The world is changing fast and when looked within a span of the last two decades, the changes convey as if the political and economic values of social organisation including importantly ‘development’ and ‘security’, have been irrevocably altered. So much so, even words like development and security, or for that matter ‘democracy’ and ‘peace’ – already characterised by enough conceptual ambiguity – carry very altered and nuanced meanings since the end of the Cold War. The world of the Circum-Caribbean states too has changed within and outside the greater region. It is argued that the region lost its world of strategic importance with the end of the Cold War. 9/11, another event of strategic importance, took place in the neighbourhood of the region. How the post-1990 and post-9/11 political and economic imperatives have worked upon the Circum-Caribbean which is studded with ‘small’ and ‘micro’ states?

This doctoral monograph is a study of the Circum-Caribbean post-Cold War geo-political and geo-economic imperatives through security and development options. It is instructive to note the simultaneity between the end of the Cold War and the renewed academic and policy interests in the Circum-Caribbean; are these indicative of an emerging world where every state seizes attention irrespective of its size? The work identifies across the chapters that the contours of security and development cannot be kept separated in understanding the post-1990 Circum-Caribbean dynamics. Therefore, the monograph hypothesises that a fragmented approach to security and development has been an obstacle in effective security management and realising developmental goals in the region. Looking at the contemporary political and economic forces, it extends the hypothesis that the traditional security threats and development challenges in the region have intensified.
whereas the non-traditional ones have accelerated. The dilemmatic nature of economic globalisation and post-9/11 US homeland security measures are prime contributors to this hypothesis.

The study employs a research design between three variables in consideration

\[a \rightarrow c \rightarrow b\]

where ‘a’ is the independent variable which includes the physical size of the Circum-Caribbean states, end of the Cold War, post-9/11 US homeland security measures, and economic globalisation. ‘b’ is the dependent variable. It includes post-1990 and post-9/11 security and development problematique available with the states in the region. The study attempts to examine the impacts of ‘a’ upon ‘b’.

In the process, ‘c’ intervenes with a critical approach to the options between security and development. It examines the extent to which the various means adopted by the states in the region have been conducive to manage the ‘vulnerabilities’ and nurture ‘resilience’ in response to the changing political and economic scenario.

The monograph accomplishes the said task in six chapters.

Chapter I looks at the major schools of security and development thinking with the aim of arriving at a conceptual understanding of security and development in small and micro states which is integrative, de/re-specialised, and built more into the discipline of International Relations than of Security Studies.

With the cases of HIV/AIDS, democracy-disparity, and Cuba’s socialism and development dilemma, Chapter II builds up the argument that the contours of security and development intersect in the Circum-Caribbean and, moreover, these two develop a nexus that is both virtuous and vicious.

US has been closely associated with the Circum-Caribbean dynamics at least since the ‘Spanish-Cuban-American War’ of 1898. Chapter III takes up the subsequent Circum-Caribbean-US relations and concludes that the US perceptions and policies have thickened the security-development nexus in the region.
Chapter IV looks at the strategy of ‘resilience’ that the leaderships in the region are attempting to articulate since they felt in the early 1990s that the preferential trade arrangements are soon going to disappear. Instead of building a ‘Caribbean Paradox’, the chapter argues that if this strategy is not handled skilfully (whose indices are already in deficit in the region), it can further deepen security and development dilemmas in the region.

In the midst of competing national sovereignty and economic interests, regional integration has strongly figured as part of solution to the pressing problems in the Circum-Caribbean. The experiments with the United Provinces/ Federal Republic of Central America (1823/1824) and the West Indies Federation (1958), as described in Chapter V, still shower the seeds of regionalism. The chapter observes that the current trend in the Circum-Caribbean regionalism is well in accord with the world order. It is the conspicuous absence of appreciation of the security-development intersection that impedes regional integration from further advancement, and which in turn is vital for dealing with the issues in the region. Security paradigm and economic imperative of the Circum-Caribbean states, at the same time, seem to follow different patterns. The former is causing to collaborate, whereas the latter more to compete; and both are further interlocked as the economic sphere is securitised.

Finally, Chapter VI summarises the salient arguments of the study and concludes that the choice between security and development is delicate. The choice is constrained by availability of resources, degree of relevance, and skill of diplomacy. If the security-development problematique is well-planned, it can, in all the probability, help the region compensate its lost strategic advantage.

Ujjwal Rabidas
November 2012
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

9/11: 11 September 2001
ACP: African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries
ACS: Association of Caribbean States
AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CA-4: Central American-4 Border Control Agreement
CABEI: Central American Bank for Economic Integration
CACM: Central American Common Market
CARICOM: Caribbean Community
CARIFTA: Caribbean Free Trade Association
CARS: Central American Regional Security Initiative
CBERA: Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act
CBI: Caribbean Basin Initiative
CBSI: Caribbean Basin Security Initiative
CBTPA: Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act
CMEA: Council for Mutual Assistance
CSME: CARICOM and Single Market Economy
CTO: Caribbean Tourism Organisation
DHS: US Department of Homeland Security
DLP: Democratic Labour Party
ECCM: Eastern Caribbean Common Market
ECLA: Economic Commission for Latin America
EDF: European Development Fund
**EEC**: European Economic Community

**EPA**: Economic Partnership Agreement

**ESF**: Economic Support Fund

**EU**: European Union

**FDP**: Federal Democratic Party

**FRCA**: Federal Republic of Central America

**FSI**: Financial Secrecy Index

**GDP**: Gross Domestic Product

**HDI**: Human Development Index

**HDR**: Human Development Report

**HIV**: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

**HNWI**: High Net Worth Individual

**HSA**: US Homeland Security Act

**ICT**: Information and Communication Technology

**IMF**: International Monetary Fund

**IPE**: International Political Economy

**IR**: International Relations

**ISI**: Import Substitution Strategy

**IT**: Information Technology

**MAD**: Mutually Assured Destruction

**MDG**: Millennium Development Goal

**MNC**: Multi-National Company

**NAFTA**: North American Free Trade Agreement

**NATO**: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

**NGO**: Non-Governmental Organisation

**NPM**: New Public Management

**OAS**: Organisation of American States

**OCAS**: Organisation of Central American States

**OECD**: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCC: Communist Party of Cuba
PCW: Post-Cold War
SAP: Structural Adjustment Programme
SG-SICA: Secretariat General of Central American Integration System
SICA: Central American Integration System
SIDS: Small Island Developing States
STD: Sexually Transmitted Disease
TB: Tuberculosis
UN: United Nations
UNAIDS: United Nations Programmes on HIV/AIDS
UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO: United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organisation
US: United States
USAID: US Agency for International Development
USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB: World Bank
WIF: West Indies Federation
WIFLP: West Indies Federal Labour Party
WSF: World Social Forum
WTO: World Trade Organisation
WTTC: World Travel and Tourism Council
CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN MAPS