Fausto Arturo Vergara Leiva

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The Role of Small States in the Multilateral Framework

DECLARATION OF INTENTION

I hereby declare that this dissertation it's my own original work.

Fausto Arturo Vergara Leiva February 2011, San Salvador, El Salvador

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III

Abstract

The current world geopolitical configuration shows how after the end of a bipolar world set by the top superpowers (United States and the Ex Soviet Republic) along with other major players (such as Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan and China, the P5 United Nations Security Council members + 1 with the full capacity of veto power in all world top decisions and procedures) set up a new world reconfiguration that has emerged since the end of the twenty century and mainly in the beginning of this 21th century standing driven from some centers of power and in parasailed with the political and economical framework driven mainly by the United States and Europe .

This new geopolitical emerging map shows not to exclusively a unipolar world but the cluster of countries described before, plus other new emerging powerful states that become main new actors (such is the case of Brazil and India), adding to the equation of the traditional middle powers (such as Canada, Mexico, Chile, Scandinavian Countries, Finland, Belgium, Spain, Italy, and recently the Baltic States, etc), with the United States as the unique remaining superpower in world economy and politics followed up by Great Britain, Germany, the European Union, Russia, China and Japan among other new ones (India, Brazil, South Africa)

This new reconfiguration has left a very small room for the small states in the geopolitical scenery and sphere of action and mainly in their unique international positioning. Along with the weak opportunities and small states in the international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), their Regional Organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the African Union (AU) and mainly within the Breton Wood financial institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Inter American Development Bank (IDB) and others that provide the financial framework of funding donations and loans to reduce the historical gap between developed and developing nations and the shared use of technology from the north to the south to achieve a certain and acceptable degree of development compare to the stronger states and powers.

As a result of all of this, small states in modern times do not want to be left behind in the concert of nations and their international positioning therefore more than ever they are also small but relevant actors that face day to day the imperative need of to explore traditional diplomatic mechanisms and strategies which in turn can be effectively used bilateral and multilateral, for instance the bandwagon strategy or block support by building key alliances (bringing other powerful states and close allies to support a government initiative of a small state in the international agenda or world political forum such as the United Nations General Assembly and all its subsidiary specialized agencies by being a state member), to consider a few.

Small states frequently need to introduce the adequate and efficient use of information and technology by its ministry of foreign affairs and other, embassies, permanent missions and

consulates, considered as an essential element of adaptation for the 21th century diplomacy. At the same time the effective and smart use of technology becomes a vital tool for small states to overcome obstacles such as limited human resources and short budgets limitations.

If it is not possible for small states to send their special envoys (diplomats or representatives) to world political forums and key debates in the main topics of the international agenda under discussion technology can definitely help to reduce costs and as a channel of communication between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs (Capital) and its diplomatic representation and work coordination by sending the reports and recommendation after permanent missions or embassies attend key multilateral meetings or political debates of important themes and agenda points that benefit a state.

This study fundamental goal is to show how small states from the Latin America, the Caribbean region and other regions have had a limited but important historical influence acting as state members within the United Nations context and its different subsidiary bodies, also through important regional organizations in order to overcome budget limitations or having far less power than the developed and powerful states in the geopolitical chess game with the final end of reaching development. Also the common need to restructure and transform their own poor reality by keeping a good and transparent governance and international cooperation in developing integral programs and combating common national threats such as civil wars, criminality, poverty, unemployment, the need for education, foreign investment, natural disasters and the recurrent need to reduce the exiting gap between developed and underdeveloped nations this by bringing technology from the north to the south and other modalities that catapult development by the different and continue searching for channels of cooperation in the bilateral or multilateral level.

Also important is to highlight the necessary incorporation of information and technology as essential elements of the diplomatic efforts done currently by small states. ITC effective use becomes a major tool for effective international positioning and focalization of state bilateral and multilateral relations that in the long term can derive in great contribution for national government policies at local level and its promotion regional and abroad in the international agenda.

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Acronyms

UN UNITED NATIONS

GRIO GROUP LATIN AMERICAN STATES POLITICAL REGIONAL FORUM

CARICOM CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY AND COMMON MARKET

UNASUR UNION OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATION

CALC COMMUNIY OF THE LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN STATES

SAARC SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION

IMF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

ILO INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANZATION

UNCTAD UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

ITC INFORMATION AND TECHNOLOGY

G-20 THE GROUP OF 20 INDUSTRIAL AND EMERGING – MARKET COUNTRIES

P5 UN PERMANENT MEMBERS

NGOs NON- GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS

OAS ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

AU AFRICAN UNION

G77 THE GROUP OF THE 77

MDGs MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

UNDP UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

FAO ORGANIZATION OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

WFP WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME

MERCOSUR SOUTHERN COMMON MARGKET

IAEA INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

GDP GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

BID INTERAEMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

ECOSOC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

WTO WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

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FOSS FORUM OF SMALL STATES

CSCE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

OSCE ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Introduction

Small states have been facing a historical unbalanced situation even before the creation of the United Nations, known first as the League of Nations (back in 1945) until present with its 192 state members.

The peculiar term called small can be identified by a state size, economic issues, poverty and mainly their degree of underdevelopment, variables that in turn have represented strong barriers for them to achieve a more equivalent diplomatic and political presence in the multilateral scenario and the important world forums, international organizations and world decisions mainly through the diverse international agenda items (such as security economy and social issues shaping the geopolitical reality and long lasting gap of develop and underdeveloped states and their respective sphere of influence).

