

The Impact of Historical Excess on the Survival of the countries of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)

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ABSTRACT

The advent of globalization has resulted in extensive global economic opportunities for many countries around the world. Most countries, fueled by the desire for survival and the spectacle of historical excess, accept various plans, programs and agreements available for trade and economic improvement. The cycle of working through the same processes of signing agreements and paying back loans continues for developing countries, such as the countries making up the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), even as their economic situation remains the same or hardly improves. Since the objective is survival, the outcomes indicate a need for evaluation of the benefits and consequences of this excess history. This article presents the struggle for survival experienced by the countries making up the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). Through an analysis of historical excess we present the impact of the assistance on the struggle of CARICOM countries to survive. Nietzsche's critical species of history is used to re-situate and re-story the history of survival for these countries.

Excess of history; critical history; spectacle

INTRODUCTION

The advent of globalization has resulted in extensive global economic opportunities for many countries around the world through expanding market opportunities (National Research Council, 1992; Thomas, Olowokere & Thomas, 2007). In the struggle for survival countries begin to act almost like business entities; analyzing the markets, domestic and international, for opportunities and evaluating their competition. Like business entities, there is intense rivalry when many countries seek to take advantage of the same or similar market opportunities; status, position and power prevail in a spectacular display - spectacle (Boje, 2001a; Boje 2001b; Boje, Rosile, Durant & Luhman, 2004). As a result many countries find themselves in positions where they must accept plans and agreements which do not effectively address the need to reduce or eliminate the problems they face;

in many cases these create additional problems or worsen existing problems (ECLAC, 2005; Edwards, 2006). In this respect, developing countries¹, such as the countries making up the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)², have over the years consistently played to the tune of the developed countries³; utilizing the provisions made available to them by

¹ Developing countries in this context refer to countries unable to provide their citizens with a reasonable standard of living; have a low industrial base and low per capita income.

² CARICOM countries include: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad & Tobago.

³ Developed countries refer to countries with self-sustaining economies and the ability to provide citizens with a high standard of living.

developed countries through trade and lending organizations. Most countries, fueled by the desire for survival and the spectacle of historical excess, accept various plans, programs and agreements available for trade and economic improvement. The cycle of working through the same processes of signing agreements and paying back loans continues for developing countries, such as the countries making up the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), even as their economic situation remains the same or hardly improves.

The aim of this discussion is to present the struggle for survival experienced by the countries making up the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). Since the objective of offering and accepting assistance is based on a need to survive, outcomes must be evaluated to assess the value of this history. Through an analysis of historical excess we present the impact of excess on the struggle of CARICOM countries to survive and utilize Nietzsche's critical species of history (Nietzsche, 1967) to re-situate and re-story the history of survival for these countries.

EXCESS OF HISTORY

Nietzsche's explorations of history and its relationship with humans and everyday life focused on three forms of history: monumental, antiquarian and critical history (summary: see Table 1). As Nietzsche made sense of human life and its history he

identified these forms in various ways. Monumental history for Nietzsche focused on the progress of life. In its form, monumental history revolves around progress or greatness from the past (Nietzsche, 1967). In its excessive form however, that history does not emerge as the need to progress or achieve greatness at present suffocates past progress and greatness. As a result this excess overpowers the need for reason or rational thought resulting in apathy and indifference. Antiquarian history for Nietzsche (Nietzsche, 1967) is that form of history which is held in reverence by society. Antiquarian history, for any society, is the old, traditional history which society appreciates and identifies as the basis for its life; its foundation. In its excessive form, antiquarian history places such excessive importance on the old/traditional way of life that little regard is given to the present and future. The revered becomes excessive and leaves little room for analysis of the old/traditional history within the history of the present and future. Nietzsche's last form of history, critical history, is evaluative. Critical history is focused on history that highlights and addresses oppression (Nietzsche, 1967). Critical history evaluates by passing judgment; exposing the wrong in an effort to make the real issues identifiable. In its excessive form, critical history can serve as a two-edged sword; slicing through the wrong in such a way that the real value of such history is smothered.

