

Confronting Eastern Caribbean Vulnerabilities Repairing Legacies of Colonialism and Asserting Sovereign Consent

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A Brief Statement on Global Context

- With Great Britain's exit from the EU (Brexit), the French and Dutch areas of the Caribbean have distinct advantages over the independent islands.
- There seems to be decreasing interest by the US government over the less developed islands of the region (*viz.* no interest in “shithole” countries).
- The decline of PetroCaribe in all its dimensions leaves the region (80% dependent on petroleum energy) competing for petroleum-based products in an open market controlled by the US.
- US critiques of European subsidies for Caribbean agricultural products overlooks the fact that virtually all US agricultural products receive heavy subsidies.
- Virtually the only sector in the whole region which is growing is in tourism. The cruise industry (based in Miami) is the largest part of that and each island sets its own set of policies.
- The CARICOM countries have failed to enact the planned (since 1989) Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME).

Overarching Arguments

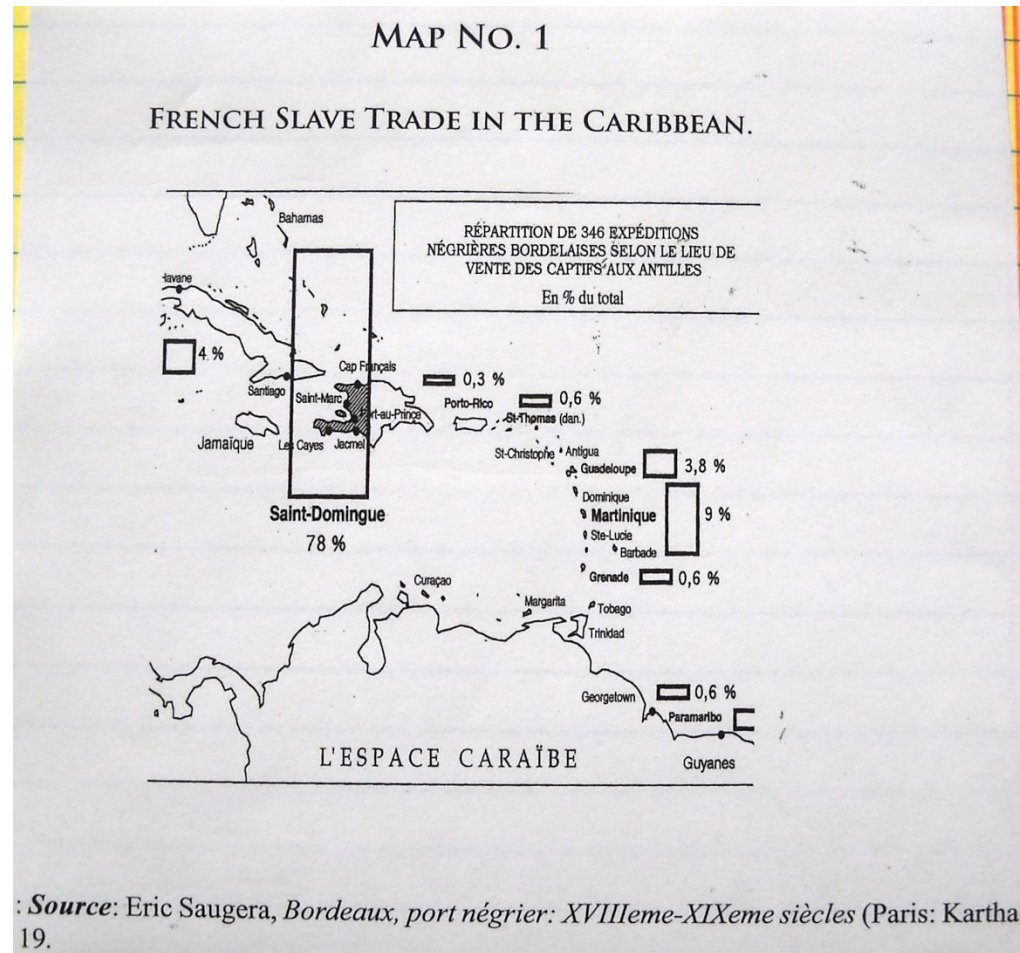
Normative Premise

Two options with which to deal with the rightful claim that there should be reparations of some kind for the centuries of Western slavery. Note: options are **not** mutually exclusive.

Option 1 Performing acts of individual/institutional reparations. Example – The University of Glasgow (Scotland) admits to having received more than £200 million from the slave trade and grants the University of the West Indies £20 million as reparations.