As a historical result of this situation derives in the constant search of effective diplomatic strategies by small states to get more regional and world attention in the changing the geopolitical events and overcome the remaining colonization process worldwide specially done trough market systems and natural resources exploitation.

For instance the use of successful tools in conducting diplomacy can indeed have a positive outcome for small states such as the bandwagon strategy or the frequently use of block support by building key alliances (understood as bringing other powerful states and allies to support a government initiative of a small state in the international agenda or world political forum such as the United Nations General Assembly and all its subsidiary specialized agencies and field of action by simply being state members that demanded more inclusion for having their voices heard).

The reduction of the enormous gap that continuous to exist between the powerful developed nations and the small vulnerable economies and developing states will depend on the degree that this diplomatic efforts and techniques mainly with the proper future vision and guidance of democratic and transparent governments can achieved in their vital role of representing the peoples will and benefit for continuous development and a better quality life in political, economical, educational, health, development and human rights realm along with the respect to law locally and abroad.

The historical contributions done by small states (mostly focusing on the Latin American region and other small states in Europe and Africa) within the United Nations, with regional organizations and by other states cooperation will be described by using key examples that helps to understand the benefits gain and the degree of participation and influence they can achieve as influencing other major powers or by consolidating a regional group or political instance to speak with a strong voice in the international community and to insert its actor role in a more balanced and democratic playing field.

Small States Diplomacy

Chapter I

It seems clear that the conception of a small state deserves a further explanation to understand its broad and complex definition, which in turn can be considered as a state's image or size perception abroad. The concept of smallness can be measured by several and interrelated or independent variables such as a state size, geographical location, economy, population, territory, vulnerability and capacity of response to natural or man made disasters, internationally positioning in the multilateral scenario, participation in United Nations and its subsidiary bodies, influence in global politics, sphere of action, effective public policy, small government, etc.

All theses factors describe above or even each one can provide a specific field of understanding to concept of a small state, depending on their own country reality, conditions and its potential, strengths and limitations.

Size even if being only a specific characteristic can play an important role in the definition or perception of a small state. Nevertheless it is a relative measure but not a contingent on physical contiguity, for instance taking in consideration the case of Peru it is perceived as a large state compare to Colombia but at the same time a smaller state compare to Brazil. This can also apply in terms of power link to a state self-image.

If taking in consideration other important key factor which is the variable of influence, Chile can be seen as a small nation within South America but it is considered a strong state in the international arena due to its high degree of development in social programs, democratic institutions and its strong economy, adding up to its active participation in security and economical regional issues within regional organizations such as the GRIO Group, UNASUR and CALC and mainly in the United Nations General Assembly.

According to the concept of smallness determinate by size and geographical position, the example of the Central America Region qualifies as one compose of seven small states Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama each one with differences and similarities in their state role political and social strategies to eradicate poverty and hunger or disaster relief and particularly in positioning themselves regionally and in the world scenario.

Looking back historically it can be found that Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua share a controversial bound of integration taking in consideration elements such as many territorial disputes between them in the 18th century until reaching their own independence and separation from Spanish colonization, and then acting sometimes together by unification efforts leaded by El Salvador and Guatemala, on the other hand Costa Rica seems to have acted more

independent historically and supported some type of integration but developed its own small state first by implementing more social and educational programs up to present.

The term small state also relates on the State capacity and bargaining techniques done to build important blocks in the multilateral world political forums and UN meetings to push for local initiatives and international positioning.

The level of development, the democratic stability a good investment climate and good governance helps to contribute to what extent a small state can conduct effective diplomacy and overcome issues as major natural disaster, face security and sovereignty issues and a strong position in the international community. A good example to consider could be Haiti and Costa Rica, where both are small states with different realities, the way they faced evolves differently in several areas such as development, democracy and diplomatic ties clearly shows different ways of conducting diplomacy.

Costa Rica started more than 40 years ago to establish programs of education even in the rural area and put a major emphasis in human rights, development, good governance and democratization processes this in turn translated in high benefits for their population thanks to effective diplomacy with powerful states such as the US, Japan, China and the EU and a higher degree of development and combating poverty and unemployment. Investing in private initiatives and government initiatives to export fruits, flowers and ozone air also contributes in obtaining a stronger economy in the Central American region.

In the case of Haiti, the bad governments since the time of dictatorships such as Aristide erode the road to reach better national programs to overcome a high degree of extreme poverty that has been in escalation in the last 40 years creating uneven conditions of its population and facing government instability and constant overthrown on different government leaders resulting in poor diplomatic ties and poor presence in the international community requesting constantly foreign aid and local institution strengthening.

Finally the way a small state can be consider in absolute (geographical terms, development degree, population, culture, etc) or relative terms (diplomatic relations or blocks of small state countries) this classification varies and adapts depending on the state realities and the way these countries overcome issues such as security development, poverty, good or bad governance and also important the way the structure its foreign policy and conducts diplomacy in an effective or deficient way within the multilateral framework of international organizations, summits and forums to push a national initiative or have their voices heard by sway and convince powerful nations and receive vital cooperation to implement national programs .

Another peculiar and different regional case was Belize as being a small territory, which gained in turn independence from Guatemala first and then developed itself by maintaining a colonial linkage with Great Britain up to the present. One can find proof of this British linkage and influence due to the adoption of the British Common Law system totally different from the roman international law implemented by the rest of Central America small states.