Table 1: Nietzsche's Species of History			
	Monumental History	Antiquarian History	Critical History
Basis/Focus	Progress of life.	Reverential view of the old/traditional history.	Oppression.
Effect	Need to progress; to become great or improve life for self and others.	Need to hold on to the old/traditional history.	Passes judgment and exposes wrong to make real value identifiable.
Impact of Excess	The need to progress overpowers need for reason or for rational thought; resulting attitudes: apathy & indifference. Suffocates progress or greatness from the past.	Reverential view supersedes and prevents acknowledgement of present and future history and attempts to analyze the old within realm of present and past.	Like a two-edged sword; exposes wrong but smothers what is of real value; what is important.

Adapted from "The Will to Power," Nietzsche, F. (1967).

For Nietzsche the human focus on what has been done is so dominant that we somehow almost unconsciously ignore and resist opportunities to improve or change our situation; a tendency to hold on to history so tightly that it becomes excessive. It is this unyielding hold on history, our attempts to make sense of history in such a way that the history becomes past, present and future, that transforms history into an excessive form.

In presenting a critical history perspective of Walt Disney, Ray Kroc, and Sam Walton as CEOs of Disney, McDonald's and Wal-Mart respectively Boje (2007) summarizes Nietzsche's three forms of history and focuses on the critical form to highlight historical excesses. The spectacle of excess is used to present the critical history perspective as Boje (2007) addresses the aspect of critical history that focuses on the relationship between what has always been done (the old/past/traditional) and what is observed (seen/noticed) and the expected reaction (awe and reverence) to what has gone before (Boje, 2007). Thus Boje advocates

and supports a movement away from the excessive need to revere the old to the extent that it paralyzes rational thought and realism in critical history. A critical history provides the best method of evaluating, critiquing and analyzing history so that change becomes valued and is embraced and the hidden value, the real value, of the history which is shrouded by spectacle is exposed (Boje, 2001a; Boje 2001b; Boje, 2007).

In their quest for survival CARICOM countries by their passive acceptance of the way it has always been done have embraced and forged a history that is excessive. In this article we utilize the same method supported by Boje (2007), Nietzsche's critical species of history, to analyze the history of the survival of CARICOM countries within the historical context of assistance provided by developed countries through organizational helpers.

THE HISTORY OF SURVIVAL OF CARICOM COUNTRIES

Globalization has enabled CARICOM countries to utilize varying approaches in attempts to survive independently and collectively. Success as a global player, however, is dependent on the resources (quality and quantity) a country has and the power, status and position it holds as it endeavors to provide a reasonable standard of living for its citizens. Alternately, sustainability of any country's economy is driven by the quality and quantity of its natural resources and availability and feasibility of utilizing these resources effectively and efficiently. This is not an easy feat for CARICOM countries. Collectively CARICOM countries possess a variety of natural resources; natural resources include timber, forests, petroleum, natural gas, arable land, cropland, mineral springs, fish, tropical fruit, deep water harbors, asphalt, minerals, beaches, bauxite, gypsum, limestone, gold, diamonds, shrimp, hydropower, and geothermal potential (CIA-The World Factbook; HRW World Atlas). However, budgets for many of these countries range from about 80 million dollars (for CARICOM countries with smaller economies) to just under 10 billion (for CARICOM countries with larger economies); external debt is unusually high (ECLAC, 2005; Edwards, 2006). When compared with developed countries CARICOM countries rank low on these characteristics. Developed countries are therefore in an excellent position to assist these developing countries. With relatively small budgets and a need to make effective and efficient use of their resources, CARICOM countries find themselves in economic situations where assistance from developed countries through trade and financial support seems to be the only approach to support effective and efficient use of their resources in order to sustain their economies.

To assist these countries developed countries channel aid through various organizations and agencies. This is crucial since history indicates that a variety of issues make it difficult to ensure that aid reaches the individuals or groups who

require it and is used for the purposes for which it has been provided. Issues include political climate, government and trade constraints, and corrupt practices. The established organizations or agencies, organizational helpers, are well placed to arrange for selection and finalization of agreements and distribution of aid packages within a forum and through a reliable network that supports fairness, honesty and best results.