Option 2 While Option No.1 is being pursued, take less controversial actions which deal with certain mutually agreed legacies of colonialism and the historical denial of *sovereign consent* (i.e., the freely expressed will of the people) and which can benefit all sides in any action. Example: dealing with common vulnerabilities of the French DOMs and certain countries in the Eastern Caribbean.

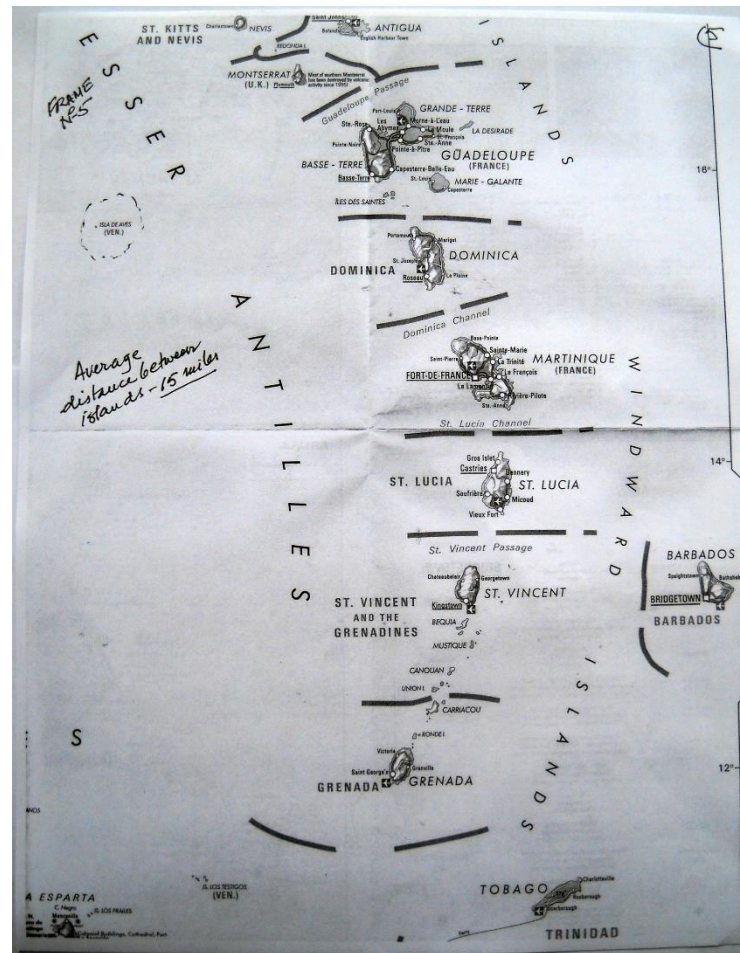
Small But Vital French Slave Trade In The Eastern Caribbean



Defining the Geographical Area Analyzed

Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia

Average Distance Between Islands: 15 miles



Legacies of Colonial Wars: Absence of Sovereign Consent **in Changes in Sovereignty**

Guadeloupe

1664 French Settle
1691, 1703 British Ravish
1759-1763 British Occupation
1763 Treaty of Paris: to France
1809-1814 British
1816 French →

Martinique

17th C. Compagnie des Isles d' Ameriques
1759 British Occupation
1763 Ceded to France
1809-1814 British
1803/1814 – British
1845 French →

Dominica

1715-1763 French from Martinique/
Guadeloupe Settle
1763 (Treaty of Paris) Ceded to Great Britain→

St. Lucia

1744 – French
1762 – British
1763 – French
1778 – British
1783 – French
1796 – British
1802 – French
1803 – British→

How much sovereign choice was there in:

- 1 The West Indies Federation?
- 2 Independence?

Consequences of Colonialism

Compatible Cultures – Unequal Development & Social Net

Guadeloupe

Area	1,710 km2
Pop.	420,000
GDPpc	\$31,579
Ethnicity	Afro-Caribbean
Religion	Roman Catholic
Economy	Agriculture, Tourism Transfer Economy
Language	French, Créole
Politics	Pluralist Democracy
Unemployment	26.2%
	Pop. below poverty 29%

Dominica

750 km2
72,000
\$4,250
Afro-Caribbean
Roman Catholic 62%
Agriculture, Offshore businesses
English, Créole
Pluralist Democracy
23%
Pop. below poverty 20%

Consequences of Colonialism

Compatible Cultures, Unequal Development & Social Net

Martinique

Area	1,100 km ²
Population	400,000
GDPpc	\$31,579
Ethnicity	Afro-Carib
Religion	Roman Catholic
Economy	Agriculture, Tourism Transfer Economy
Languages	French, Créole
Politics	Pluralist Democracy
Unemployment	23.2%
	Pop. below poverty 20%

St. Lucia

620 km ²
174,000
\$11,000
Afro-Carib
R. Catholic 62% Protestant 26%
Agriculture, Tourism
English, Créole
Pluralist Democracy
15%
Po. below poverty 20%

Shared Vulnerabilities

I Four Major Dependencies

1. 80% Imported oil for all energy needs Most expensive electricity in the Hemisphere.
2. 80% imported food
3. Dominance of Tourism; mostly the cruise industry.
4. All caught in an “indebtedness trap” but French islands subsidized by the French National Budget and the EU.