Taking in a regional and international spectrum the similarities and differences among central American small states showed how a block of nations witch common issues such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, territorial disputes and the existing gap between land owners and peasants needed to integrated as a unit to exert some degree of influence in political economical and social issues and as a result start to gain more development step by step. This in the long term can catapult their local projects and public policies from their governments to strengthening their presence acting as a block of nations with one voice in issues of development, commerce, politics, human affairs and migration. Unfortunately the degree of

consolidating an international block or unit remains fragile and so much political economical social work need to be done by their policies locally and the conduct of their respective diplomacy initiatives and techniques abroad to reach international presence and becoming relevant small states actors not only acting alone.

In the case of El Salvador a 12-year period of civil war happened from 1979 until 1992 with the signature of the Peace Accords in Chapultepeq, Mexico.

Both the militia and the guerrilla stop this civil war where the population was heavily affected and found a diplomatic and political channel of negotiation with the government, the church and the dialogue along with the United Nations role and constant efforts as a key mediator by ONUSAL and finally a crucial element for reaching a common solution was the political will of the two parts in conflict transforming the country in a democratic nations and starting to evolve and develop as a strong nations with the a brave population working hard to try to abandon poverty starvation and get help relief from international support and state allies entering again in the international scenery as a consolidated democracy trying to gain stabilization and desperately searching for justice and equal opportunities trying to reduce the historical gap that had been existed between rich and poor and at the same time exploitation locally and the in the form of paradox the exiting gap of developed and underdeveloped nation in the multilateral field.

Recent efforts have been done such as SICA (Inter American System of Central America) in harmonizing economical issues, regional customs and products of exportation and local consumption in a common effort to impact not only the Central American market but trough free trade agreements such as CAFTA (Central America free trade Agreement with The United States) in order to penetrate more the US market and generate at the same time low tariffs for export benefiting the work production in products such as textiles, coffee, sugar, fruits, shoes, etc.

In the political realm and considered as a bioregional strategy effort between central American small states and the European Union the Association Accord comes into play to reduce tariffs of exportation and imports among this two regions and at the same time to work in the political pillars and education systems to evolve as a regional block and achieve one voice.

Or the current work among nations such as El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala coordinating efforts with Mexico for immigration policies created at ministerial and presidential level to protect these countries population that migrate to Mexico, the United States and Canada by promoting their human rights protection at all times and their right to food and shelter avoiding issues such as smuggling drugs involvement violation of their civil rights or sexual exploitation.

Geographical small states such as the Benedelux states (Luxemburg, Belgium and the Netherlands) have had an excellent role in planning a unique cohesion to position themselves within the EU and abroad in the field of cooperation to help other incipient less develop counties and vulnerable economies such as the ones in Latin-American (such as Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, etc) this thanks to its important diplomatic ties with them and the donation for national projects implementation such s infrastructure, roads, schools, studies programs, high technology in energy alternatives, etc.

In the case of Latin American, El Salvador is considered a small state that even with a vulnerable economy has shown signs of a leading role after Costa Rica in the Central American region in intraregional and external commerce and important exports and imports on manufacture and textile goods, thanks to its strong alliance with the United States, Canada, the European Union (mainly Germany, Spain and Luxemburg), Japan, Taiwan, etc.

Other key initiatives deserve further analysis to highlight the fact of leading efforts done by a small state within a regional group to gain protagonist in the multilateral scenario and the international agenda discussed in important forums such as the Organization of American States (OEA) and the United Nations (UN) its subsidiary organs and important regional and world forums.

These are the following ones: The interesting role done by CARICOM (representing the Caribbean and Central American Small States) and its important efforts and mechanisms in relevant issues dealing with special topics such as Anti Slavery and Non Communicable Diseases affecting its geographical region. Example:

http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/ga11034.doc.htm

The important commitment of CARICOM representatives along with the African union and other Partnerships with the observance of the International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade done in 2010 which consisted in showing freedom through cultures included important issues such as the cultural legacy of slavery, the historical struggle of Haiti with slavery and its earthquake.

The produced report showed how consensus was reached by the commitment of the CARICOM representatives, African Union and State partnership in becoming a live a channel for the promotion of slavery awareness and culture and coordinating efforts of targeted educational outreach through the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Education (UNESCO) and its key task of distributing educational material under the slave route program. Its main goal was to disseminate teaching methods and workshops in the geographical areas to a global understanding of the slavery of millions of people and up to date social consequences such as racism and exclusion from civil society.

So culturally CARICOM have helped in the creation of cultural awareness regional and globally about culture and slave repercussion in human and social development for human dignity and civil rights. The efforts done by Cuba aside from its political spectrum and particular government system in its international positioning continuously leading initiatives on vital matters such as the right to food, the right to Development, the right to education and the transfer of technology from North to South.

Example: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/rtd.htm

The promotion and implementation on the right to development comes as a result of the existing inequalities between the developed and powerful countries and at that time the so called third World or underdeveloped states (back in 1986), the global increase of poverty, his Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly. The real problem lies in the fact that even

by having legal political and moral weight it has not been implemented despite all the efforts done by Cuba and the Non Alignment Movement.

The vital contribution of this Declaration lies in the field of the need for the collective human rights in all its dimensions as a key principle that should be established within the framework of international relations and global action to reduce the gap between the rich and poor countries and achieved a more fair standard of living for all world populations.

The role of governments and its degree of responsibility to implement successfully the declaration for the right to development can be found textually in part II of its body in its section of obligations and means to involve in implantation, cited below:

Among the means for implementation, the *Declaration* emphasizes international cooperation (preamble) and the duty of states to take steps, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realization of the right to development (Art. 4, §1). It requires governments to take sustained action"\ for the rapid development of developing countries and effective international cooperation (Art. 4, §2)

A more complicated discussion and controversy deserves an analysis. The current role of the Breton Woods Institution such as the World Bank the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the G-8, NATO and their economic or security models and cooperation mechanisms have permeate the underdeveloped nations instead of providing cooperation to them not for their benefit and development but for their own economical gains.