We present an analysis of the organizational assistance provided by developed countries to developing countries and the subsequent impact of historical excess on their struggle to survive. To explore their historical attempts to survive we re-story (Boje, 2007; Nietzsche, 1967) the history. We identify historical excess through exploration of organizational helpers and their actions on behalf of these developing countries. We use Nietzsche's critical species of history (Nietzsche, 1967) to replace the heroic stance of organizational helpers with the catastrophic plight of developing countries. An assessment of this history provides the foundation for re-situating /re-storying of the plight of CARICOM countries. Our purpose is two-fold; to present a critical analysis of the historical excess so that the history is resituated and the excessiveness removed. Our exploration is based on our observations and experiences as Caribbean nationals and the facts and figures presented in historical archives.

HISTORICAL EXCESS: ORGANIZATIONAL HELPERS AND CARICOM COUNTRIES

Two organizations established for this purpose are the World Trade Organization (WTO)¹ and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As primary organizational helpers for CARICOM countries, these two trade and lending

¹ The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is predecessor to the WTO.

organizations have spearheaded assistance efforts and have been in the forefront in assisting developing countries. The WTO is a trade organization. Its mission is to oversee trade relations between member countries to ensure that there is a balance of trade opportunities for member countries. (World Trade Organization-1; World Trade Organization-2). To fulfill its mission the WTO operates by providing the structure and forum within which trade agreements can be discussed, formulated, negotiated and finalized. The primary function of the IMF is oversight of the global financial system. In this capacity the IMF offers financial assistance and technical advice and assistance to member countries regarding financial policy. A major goal is to encourage members to invest and trade globally; providing a level playing field for members as they engage in global investment and trade (International Monetary Fund). Based on such a noteworthy charge, it is very reasonable to believe that these organizations should be able to accomplish the goals and objectives outlined for them and the countries they serve.

Assistance to CARICOM countries usually takes the form of trade opportunities through the WTO and loans, technical assistance and fiscal policy through the IMF. In all cases where these have been provided to CARICOM countries it is evident that needs were met and relief was provided. The major issue with assistance for CARICOM countries lies in the immediate, short-term nature of the benefit or relief provided. To accept assistance through these organizations agreements have to be discussed, formulated, negotiated and finalized. Agreements will list stipulations which usually include, but are not limited to, loans (loan repayments with interest and maturity dates); and trade (arrangements which specify import and export privileges). In many cases, it is the effects of these long term stipulations which result in adverse effects and additional difficulty for these countries as they attempt to survive. This also indicates failed

attempts by the WTO and the IMF to accomplish their mission.

Using a critical history perspective we present examples to highlight the oppression beneath the spectacle and heroism presented in historical archives. Our examples include the history of the WTO, LOME IV and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, and the IMF and the countries of Jamaica and Dominica.

The WTO, LOME IV and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Countries

The spectacle and heroism of the WTO is evident in its ability to assist countries with additional opportunities for trade with other member countries. In all its endeavors the WTO is heralded as an organization supporting and providing opportunities for fair trade for its members (Understanding the WTO - The Organization: Least Developed Countries). There is spectacle in its identifier, the acronym, WTO, since varied feelings can be associated with the acronym. For the audience whose world view is based on the history presented via various media (spectacle), the association is pleasant; heroic. On the other hand, for the few whose world view is based both on the history presented via various media and their experiences the association is primarily unpleasant; unfair and oppressive. The widely held, conspicuous world view of the WTO is heroic and blinds the seemingly inconspicuous, yet very much evident, unfair and oppressive world view. Spectacle prevails as rules for trade between countries are established. The more affluent countries (developed countries) take center stage fighting, not for the developing countries, but for multinational companies whose interest they serve. As the spectacle unfolds and rules and regulations are finalized, developing countries are unable to do much more than accept assistance regardless of the substance of the terms and agreements.

As the blinders of spectacle are removed the reality of the effects of clauses and terms inserted into agreements and

their import is clearly seen. When clearly analyzed and evaluated over time these clauses and terms do no more than ensure that the economic plight of these countries remain the same and forces continued reliance on developed countries and the WTO for economic survival. Based on established terms the poorer countries usually find themselves in positions where, based on the terms set in agreements, they have agreed to purchase products from developed countries which they are able to produce themselves. As the countries assess their capabilities they realize that they are able to produce the same product (or alternatives) and in sufficient amounts for their own use and at a lower price than the imported product. The result is increased import costs (higher cash outflow) with decreased export quotas and revenue (lower cash inflow) and increasing trade deficits; the fiscal situation deteriorates.

