan Lewis, and Lennox Ballah. While the participants generally agreed that the Caribbean constitutes a unique area with unique problems, differences arose over the importance of adapting universal principles that might accommodate local geographic differences. The recent trends are viewed as having produced a shift from broad freedom of the seas to greater control by coastal states. For Venezuela or Colombia, there are benefits from the EEZ, which in turn is inequitable to the Anglophone Caribbean. These and similar presentations have not been fundamentally altered by the 10 December 1982 signing of the Law of the Seas Treaty, to which the Reagan administration has refused to adhere. The delimitation of maritime boundaries remains a live concern. A brief, but more current, discussion is that by Anselm Francis in *The Caribbean Basin and Recent Developments in the Law of the Sea*, his occasional paper for the Institute of International Relations (IIR).<sup>14</sup>

If the University of the West Indies has become an important source of scholarship through the IIR, much the same is true for the Centro de Investigaciones del Caribe y América Latina (CISCLA) of the Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico. Its April 1983 conference, "International Relations of the Contemporary Caribbean," resulted in a useful set of Documentos de Trabajo. The subjects are diverse, including such contrasts as Samuel Silva Gotay on the "de-ideologization" of Christian thought in *La transformación de la función política en el pensamiento teológico caribeño y latinoamericano*;<sup>15</sup> Selwyn Ryan's *Administrative Capability and Choice of Development Strategy: The Case of Trinidad and Tobago*;<sup>16</sup> and Anthony Maingot on the state of Florida as a major Caribbean actor in *The State of Florida and the Caribbean*.<sup>17</sup> Maingot's paper and Robert Pastor's *Caribbean Emigration and U.S. Immigration Policy: Crosscurrents* look at issues of migration as significant to both the Caribbean and the United States.<sup>18</sup> Jamaican foreign policy and the linkage between domestic and external affairs inform both *Democratic Socialism and the Capitalist Class: An Analysis of the Relation between Jamaican Business and the PNP Government* by Evelyne Huber Stephens and John Stephens and *Jamaican Foreign Policy in Transition: From Manley to Seaga* by Paul Ashley.<sup>19</sup>

A somewhat broader net is cast by Carl Stone, who deals deftly with complex matters in limited space in *The Caribbean and the World Economy: Patterns of Insertion and Contemporary Options*.<sup>20</sup> Terming the Caribbean an ideal setting to study the dependency tenet that world capitalism denies genuine economic development to the Third World, Stone argues that foreign exchange earnings constitute the crucial factor in regional economic growth. Yet the influence of the world economy appears detrimental to internal diversification while hampering the growth of a dynamic domestic bourgeoisie. Stone finds that given the state of the Caribbean bourgeoisie, external support should be encouraged. Caribbean economies, he concludes, "cannot opt out of the world economy without undergoing rapid decline. The real challenge is to redefine their role in the international division of labor, diversify their international ties and to deepen their economies" (p. 23). Stone's conference paper and the others are subsequently summarized by rapporteur Marisabel Bras Castro in *The Caribbean and World Politics: Continuity, Transformation, and Interdependence*.<sup>21</sup> Along with accurate, if predictable, statements about contemporary problems, she also remarks on the dialectical interaction between external and internal factors while raising questions about harnessing the energies of a potential pan-Caribbean nationalistic wave.

The conference paper by Edward González, *U.S. Strategic Interests in the Caribbean Basin*,<sup>22</sup> might have been comfortably accommodated with the panel papers for the 1982 Caribbean Studies Association



convention at Kingston, Jamaica. This group of papers comprise the collection edited by H. Michael Erisman, *The Caribbean Challenge: U.S. Policy in a Volatile Region*. González holds that the Reagan administration was correct in assigning a high priority to the region, although he questions the value of militarized solutions. This same orientation informs the thinking of several contributors to the Erisman compendium. *The Caribbean Challenge* begins with a macroanalysis of U.S. policy trends before turning to case studies and scenarios. The explicit emphasis is directed toward Washington's perceptions and behavior. Erisman's introduction ticks off a list of policy challenges and elaborates the "surrogate thesis," which holds that regional unrest is primarily the handiwork of Marxist forces. Erisman remains skeptical, also noting the heavy ethnocentrism of current attitudes toward elections U.S.-style.<sup>23</sup> His posture toward Cuba is generally consistent with that of Juan del Aguila, whose essay on U.S.-Cuban confrontational politics is both acute and astute. Del Aguila subscribes to the view that Cuba is more a thorn in the flesh than a dagger in the heart; he sees the graduated hostility of U.S. policy over time as unproductive.