Therefore the next issue arises, can underdeveloped nations subsist without this Bretton Woods financing programs and to what degree or how these lending mechanisms should be adequate to the vulnerable economies of small states and their government capacities and public policies for development. Furthermore how much foreign aid is needed for developing effective economic systems in small states along with successful social programs.

And as a result of these situations how should local governments of small states regulate transnational companies in order to reach a consensus more beneficial and with equal gains for both sides the donor country and the receptor country and at what cost.

It is very complex to evaluate the role that United Nations and its subsidiary bodies such as the Economic and social Council (ECOSOC), FAO, World Food Program and its derived agreements, resolutions and conventions have done dealing with the issue of development of all people in the last twenty years. Unfortunately these mechanisms have not being joined by good government policies and programs to include a full commitment and not a gradual one in implementing the Declaration on the right to development locally regionally and worldwide to achieve the fulfillment of human collective rights and a better standard of life specially in the vulnerable areas of Africa Latin-American and many other pockets of poverty located worldwide.

It seems evident then that a more integrated coordinated and focus work remains to be done currently considering the high prices of food and the volatile prices of oil consumption due to geopolitical crisis. Currently the case of Libya and other natural disasters like the Tsunami in Japan that in turn tends to become a humanitarian catastrophe along with the already existing one for many years in Sudan and finally the political revolts in North Africa affecting human dignity and development to consider a few.

Other important initiative highlighting a leadership role of small state can be found in the one developed by Colombia on the issue of International Cooperation and Humanitarian assistance described in the following website: http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/policy and research/un/60/A 60 22 7 en.pdf

The main contribution that Colombia as a small state and within the United Nations had within the framework of disaster relief was the one done through the INSARAG Secretariat integrated by Colombia Philippines and Armenia (other small states coordinated) to organize efforts for earthquakes disasters. These efforts were done by exercise of national authorities practicing modalities of handling urban search and rescue teams efforts including regional reside work teams integration. A clear result of these successful efforts and techniques were the introduction of this methodology by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Uzbekistan (in April 2003) and used after by the European Union in Austria (in October 2004). The participation included more than 50 states in coordinated exercises showing clearly an effective methodology put in place for disaster relief given by small nations within the United Nations and to developed nations.

Other key contribution of this initiative was its scope, by disseminating this important mechanism translating it in Arabic and French in order to include North African States and the Middle East States for its adoption and development techniques. During this process regional discussion included several important factors such as disaster management officials, decision makers, government representatives providing them an important platform for disaster relief actions and the adoption of effective cooperation mechanisms and the vital need of strengthening government capacity for emergency preparedness.

Finally a small states influence in the sphere of democracy building and after conflict peace restoration can be found by the active role played by El Salvador and its own experience of peace consolidation after its cruel civil war that left more than 75,000 people dead as a result (in its time period of 12 years from 1979 until 1992, ending with the signatory Peace Accords in Chapultepec Palace in Mexico) and its contributions in this matter to the United Nations Subsidiary Organ the Peace Building Commission (PCB). This leadership in issues of peace consolidation and restore democracy highlights an important diplomatic and political presence in the multilateral field of action of the main international organization within the United Nations. El Salvador active role while having the vice presidency of the Peace Building Commission after Somalia Presidency, had a unique presence in sharing its democratic transformation after its civil war period and the permanent efforts from both sides in the conflict to restore democracy. The incursion and strategic role of El Salvador in active peacekeeping operations in coordination with the Unites Nations peacekeeping operations and humanitarian efforts (according to its seven missions in Irak and its Mission in Lebanon, Western Sahara and Cyprus) can be considered as an important contribution in peace prevention in the multilateral scenario.

In a different issue such as migration Mexico at the regional Latin American level has been successful to some degree in reaching important ground and agreements with the promotion of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrants Workers and Members of their Families In this realm Mexico chaired the negotiations that precede de adoption of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers

and members of their families. Understanding this complex phenomenon that happens worldwide includes the state position on these issues by putting first the primacy of human rights of migrants (which constitute a high group of vulnerable people in many cases with irregular status.

Due to the interlink phenomena of migration and security that affects the Latin-American region and the need to include this point in the national agenda at hemispherical level, the protection needed for migrants is shown in the promoted proposal of Mexico in the General Assembly resolution 60 / 169 named Protection of Migrants.

General Assembly Resolution 60/169

This resolution highlights the fact that all states have to confront these phenomena from all angles and protect the human rights and the fundamental freedoms and civil rights of them.

Other important groups integrated by small states can be put under evaluation as the following ones: FOSS, AOSIS, SIDS, PACIFIC, and SIDS

Developing national strategies on FOSS in Latin America

http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/FOSS Government Policy/Overview

Here successful common strategies supporting local regional and international initiatives from the small states can catapult them into the multilateral scenario through the inclusion and the use of technology and communication where FOSS makes a huge contribution for regional development. The introduction of technologies is one of the special components for small states in the way they conduct their diplomacy, politics and economic and social programs locally and abroad.

In modern times the use of e-mails, faxes, videoconferences and to some degree social networks (in some cases where top sensitive issues are not deal with) represent vital channels of communication within Ministries of Foreign Affairs, national institutions, embassies, consulates and permanent missions and within the nations states to achieve higher efficiency and provide faster responses to their field of action and at the same time the crucial element of cost reductions specially in underdeveloped countries where sending special envoys frequently has a higher cost compare to the economical resources and assigned budgets that developed countries have in conducting their diplomacy and representation abroad.