One clear example is the arrangements made through LOME IV and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Under LOME IV (The Revised LOME IV convention) the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries received preferential treatment for sale of their bananas on the European Union market. Experience indicated that financial aid provided to these countries very rarely filtered down to the masses. Recognizing that providing financial aid was not the best solution to decreasing poverty in these countries the intent of the Europeans through LOME IV was to make their aid distribution methods more practical and provide an aid package which would increase the possibility that all citizens of these countries would reap benefits.

With support from multinational corporations, such as Chiquita and Dole, the U.S. government challenged the LOME IV agreement stating that it went against WTO rules and provided an unfair advantage to certain countries. It is worthy to note that (1) the LOME IV agreement was not only a trade agreement; it was a form of economic aid to the ACP countries and (2) the U.S. is not a producer of

bananas and should not have challenged the banana regime. However the move was primarily a service to multinational corporations who recognized that gaining market share in Europe would be a great financial advantage; bananas are more expensive in Europe. Both Chiquita and Dole also already dominated the U.S. and Canadian markets. It was evident that they could gain competitive advantage very easily upon entry into the European market if the preferential treatment provided to the ACP countries was lifted. Then the ACP countries would have to openly compete with them for their share of the European market without assistance from the Europeans. The challenge resulted in a removal of the preferential treatment clause in the agreement; the status, position, and power of the U.S. triumphed over the ACP countries' need for the preferential treatment. The impact from the excess of wealth which was demonstrated by the power exerted and the use of status and position by a developed country, the U.S., was devastating. The adverse effect on the banana industry of these countries created hardships which filtered down into their economies thereby severely affecting the fiscal conditions of these countries.

For the CARICOM countries, already listed within the ACP group, the impact is seen in all economies. As economic growth stalls drastic measures, such as lay-offs, salary freezes and cuts, and the freeze on social and developmental projects have to be taken in order to steer these countries back onto a survival path. In spite of these measures, many of these countries, especially the smaller countries, are experiencing very little or no economic growth. For the WTO this does not exemplify free trade nor does it support fair trade which should benefit all its members; developed and developing countries.

Analysis of the foregoing provides insight into a better approach to the situation faced by these countries. A more prudent approach would be one based on lessening the adverse economic effects on the countries. To demonstrate their

objectives as an organization, the WTO should evaluate the effects of decisions being made. The results of evaluations would then provide the informed base or foundation for initiating and implementing aid decisions. Any technical expertise needed to ensure stakeholders are able to implement plans and programs would be identified and utilized to strengthen the foundation for better and sustainable economic development.

Such an approach would focus on providing countries with sufficient time to diversify their economies; a holistic approach. Countries would, in the interim, work at improving other sectors of the economy such as financial, tourism (preferably eco-tourism) and small scale manufacturing using locally available raw materials. Benchmarks would provide oversight needed to ensure effective and smooth transitioning during the working period. The primary goal would be to ensure the countries are making the necessary progress to attain the goal of sustainable economic development and diversification.

Through this approach the countries would have been encouraged to use history to restore their situation rather than to cling to this history; creating an excess of this history by hanging onto / revering what has always been instead of looking for other ways to restore the history to their future benefit. With a holistic approach, results could have included initiatives by these countries to reduce the negative impact of the decisions taken. The following are options that could have been analyzed.

- (1) Modernization of key sectors in the economic (financial sector) to pass laws to prevent fraud in the banking system and then aggressively market themselves as offshore banking sites/keeping taxes low.
- (2) Development of an aggressive market which allows for creating a unique tourism product such as eco-tourism, medical-tourism (medical) or health and wellness tourism; very different from the traditional tourism product.

- (3) Small scale manufacturing industries designed for local consumption and export of organic farm products (agro-industries, clothing, and mining). These countries would have to seek out and identify niche markets.
- (4) Diversification of agricultural sector from bananas to include crops which will be sold on local and regional markets, include organic farming and non-traditional crops (flowers) while encouraging restaurant hoteliers and others to buy local agricultural produce.