II Natural Threats

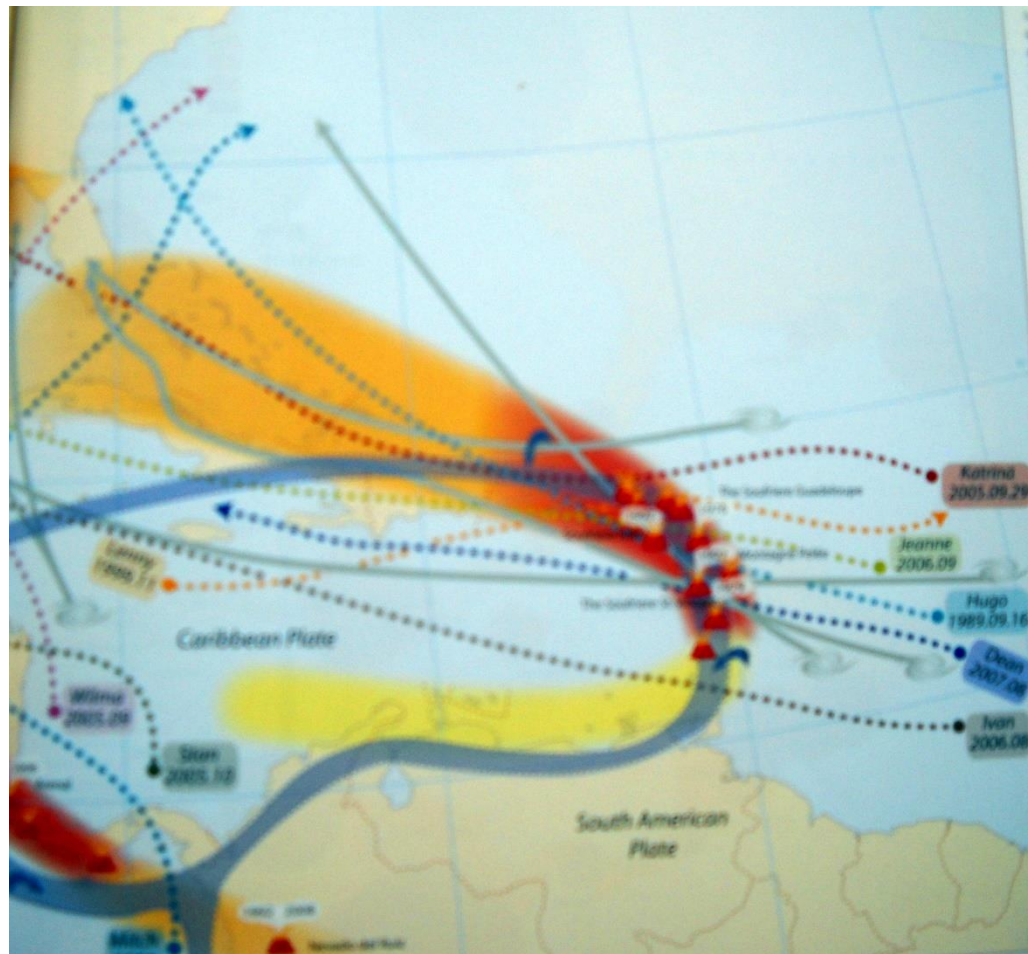
1. Hurricanes – According to the IMF, probabilities of major hurricanes hitting the area are on the increase in number and intensity.* Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance – totally insufficient.
2. Earthquakes – Note the number of volcanoes in the area.