Telecommunications and can and will play a vital role to export technology to underdeveloped countries and regions and in turn overcome its small size and enhance its negotiating capacity in the bilateral and multilateral context providing also another important tool for international leverage in conducting economic diplomacy an reaching national development through regional integration.

An analysis has to be made by states and regional groups before implementing a FOSS strategy regional this evaluation come first as described in the FOSS website:

http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/FOSS_Government_Policy/Policy_Formulation_Approach#Motivations_ns_and_Needs_Assessment

Once the basic needs and motivations have been established, an assessment of the existing environment has to be conducted to determine the suitability and application of FOSS policies and their specific benefits to the society as a whole.

- Existing ICT infrastructure.
- Existing human ICT capacity, both in the public sector and in the society as a whole.
- Education infrastructure and capabilities within the country.
- Existing and proposed national policies.
- Regional context.

Here the role of FUSS comes into play, locating it geographical presence in a particular region along with government policies to benefit the public private sector and the civil society as a whole in the use of this information channel deriving in the next common benefits:

Strategic Benefits

- Developing local capacity/industry
- Reducing imports/conserving foreign exchange
- Enhancing national security
- Reducing copyright infringements
- Enabling Localization

Economic Benefits

- Increasing competition
- Reducing Total Cost of Ownership
- Enhancing Security
- Achieving vendor independence

Social Benefits

• Increasing access to information

Finally as a conclusion the mayor benefit of using a free open source software such as FOSS represents a viable solution for developing nations geographical and worldwide that are in the building process of information and technology infrastructure but it has to be done with a previous analysis and not in contradiction to government developed ITC policies and programs but as a complementary tool or mechanism of information access to catapult development education and knowledge.

SIDS

In the case of small islands that are geographical remote and have limited access to information an important solution was introduced by the Small Island Developing States Network (SIDSNet) initiative.

This initiative was established in 1997 and assisted the Millennium Development Goals by enhancing information and communication technology. In the particular issue of adversities, the following represent the adversities and the need to use this SIDS channel as it website clearly shows:

http://www.sidsnet.org/5.html

(1) Remoteness, isolation and geographic dispersion (2) poor connectivity and data management, particularly through ICT, (3) limited human and technological capacity, and (4) the need for greater international recognition and assistance in reducing SIDS' economic and environmental vulnerability.

As compared to FOSSS, SIDS has also the goal of providing access to information as part of development for government, private public sector and civil society for development.

PACIFIC SIDS

The Pacific SIDS initiative began as a response to help small developing small islands developing states to implement sustainable development and it was financed by Italy (back in 2005) as a part of a regional approach. The Pacific initiative integrated the following states:

Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu, Tuvalu, Papua New Guinea, Palau, Nauru, Niue, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati; Marshall Islands

The Division unit for technical cooperation and capacity building provides targeted advisory services when requested by individual governments. It also helps in formulating, implementing and multidisciplinary programs and projects that catapult sustainable development along with national governments public policies to accelerate development in the required areas.

Underdeveloped countries and countries with economies in transition can be benefit with experts and cooperation in diverse areas such as energy transport, atmosphere, water and natural resources.

The project on capacity building in creating information management systems to improve decision making for sustainable development in the Caribbean region included the following order actions (considering developing islands states such as St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago) as described in its website below:

http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/dsd_aofw_ind/ind_techcoop.shtml

- 1. Assesment and establishment of a baseline to identify and assess regional and country status and needs in information management systems for sustainable development;
- 2. Resource persons meeting on using Information in Decision-Making for Sustainable Development in Small-Island Developing States (May 2003, St. Lucia) to ascertain the needs of the region in the area of information management for sustainable development;
- 3. Development of a project website which is now available through the DSD website;
- 4. Identification of mechanisms for and establishment of a regional pilot network of national and regional institutions involved in information management in the region;
- 5. development of training materials on information management systems for training of trainers available on the website;
- With Training workshops on Methodologies, tools, and best practices for management information for Decision making- on sustainable development in Caribbean Sids´ (Full report: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/natlinfo/indicators/idsd/pdf/workshop report final.pdf)
- 7. Further in-country training on a wider scale on information management systems.

The diverse sectors of application and targets of SIDS in a required development islands developing states shows how this small states can really obtain success in national development and as a derivation of it gain more presence in the regional and international economic politic and social scenario and gain support and deposit countries from major powers allies within the united nations or obtain funding from regional organizations in geographical areas such as (OAS in Latin-American) AU (in Africa), ASEA (Asian Pacific region) and from financial institution such as International Monetary Fund , World Bank and Development Funding Agencies thanks to a consolidated development.

The next structure organized by the United Nations Division for Sustainable Development shows clearly how any small state can proceed to require assistance and expertise cooperation by SIDS:

Social & Economic Fields of application

- Industry
- Poverty
- <u>SCP:</u>
 - Sustainable Consumption & Production Patterns
- Sustainable Tourism
- Trade

- Demographics
- Health
- Human Settlements

Natural Resources Management

- Agriculture
- <u>Biodiversity</u>

Mountains

- Oceans &
- <u>Atmosphere</u>
- <u>Energy</u>

Transport

- <u>Desertification &</u>Drought
- Forests Land
- SeasSanitation
- SanitationWater/
 - <u>water/</u> <u>Freshwater</u>
- Climate Change
- <u>Disaster</u><u>Reduction &</u><u>Management</u>