The IMF and CARICOM Countries

The rationale for the establishment of the IMF as an organization is spectacle. Established as an organization with the stated purpose of assisting with the rebuilding of the economies of European countries after World War II, the IMF later expanded its work to include assisting other countries with financial difficulties. With a focus on restructuring and stabilizing the fiscal situations of countries around the globe (International Monetary Fund) the success of the IMF is based on the success of the policies used in helping the countries it assists. Like the WTO, the success of the IMF in providing assistance to countries to rebuild their economies, has been presented numerous times expanding spectacle and presenting a heroic appearance as a world view. As a result feelings associated with the acronym, IMF, differ. For the audience whose world view is based on the history presented via various media (spectacle) the acronym, IMF, evokes feelings of appreciation and heroism. The audience whose world view is based both on the history presented via various media and their experiences associate feelings of disappointment, distaste and oppression with the acronym, IMF.

As the blinders of spectacle lift analysis of the economic situation of the countries indicate failure of the IMF to

deliver policies that are effective in assisting with the restructuring and stabilizing of fiscal conditions in the countries they assist. In its role as mentor for countries the IMF includes in its policies specific details and directions on how money provided should be spent. CARICOM countries mentioned in this article are more vulnerable to the stringent policies because of their unique circumstances. These circumstances are very rarely taken into account when policies to assist them are formulated (2007, October). Implementation of IMF policies which they must accept results in increased hardship for these countries and as a result a failure of IMF policies.

One of the reasons for this failure is the lack of foresight and a resistance to change and restructuring by the IMF to accept change and the resulting challenges and realities of the new world conditions within which it operates (Bakker & Warjiyo, 2008; ECLAC, 2005; 2007, June; Guha, 2008; Wroughton, 2008). Another issue is the colonial attitude of the IMF. If the IMF is to perform effectively based on its mission that colonial attitude should change and the organization should restructure so as to adopt and maintain an attitude consistent with its stated goals and mission; an attitude of mutual respect and corporation with all the countries it provides assistance to (Bakker & Warjiyo, 2008; ECLAC, 2005; 2007, June; Guha, 2008; Wroughton, 2008). Based on past experiences with the IMF and its policies many other countries are viewing the IMF as a last resort when exploring avenues for and accepting financial assistance. This should not be the case since the aim of IMF is to assist countries in global investment and trade and in providing a level playing field for all countries to exercise that opportunity.

In an arrangement with Jamaica (one of the larger CARICOM countries) the IMF stipulated that the money provided was not to be used for salaries, building roads, and other government projects. However, the condition of the loan included an import stipulation that substantial amounts of agricultural products should be imported

from the U.S. Ironically Jamaica produces most of the products listed and actually needed access to a market in order to export the very products that the conditions of the loan identified under the import clause. Based on the countries' situation the loan was accepted. An analysis and evaluation of the countries' situation during implementation of the loan and its conditions indicated that substantial pressure was being placed on the country to purchase more and more products from the U.S. In contrast, there was no mention made or consideration given by the U.S. trade representative to purchasing Jamaica's locally produced products for export to the U.S.

Dominica, one of the smaller CARICOM countries, has placed IMF on its list as a last resort when seeking and accepting assistance from organizations. In its dealings with the IMF in 2000-2001 the IMF made an assessment and recommended a plan of action for the Government. Part of that plan included the following:

- (1) A salary freeze for government workers
- (2) A 5% reduction in salaries
- (3) Lay-offs of temporary and permanent workers
- (4) Increases in the price of petroleum products and basic food items
- (5) Implementation of a value added tax (VAT) system which it was explained would be an effective method to distribute taxes more equitably.

For Dominica, sustaining development within such a small economy is very challenging. The approach by the IMF was based on a one-size fit all method. For Dominica this could not work. With the IMF as the only last resort at a time when drastic situations called for drastic measures, the government accepted the loan and its conditions. The result was increased economic hardship.

As the country's economic situation deteriorated migration increased and a mass migration of citizens from the country took place and still continues today. The

major issue arising from such mass migration is the loss of citizens who are professionally trained and usually in their most productive years; those who are most willing and able to contribute to development of the country. Great-grand parents and grandparents are left behind as parents migrate to other Caribbean countries, the U.S. and Britain to eke out a better life for themselves; leaving the children to be cared for by the great-grand parents and grandparents.