Another strong chapter is John Booth's contribution on evolving policy toward El Salvador. He cites Jorge Domínguez's distinction between objective and subjective interests, describing the latter as imputed by both the Carter and Reagan administrations.<sup>24</sup> The human rights emphasis of Carter and the Trilateralists reflected the view that the Caribbean was a high-priority region. Reagan and especially Alexander Haig believed—for somewhat different reasons—that a "vital interest" existed in El Salvador and throughout the circum-Caribbean. As the former Secretary of State wrote following his forced resignation, "There could not be the slightest doubt that Cuba was at once the source of supply . . . of the Salvadoran insurgency. Cuba, in turn, could not act in the scale of the rebellion in El Salvador without the approval and the material support of the U.S.S.R. I believed that our policy should carry the consequences of this relationship directly to Moscow and Havana . . ." <sup>25</sup> For Booth, the U.S. goal "of reestablishing its regional hegemony through repression of reform in Central America is both a high-risk gamble for the United States and a promise of death for the many who would inevitably be caught in the crossfire" (p. 138).

Less emphasis is given the smaller states, although Bruce Bagley and Jacqueline Anne Braveboy-Wagner are informative respectively on the asymmetrical interdependence of U.S.-Mexican relations in the 1980s and on the developmentalist thrust of Washington's policy toward Jamaica. Historical and economic background for the island states constitutes the selections by J. Edward Greene and by Kenneth I. Boodhoo. In the final chapter, Abraham Lowenthal examines the insular Caribbean as a test for the United States. He sees the official definition of

interests as tending to stress security and trade concerns, an attitude questioned by many academics and nongovernmental observers. The policy options are fourfold: first, the “traditional” blending of indifference toward socioeconomic conditions with hegemonic security interests; second, total disengagement; third, “activism” that has been pursued in contrasting ways by the Carter and Reagan administrations; and fourth, a sustained commitment to Caribbean development—the posture preferred by the Caribbean states themselves (obviously excepting Cuba). Lowenthal cogently cites the benefits and shortcomings of each alternative.

The authors of the Erisman compendium, along with all the others previously cited, amply testify to the richness of diversity. They also accept implicitly the linkage of issues, preoccupations, policy alternatives, and forms of international behavior. The concatenation is undeniable, as are the contrapuntal repercussions across the Caribbean Basin. The evident advance of scholarship—most particularly in the hands of Caribbean practitioners—promises much greater clarity in the years immediately ahead. Whatever the geopolitical, cultural, or socioeconomic definitions, the presence of potential or putative conflict is as serious as are the bases for cooperation and collaboration. In the words of a distinguished historian, “The United States and the Caribbean states—mainland as well as island Caribbean—are not enjoying one of their best seasons. If the situation was difficult and confused during the tenure of U.S. President Jimmy Carter, it is even more so under that of his successor, Ronald Reagan.”<sup>26</sup> In the long run, it can only be hoped that means are found to constitute throughout the region a humanist society “in constant process of construction, through the conscious free will of its members, . . . to face the social order in which they find themselves as being capable of controlling and modifying it so as to make it more humane every day.”<sup>27</sup>

#### NOTES

1. From Scholes's *The Listener's Guide to Music*, as excerpted in *The Music Lover's Handbook*, edited by Elie Siegmeister (New York: William Morrow, 1943), 71–72.
2. Abraham Lowenthal credits the phrase to Lloyd Best in *The Caribbean Challenge*, 187.
3. Basil A. Ince, introduction to *Contemporary International Relations of the Caribbean*, edited by Ince (Saint Augustine, Trinidad: Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, 1979), iii.
4. *The Restless Caribbean: Changing Patterns of International Relations*, edited by Richard Millett and W. Marvin Will (New York: Praeger, 1979 and 1984).
5. Among the more useful treatments are Patrick J. McGowen and Klaus-Peter Gottwald, “Small State Foreign Policies: A Comparative Study of Participation, Conflict, and Political and Economic Dependence in Black Africa,” *International Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (Dec. 1975); Niels Amstrup, “The Perennial Problem of Small States: A Survey of Research Efforts,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 11, no. 3 (Mar. 1976):163–82; Maurice East, “Size and Foreign Behaviours: A Test of Two Models,” *World Politics* 25,