Chemicals

Rural

• Toxic Chemicals

<u>Development</u>

- Waste (Hazardous)
- Waste (Radioactive)
- Waste (Solid)

Stakeholders

- Maior Groups
- Partnerships for Sustainable Development
- SIDS: Small Island Developing States

Means of Implementation

- <u>Capacity-</u>
 <u>Building</u>
- Education & Awareness
- Finance
- Indicators
- NSDS:
 National
 Sustainable
 Development
 Strategies
- <u>Information for</u>
 <u>Decision-Making</u>
 <u>& Participation</u>
- <u>Institutional</u>
 <u>Arrangements</u>
- <u>Integrated</u>
 <u>Decision-Making</u>
- <u>International</u><u>Cooperation</u><u>for an Enabling</u><u>Environment</u>
- International Legal Instruments & Mechanisms

- Biotechnology
- Science
- Technology

Regional Dimensions

Africa

SIDS: Small Island Developing States

Source: http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/susdevtopics/sdt_index.shtml

Small States contributions within the United Nations Reform

First it is hard to analyze the specific contributions that small states have done in regards to United Nations Security Council Reform in the light of the great Initiative introduced by Koffi Annan called In Larger Freedom which was relevant for the United Nations Mechanisms reforms and for a more equal and level playing field for all states and its representation.

Some initiatives arise mainly in the Security Council reform in the Latin American context small states such as Colombia and Costa Rica worked together developing the United for Consensus initiative that represents a viable solution for a more equal Security Council organ. Colombia joined first this initiative by being part of the Coffe Club (integrated by Mexico, Argentina, Algeria, Kenya, Italy, Spain, Pakistan and South Korea), even by facing opposition by the G4 (Germany, India, Brazil and Japan) which main goal was to achieve significant changes can take place trough a vote and that seeking consensus or a broad negotiation solution were excuses of inaction.

Nevertheless the United for Consensus group maintain a firm stand on this issues and gained force by including more states to push for their reform initiative (Costa Rica, Qatar, Turkey, Ghana, Canada, Morroco, San Marino, United Arab Emirates, Bangladesh and the representative of the Arab League), they all endorse a common position in favor of the Security Council

expansion according to the model B proposition of the High Level panel: meaning the creation of eight seats renewal every four years and one new two-year non- renewable seat.

After the introduction of the resolution A/59/L.64 was put in the table by the G-4, that called for the expansion of the Security Council adding six permanent seats, the four sponsors (G-4, Japan, India, Germany and Brazil), two African states and four non permanent seats, introduced to the United nations Secretary General (back in 2005).

As a result of this a rival or counter-proposal (A/59/L.68) was introduced by the Consensus Group (including Costa Rica, a small state showing and exerting and important level of influence among bigger and stronger political powers in the multilateral scenery). It suggested a 25 member council expansion with the new variable of 10 additional two-year rotating seats subject to renewal.

At the end all the possible scenarios (such as model A, model B, the United Consensus initiative and the G-4 initiative) have not prospered and the Security Council and the United Nations overall structure and principal subsidiary organs have not been restructures yet. Nevertheless its seems clear that Kofie Annan first initiative and the subsequent ones represents the current need for change and for a more democratic transparent and more representative mechanism that can evolve in a more balance and leveled international organization to confront all the major world issues (political economic, social) under discussion and top decisions (such as world security, wars, peace keeping operations, peace prevention and peace restoration and consolidation).

Another small state example in the field of conducting efficiently economic diplomacy within the United Nations can be found in the Southeast Asian region with Nepal, a small state that evolved from poverty and underdeveloped having a peculiar geographical position between China and India. Nepal conducted efficiently its foreign policy with a lot of measurement and cordiality between these two bigger states in order to maintain peace in this Asian region.

Taking in consideration and effective bargaining issue in Nepal's diplomacy, even with its limited resources it relies on the role of its foreign service strategically placed through its staff expertise operating in the Permanente Mission in New York and Vienna, Austria (both being top bargaining locations for any country even if being small within the United Nations context) and regionally through its main embassy in New Delhi, Myanmar and Cairo to maintain an important presence in the Asian geographical region. Its foreign service helps in providing the guidelines to conduct its state diplomacy in the most successful possible and effective way to achieve development and push for its national public diplomacy in the bilateral and multilateral setting.

The key question here comes into mind and deserves a short analysis plus a consequent answer, how has Nepal overcome to some degree its limited resources in economic diplomacy?

Nepal's Economic diplomacy has evolved and become an important tool for development by promoting trade diversification, in the hydropower area, tourism infrastructure and safeguarding the rights and privileges that landlocked countries must have in the multilateral forums, this can be achieved by reaching vital economic partner in the bilateral contexts, such as Japan, China, India, among others.

In the issues of good governance and market reform, both are illustrated by the strong cooperation that Nepal has as being member of the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) at the regional level and the constant search of a preferential and differentiated treatment for market access for its products in the WTO and the ILO, UNCTAD and ITC.

Concluding in Nepal's particular case one can infer that a combination of effective diplomacy along with democratic inclusion of its civil society interests un public policy and good governance practices result in some of the fundamental tools for Small States to carry out effectively their foreign policy and develop national initiatives to be portrayed and actively shown in the international agenda in global politics and multilateral forums.

In a different light taking into analysis the United Nation reform as a new mechanism to reduce the gap between the developed and developing countries and recalling this great initiative put forward by Kofi Annan back in his work book called in larger freedom (back in 2005), it is clear the need of small states to support it and gain a more equitable international presence.

Within this initiative, Kofi Annan placed an important agenda setting the course for the next 10 years including reducing poverty, the threat of war, combat terrorism; achieve sustainable development, security and granting human rights for all.