Analysis by critical history enables us to suggest the following for re-storying the history of survival for CARICOM countries. We propose a re-situation of the approach to designing aid packages for these countries so that a greater population of the countries are positively affected. Traditional institutions such as the IMF and World Bank have continually provided financial support to developing countries. The aim is noble; to provide assistance to allow these countries to survive. However, much of this assistance goes directly to government. While governments are good at undertaking large scale infrastructural projects such as roads, schools, and buildings history indicates poor performance by many of these governments when the beneficiaries of the assistance are the poor and marginalized sectors of a population.

As part of the solution we are suggest the IMF and other institutions rethink some of their policies and develop a section which will provide funding to credible non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which have the ability to reach marginalized sectors of the populace such as women, youth and citizens in rural parts of these countries. The funding could be in the form of very low interest loans or grants which the NGOs would provide to qualified participants as loans with favorable interest rates. Because these loans have to be paid back, the program would be sustainable, and would most likely not require constant funding from the organization. The projects funded would have to be sustainable projects which should provide employment, hence an income for the participant(s). This

will most definitely improve the standard of living for the participant(s), the community and the whole country. This type of program provides people with the financial resources and responsibility for their economic well being, instead of depending on governmental programs which are sometimes inefficient and do not reach their intended participants. It is our opinion that a well thought and well administered program like this one has the potential to create opportunities for people who would otherwise have no other options. This idea is also supported by many others who suggest that it is through revision and restructuring of its approaches and policies for helping these countries that the IMF can ensure that its mission is adhered to (Bakker & Warjiyo, 2008; ECLAC, 2005; 2007, June; Guha, 2008; Wroughton, 2008). This restructuring process supports a focus away from historical excess, using the same plans to provide assistance to needy countries who blindly hold on to these regardless of the ill-effects to a history that is valuable in providing for sustainable economies and survival of CARICOM countries. By so doing, the IMF will efficiently, effectively, and successfully fulfill its objective of providing assistance for improved fiscal standing and leveling the trade and investment playing field for all its members.

CONCLUSION

History in excess is rooted in unfairness and imbalances in the distribution of power, status and position such that one country sinks deeper and deeper into poverty while another or others with excess fill their coffers by reaping rewards based on the very excess that is presented in spectacle as assistance. Oppression results as the spectacle of power play unfolds on the world stage. This oppression is hidden because of the triumph of the powerful over the powerless. The real value of this critical history is evident only by exposing the wrong (Nietzsche, 1967). What is valuable in this critical history can

only be seen using a critical history perspective. Nietzsche's critical history perspective has provided a glimpse into the history of survival of CARICOM countries. This glimpse into the survival history of these countries has shown how much of the spectacle associated with providing aid to countries in need (opportunities for fair trade through the WTO or restructuring and stabilizing the fiscal situations of countries around the globe by the IMF) is filled with aspects of unfairness and oppression which are suppressed by the spectacle of giving and helping. There are no heroes in this story; unless they are the developing countries who at least exist based on a hope for improving their economy through other agencies or organizations. The stronger voices win out; because of excess and the advantages attributed to having excess. The history is in itself an excessive display, a spectacle, as the presentation is aimed at a showy display of heroism. Beneath the spectacle lies the other world view which is so visible when the blinders are lifted; albeit now and then. Thus, spectacle prevails and history becomes excessive as the weaker voices are drowned out by the attention placed on who is helping and how with little or no focus on results and adjustments for change. A focus on historical sense-making provides another avenue for removing the excessive focus on this history. The objective is not to destroy past history, but to embrace the history as important for assessment of future actions. Re-storying of this history enables a use of history that highlights what is valuable in the history; assistance provided to CARICOM countries when needed through helper organizations. But essential in this re-storying is the use of this history to improve the story; rewriting the script so that objectives are met. This is what would create the basis for sustainable economies for the CARICOM countries hence real survival opportunities for them. Accurate and realistic assessment is possible only if that history is not revered to such an excess, historical excess, such that

appropriate and needed adjustments and actions are stifled.

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