- no. 4 (July 1973):555–76; and also Maurice East, “Foreign Policy-Making in Small States,” *Policy Sciences* 4, no. 4 (Dec. 1973):491–508.
6. Among the more important works, see the overview of George Philip, *Oil and Politics in Latin America: Nationalist Movements and State Companies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). On Venezuela, see also Franklin Tugwell, *The Politics of Oil in Venezuela* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); Gustavo Coronel, *The Nationalization of the Venezuelan Oil Industry: From Technocratic Success to Political Failure* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1983); and John D. Martz, “Development and Democracy in Venezuela: Politics and the Management of Petroleum,” in *Politics, Policies, and Economic Development in Latin America*, edited by Robert Wesson (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1984). For Mexico, see Edward J. Williams, *The Rebirth of the Mexican Petroleum Industry* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1979); and George W. Grayson, *The Politics of Mexican Oil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980). For Ecuador, see John D. Martz, *Regime, Politics, and Petroleum: Ecuador’s Nationalistic Struggle* (forthcoming).
  7. Agola Auma-Osolo, “Rationality and Foreign Policy Process,” in *Yearbook of World Affairs, 1977* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1977).
  8. Robert Rothstein, “Foreign Policy and Development: From Non-Alignment to International Class War,” *International Affairs* 52, no. 4:599.
  9. Edward E. Azar, “Analysis of International Events,” *Peace Research Reviews* 4 (Nov. 1970):1–106. Also see Azar, “The Issues in Events Research,” in *Theory and Practice of Events Research*, edited by Azar and Joseph D. Ben-Dak (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1975).
  10. An evaluation of instructional usage also reviews positive and negative elements in John Merrill, “Bringing the World to the Classroom: Using FBIS Reports in the International Politics Course,” *News for Teachers of Political Science*, no. 43 (Fall 1984):1–3.
  11. John D. Martz, “Venezuelan Foreign Policy toward Latin America,” in *Contemporary Venezuela and Its Role in International Affairs*, edited by Robert D. Bond (New York: New York University Press, Council on Foreign Relations, 1977), 161–62. A more recent treatment is Martz, “Ideology and Oil: Venezuela in the Circum-Caribbean,” in *Colossus Challenged; The Struggle for Caribbean Influence*, edited by E. Michael Erisman and John D. Martz (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1982), 121–49.
  12. Charles D. Ameringer, “The Foreign Policy of Democratic Venezuela,” in *Venezuela: The Democratic Experience*, edited by John D. Martz and David J. Myers, 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger, 1985).
  13. Demetrio Boersner, *Venezuela y el Caribe: presencia cambiante* (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1978). Also see his more recent *Relaciones internacionales en América Latina* (Mexico City: Nueva Imagen, 1982).
  14. Anselm Francis, *The Caribbean Basin and Recent Developments in the Law of the Sea and Human Rights in the Commonwealth Caribbean: An International Relations Perspective*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 26 pp.
  15. Samuel Silva Gotay, *La transformación de la función política en el pensamiento teológico caribeño y latinoamericano*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 37 pp.
  16. Selwyn Ryan, *Administrative Capability and Choice of Development Strategy: The Case of Trinidad and Tobago*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 25 pp.
  17. Anthony Maingot, *The State of Florida and the Caribbean*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 34 pp.
  18. Ibid.; and Robert Pastor, *Caribbean Emigration and U.S. Immigration Policy: Crosscurrents*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 36 pp.
  19. Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens, *Democratic Socialism and the Capitalist Class: An Analysis of the Relation between Jamaican Business and the PNP Government*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 37 pp.; and Paul W. Ashley, *Jamaican Foreign Policy in Transition: From Manley to Seaga*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 19 pp.

20. Carl Stone, *The Caribbean and the World Economy: Patterns of Insertion and Contemporary Options*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 23 pp.
21. Marisabel Bras Castro, *The Caribbean and World Politics: Continuity, Transformation, and Interdependence*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 22 pp.
22. Edward González, *U.S. Strategic Interests in the Caribbean Basin*, CISCLA Documento de Trabajo (San Juan: CISCLA, Interamerican University of Puerto Rico, 1983), 22 pp.
23. My own discussion of his point is incorporated in "Democracy and the Imposition of Values: Definitions and Diplomacy," in *Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System*, edited by John D. Martz and Lars Schoultz (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1980), 145–70.
24. Jorge Domínguez, *U.S. Interests and Policies in Central America* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1982), 4–5.
25. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), 122.
26. Franklin W. Knight, "Toward a New U.S. Presence in the Caribbean," in *The New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean*, edited by Barry B. Levine (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1983), 241.
27. Gustavo Lagos and Horacio H. Godoy, *Revolution of Being: A Latin American View of the Future* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 92.