It seems clear that this need of reforming the United Nations infrastructure in order to meet these challenges is reflected in the will of not only the small states but of many powerful nations that in turn have a status of Non Permanente Members in the United Nations Security Council (such as Brazil, Canada or Turkey) or simply by being members of the G-20 with the aim of having more influence in global issues debates and resolutions aside from the exclusivity in this role by the P5 members (China, Russia, The United States, France, Great Britain)+Germany.

As an example it is important to recall some of the main pillars laid by Kofi Annan to meet the challenges previously stated since 2005 and how the small states (in this case Latin American states) that are currently struggling to overcome these challenges and their main reasons for this.

Two models on how to reform the Security Council were introduced by Kofi Annan within the framework of the so-called High Level Panel on Threats Challenges and Change. The panel main goal was to increase the transparency United Nations image by providing a more equitable and balance representations of UN members within the Security Council organ.

The first model would change the structure of the Security Council organ by increasing the number of permanent seats from five to eleven without granting the power of veto for the new members and a procedure of two-year non-renewable seats to thirteen.

The geographical new reconfiguration of the six new permanent seats would have two seats to African States, two seats to Asian States, on seat to European States and one seat the Americas.

The thirteen non- permanent seats new distribution would be four seats to African States, three seats to Asian States, two seats to European States and four seats to the American States.

This first model evaluated from an objective analysis and applied to small states perception seems clearly as a new reconfiguration of the top United Nations governing body (the Security Council) providing a more extensive participation by including six new UN members states that can be heard and considerate by the already historical P5 members, the problem lies in the veto issue that would be limited again to the 5 permanent members and not granted for all the eleven. As a result more voice to influence the P5 members when reaching adopt decision such as economic sanctions, embargo, or a military intervention through a coalition or NATO (disposed members) and not a fully global decision.

So in other words a amore leveled playing field by inserting six new members from the Americas Europe, Asian and Africa top members to exert bandwagon alliances or within groups alliances but limits again not only by having representatives a as part of the thirteen but as the main 6 in the hierarchical order depending always on the level of cooperation and ultimate decision thanks to the restricted veto of the P5 permanent super powers (China, Russia, France, The United States, Great Britain) plus Germany (even without veto power but with considerable degree of influence and power)

Then the second model of Security Council reform proposed a new category of eight four-year renewable seats and a new increase of two-year-non-renewable seats by one. In this case Africa, Asia and the Asian Pacific, Europe and the Americas will each get two four-year renewable seats.

Starting with the non-renewable seats they will be increased by one and will be distributed as follows:

- A. Four to African States
- B. Three to Asia and the Pacific States
- C. One to the European States
- D. Three to the Americas

Then the High Level Panel suggested that the Security Panel should adapt the mechanism of indicatives voting that consisted in calling for members of the council to publicly state their positions on a proposed action.

Again this second model of Security Council reform reflects amore equitable geographical representation with a new transparent mechanism of public stating states position on a proposed action, the question stands here benefit for whom?

The veto power remains intact for the P5 members and the cards are disclosed from a bottom mechanism of the non Permanente members and as a result more seats does not necessary shows a more transparent decision process when the veto power is reserve and not given proportionally. The final decisions are reserved to the P5 permanent super powers (China, Russia, France, The United States, and Great Britain) plus Germany (even without veto power but with considerable degree of influence and power).

And finally the United for consensus amendment which was developed (back in 2005) and advise expansion of the Security Council non-permanent membership to twenty countries had the important support from strong states such as Italy, Argentina, Canada, Colombia, China and Pakistan

Its proposed geographical structure expansion was the following one:

- A. Six elected from African States
- B. Five elected from Asian States
- C. Four elected from Latin American and Caribbean States
- D. Three elected from Western Europe and Other States
- E. Two elected from Eastern Europe States

Then the new suggested mechanism was that a simple majority would decide all issues and the use of veto should be restrains. Also in order to obtain a more transparent role from the Security Council it will hold more open meetings, consulting non- permanent members on issues under discussion and embracing the rules of procedure agreed on by all of its members.

Source: http://archive2.globalsolutions.org/issues/security_council_reform#s5

The last mechanism seen objectively and from a Small State perspective represented a more equitable and leveled playing field and more democratic and consensual response by the transparent mechanism of open meetings and restraining the use of veto power. The question here is how after reaching a decision and have collective consensus on a specific issue at the lower level (meaning the non permanent members) this decision will have more weight compare to an upper decision reached from the P5 members that can execute veto power?

The first two mechanisms being proposed before showed as a similarity a more inclusive mechanism of fair state representation among small states middle power and major powers but the veto power weight and top decision even if conditioned remains in the hands of the few top5 +1 (Russia, China, Great Britain, the United States, France) and the influence of Germany (even without veto power).

Chapter II

Main Pillars for Small States to develop

In today's world Small States need to adapt its diplomacy with the inclusion of other actors such as non-sate actors (NGOs), private sector, inclusion of experts, their civil society, media, in order to have a broader representation and effective international positioning in global decisions. Trough effective strategies small states can gain support in their initiatives in the international agenda by building alliances with powerful states or by bargaining in a specific issues that could foresee support from the vast majority of states in the United Nations, its subsidiary bodies or Regional Organizations such as the Organization of American State (OAS), CARICOM, The GRIO Group, (representing Latin America), UNASUR, the African Union (AU), the G77 +China (with Argentina assuming its presidency) and inter parliamentary groups such as the New and Restore Democracies, the Non Alignment Movement, The Community of Democracies, to mention a few.

