

**SPEAKING NOTES FOR**

**MOST HON. P. J. PATTERSON, ON, OCC, PC, QC**

**LAUNCH OF BOOK**

***"THE INFLUENCE OF SMALL STATES ON SUPERPOWERS:  
JAMAICA AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY"***

**BY**

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# **The Influence of Small States on Superpowers: Jamaica and U.S. Foreign Policy (University of the West Indies Press, 2017).**

Selected for the Case Study:

The Superpower is the U.S.A. – Chaguaramas story

The Small State is Jamaica

***"No single concept or term which defines" –***

***"Bewildering variety of nomenclature"***

What is a Small State is in the eye of the beholder (page 40)

In the International Arena and

At the UN

- (i) Apartheid – Trade embargo – N.W - 1957
  - (ii) Human Rights – 1968 designated International Year for Human Rights (Shearer – 1963)
  - (iii) Environment – UN Conference – Environment & Development – Amb. Don Mills
  - (iv) Law of the Sea Convention – DJT & Rapporteur – Ken Rattray
  - (v) World Conference on Women – Secretary General Lucille Mair
  - (vi) Security Council
- ECOSOC
- G77 & China

We are always punching well beyond our weight and size.

- Garvey – Champion in the fight for liberation and human dignity
- Marley – Reggae Music
- Bolt – Superstar.

No one can believe we number a total of 3 million inside and another 3 million outside.

I have watched people in high places go into virtual shock when they learn that our population size is not somewhere between 10-15 million.

We little but wi tallawah.

Period chosen mid 1991- mid 2001.

The Book covers much more than that – it is wide ranging.

No one needs to ask where is the beef.

- Offers more than a gargantuan Dagwood Sandwich -  
A sumptuous banquet indeed.

Author well qualified to undertake this analysis because of his academic background, appetite for painstaking research and superb analytical skills that surround events in which he was intimately involved.

- Our Ambassador in Washington – Accredited to the USA
- The OAS
- Multilateral – IMF/World Bank/IDB

Institutions in which the USA wields considerable powers.

- Diaspora

Chapter 2 – seeks to debunk the common assumption that small developing countries cannot exert influence on the policy of superpower because of the disparities in power arising from differences in economic strength, military capability, size (population, GDP and land area) and level of economic development.

In challenging the conventional wisdom, the book presents an empirical study of how a small developing country, Jamaica was able to influence the foreign policy of the superpower, the United States during the decade 1991-2001. This proposition is based on case studies of foreign aid, debt relief, drug certification and trade policy – areas of principal concern in our bilateral relations.

In Chapter 4 Bernal explains how the U.S. political system operates the moving parts which interact to produce U.S. foreign policy. He applies to the four case studies in the subsequent chapters showing how the various parts were engaged and influenced.

The key lesson is that a small developing country has to amplify its influence by building strategic alliances and coalitions in two regards -

- (1) Mobilize an internal U.S. constituency in support of the goal being pursued
- (2) where possible build and enlarge a critical political mass by assembling and/or consolidating coalitions with like-minded countries e.g. Caribbean and Central America in support of the upgrade of the CBI legislation.

Building American support requires a multi-faceted strategy specifically design for each policy objective. This involves –

(1) identification and engagement of key persons and institutions;

(2) making all those who can influence the right decision aware and educating them about its importance to Jamaica (Caribbean) - explain the importance to their business, city, state and the United States.

(3) Making Jamaica's issue a priority, in the fierce competition from American interests and other foreign governments, requires working with often overlooked actors e.g. the think-tanks, Jamaican/Caribbean persons in the U.S. system, Americans who have investments and homes in Jamaica.

The challenges of influencing U.S. foreign policy requires small developing countries to find ways to compensate for limited financial and human resources. For example, an opinion editorial in the Washington Post or the Wall Street Journal is worth months of costly lobbying.

Every nation in its exercise of sovereignty is obliged to formulate and execute foreign policy in accordance with its own enlightened self interest. But since no country, however powerful, can thrive in splendid isolation, there must always be a recognition of how to secure and maintain paramountcy in the light of other competing interests within that single space - the one earth we must all share and the human race to which we belong, no matter what some may presume.