III Increasing Crime Mafias Because of Drug Trafficking

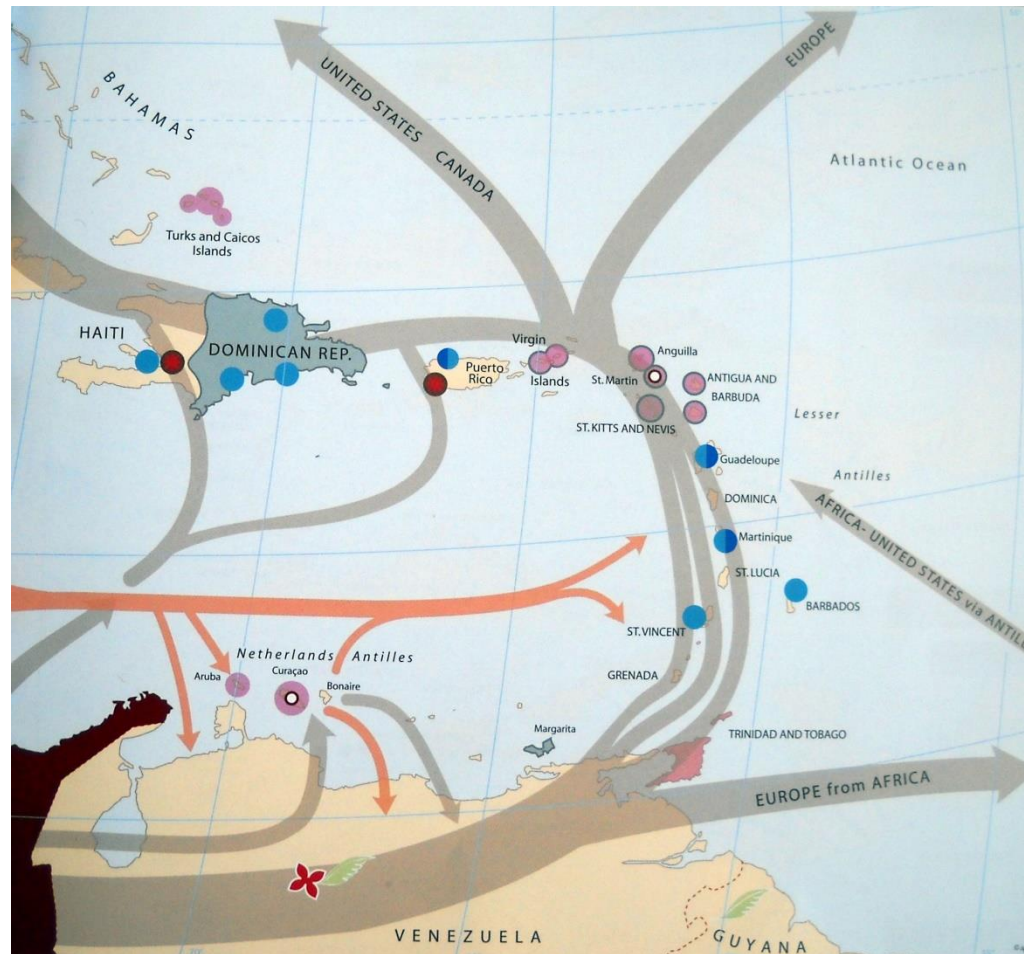
(See Map in Frame No.10) Only Martinique has a significant military presence. Dominica and St.Lucia have police forces of 300 men.

*Given their geographical proximity, major hurricanes tend to affect many neighboring islands at once, viz. Hurricane Ivan, (See Map No. 9) a Category 3 hurricane, impacted eight different islands.

Concentration of Hurricane Hits and Active Volcanoes



The Cocaine Corridor out of Venezuela



Recommended Background Reading by A. P. Maingot on the Drug Trade and Local Criminal Enterprises

- * “The Illicit Drug Trade in the Caribbean: Use, Transshipment and Violent Crime,” in Jorge I. Dominguez (ed.), *Security, Peace and Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 188-210.
- * “The Decentralization Imperative in Caribbean Criminal Enterprises,” in Tom Farer (ed.), *Transnational Criminal Enterprise in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 143-170.
- * “Confronting the Perilous Threats of Organized Crime and Energy Dependence,” in A.P. Maingot, *Race, Ideology, and the Decline of Caribbean Marxism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), pp. 293-304.
- * “Venezuela: The Descent into a ‘Soft Sate’”, in Robert Looney (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Caribbean Economies* (New York: Routledge, Forthcoming, 2020.)

Territorial Water Divisions: **Handicap Disaster Relief and Crime Fighting** **And Facilitate Actions of Criminals** **(Note Venezuelan Claim)**



Some Practical Ways of Meeting Challenges

- Reconsider the present nature of Territorial Waters by allowing “Hot Pursuit” and “Ship Rider” type arrangements.
- Both Martinique and Guadeloupe have joined the OECS as Associate Members. Deepen and broaden that membership. As the President of the Guadeloupe Territorial Council put it, “Our **[common] natural heritage** and biodiversity strengthens our territories.”
- The **Franco-St. Lucian Joint Security Committee** was established in 2012. Enhance it with greater First Responder effectives and intelligence capabilities. Keep in mind that SOUTHCOM and the US-Caribbean Security Initiative (with the US Coast Guard as effective asset) are based in distant Miami.