***"The dominant feature of US Jamaica relations is the disparities in power, size, and economic development between the United States and Jamaica. Nevertheless, Jamaica has a tradition of resistance to***

***hegemony, which has its origins in the long history of fighting against oppression in the forms of slavery and colonialism.***

***This has given rise to an audacity that is uniquely Jamaican and that imbues the behaviour of individuals, organizations and the society as a whole.***

***Assertiveness and feistiness are expected of the Government by the Jamaican public in handling international relations, especially in standing up to larger, more powerful states that appear to be taking advantage of us' – or insensitive to our interests and global concerns.***

We have never reaped any substantial or lasting benefits from groveling or genuflection. We have won when Jamaica has united to pursue a common cause by providing leadership at the political, diplomatic and technical levels for CARICOM, the OAS, UN, Non-Aligned and the Commonwealth. This is no time to abdicate leadership or change course. So when Jamaica abstains on a resolution to which four Permanent Members of the Security Council and a total of 129 nations subscribe, the non-aligned world will question whether we have lost our sense of international morality.

The Jamaican people deserve some explanation from their Government and are entitled to ask why.

Certainly, it cannot be, as former Prime Minister Bruce Golding has enquired, that Jamaica cowered because of the veiled threat to reduce U.S. aid.

What would we do if the countries of the EU were to threaten reprisal whenever we voted contrary to their position in the international arena?

If we are now open to every bidder, have we calculated the accumulated inflows from Venezuela's PetroCaribe or the current levels of investment from the Peoples Republic of China? We cannot dance to the beat of different drums when hallowed precedents suggest we should not abandon sound principle!!

Bernal's book reminds us that foreign policy must be strategic. We cannot afford a short-sighted approach; one based on a blur of temporary convenience or sheer expediency.

Bernal's book recalls the 'vacation' visit by Henry Kissinger in 1975 when he implored us to refrain from recognizing the MPLA in Angola and threatened dire consequences if we continued our support for the Military presence of Cuba to fight the racist hordes of South Africa. How could we have done that unless our revulsion against apartheid and our commitment to liberate all of the African continent from the scourge of colonialism was fake news?

This launch today comes on the eve of another visit by Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, whose priority items for the discussions with our Prime Minister have already been revealed by the State Dept. It is heartwarming that our two daily newspapers in well written editorials have both indicated what our Agenda must include:

- We cannot win the war against crime and violence or the fight against illegal narcotics and money laundering unless those who manufacture the weapons of

destruction prohibit and enforce the curbs for the export of guns and bullets to our shores.

- Our efforts to achieve stated and desirable targets for prosperity will be severely impeded and derailed by the devastating effects of climate change and global warming which have created such havoc to the islands of the Caribbean and several states on the American mainland.

There is a desperate need for us to tackle this together.

- A beration of our brothers and sisters of our brothers and sisters in Haiti and the African continent is offensive, repulsive.

We renounce any form of rhetoric which is divisive.

#### The final Chapter -

Identifies a number of factors which have contributed to the successful campaigns to influence U.S. foreign policy.

#### Building Strategic Alliances –

- NAFTA - The FTAA
- WTO
- EU/ACP

#### The Lessons – Page 319

- (i) Belief & self confidence
- (ii) Devise a strategy to get on the foreign policy agenda – of interest and concern
- (iii) Quality of leadership – Political/Ambassadorial
- (iv) Lobbyists – special groups
- (v) Ambassador



## Compulsory Reading

Bernal's study has realized its purpose:

***"To fill a lacuna in the literature, as there are no indepth scholarly studies on how a small developing country attempted to and did, in fact, influence US policy." Page 3***

As such, it is compulsory text for academics, students and practitioners in the field of international relations.

This seminal work is of timely significance and comes at a juncture where few can dare to predict the pace and direction on which the only Superpower will move. That in itself will require, at the very least, some recalibration by Jamaica, CARICOM and our hemispheric partners as to how best we respond to the emerging challenges to the dominance of the United States in global affairs.

The book is weighty and will hardly permit full digestion in a single meal. But the careful construct of the eight chapters, with their separate summaries and conclusions, the Appendices, the references and bibliography, the carefully prepared Index, all combine to facilitate any scholar or diplomat in benefitting from a well written text.

Over the years, Jamaica has been well served in the field of foreign affairs by "the brightest and the best". Amb. Richard Bernal has walked the walk. With yet another literary masterpiece, he seeks to embolden us in the belief that there is nothing we cannot accomplish by courage and our own ingenuity.