Taking in consideration the premise that each developing country with extreme poverty started in 2006 to adopt and implement a national development strategy bold enough to meet the MDG targets for 2015, each strategy needed to take into account seven broad "clusters" of public investments and policies: gender equality, the environment, rural development, urban development, health systems, education, and science, technology and innovation.

Even though Central America and South America have had a considerable progress in some of the Millennium Development Goals the common denominator with the exception of Brazil, Chile and Costa Rica (small states that could achieve in 2015 the fulfillment of each of the MDGS), the rest of the countries have achieved only two or three from the seven Millennium Development Goals needed.

Furthermore a drawback in the accomplishment of the MDGs with most progress can happen depending on external factors such as economic world crisis, natural disasters, vulnerable economies, bad government decisions, and mainly for small states in having not enough funding or the need of more economical cooperation from the Unite Nations and key agencies such as UNDP, FAO or PMA, and at last from the strong compromise assumed by developed countries to reduce the development gap from developed to underdeveloped nations.

It becomes vital that small states build strong diplomatic ties and build alliances within the multilateral spectrum and bandwagon strategies with other powerful states that can support their initiatives in the international agenda that is discussed in the United Nations and include their own particular items to push for support and inclusion.

Small States and the World Trade Organizations

In the case of Honduras and within its economic policy (designed between 2003 and 2009) with the aim of achieving sustainable growth the country engaged in several initiatives locally and within the Central American context. These activities are extracted from the world trade organization reference document WT/TPR/G/234

At local level as part of the government public policies and since the Trade Policy review (in 2003), Honduras amended its institutional and legal framework in order to reinforce the trade liberalization process and international market insertion, enacting a large number of new laws and regulations.

At regional level taking in consideration the important body of Central American Council of Economic Integration (COMIECO) several amendments were done such as: the Central American Uniform Customs Code (CAUCA) acting as a unified code mechanism on the regulations on customs and valuation of merchandise covering unfair trade practices, safeguard measures such as the origin of goods, food and Beverages, among others. In the multilateral level many agreements were negotiated and implemented with Colombia, panama, Chinese Taipei, Panama and Chile.

Finally Honduras also participates in the status of complainant as third party in some of the disputes that the World Trade Organization (WTO) Dispute Settlement Body deals with.

In the case of El Salvador its need to diversify on local regional and international economy focus on two main aspects: attracting investment and tourism. By the CAFTA Initiative (Central America Free Trade Agreement with the United States) El Salvador had a unique opportunity to strength its economic relations between Central America region and the United States in

exports and imports and to achieve a broader development locally and portrait the country in the international multilateral framework as an important actor.

Through the channel of Regionalism, El Salvador works together with the G20, Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to combat the current financial crisis and bring assistance and development to the less developed nations and regions. The Grio Group and CARICOM (Central American and Caribbean States) are significant regional bodies very that can portrait El Salvador initiatives to achieve a higher degree of development and cooperation in the bilateral and multilateral setting through an effective diplomacy promotion. In conjunction with national stakeholders such as MYPIME and Proesa and through its diplomatic cooperation EL Salvador within the framework of its foreign affairs search continuously to develop channels of cooperation in flavor of the national projects and economic sectors expansion by developing more job opportunities and exports.

El Salvador in America Central tries constantly to boost the integration process of Central America region of peace, freedom, democracy and development in the interests and common benefit of its people. This small state will continue to join efforts to consolidate the real mandate of the General Assembly with more coherence especially in the United Nations Reform initiatives to develop major participation of the developing countries and a higher degree of attention in the multilateral forums and regional and international organizations that deal with development issues such as poverty reduction, security strategies, the accomplishment of the millennium development goals (Mdgs), technology transfer human rights environmental tasks and the gap reduction between the developed and underdeveloped nations.

For El Salvador, its international economic agenda is based on the free trade agreements and the transformation strategy and modernization of Central America, done at regional level in coordination with the Consultation Group of Madrid.

Currently, Free trade agreements in negotiation are the CA 4 – Canada, Triangle of the North – Colombia and the one with Taiwan. FTA's already signed by El Salvador with other countries are the ones with Mexico, Dominican Republic, Panama, Chili, and the United States. One good example of the economic diplomacy of El Salvador is the FTA with Taiwan, signed and ratified by the Legislative Assembly in 2007. The big success of this instrument can be seen in the agricultural sector.

It is also important to mention the cooperation agreement with Argentina in 2007, which covers: diplomacy, tourism security, commerce, and technology transfer and an accord of inter parliamentary exchange The Integration and Development Mesoamerican Project (formerly known as Puebla to Panama's Plan)¹, has proved been a useful development tool for El Salvador.

Mesoamerican Project objective is consolidating sustainable economic growth, environment, and natural resources protection, by promoting the human and ecological richness of the Mesoamerican region, bearing in mind a sustainable development framework that respects ethnic and cultural diversity.

The Latin American small states abroad needs constantly to build local networks of friends, politicians, parliamentarians, businessmen, academics and artists. This goal also includes dialogue with all relevant stakeholders, including representatives of the civil society. Another important role is related to economic and investment promotion. Reporting in small countries has also change the traditional way, in the light of the TIC development; in order to implement a national interest centered one assessed by the diplomats themselves. Also the Consular job continues to play a vital role in protecting national citizens abroad. In the last two decades, contrary to what was initially expected, development has not been equal for all nations around the world, and small countries have had to strengthen their foreign policy to face the challenges that the new world order has brought.

Other variables affecting small states worth of considering

The need of searching for financing mechanisms for development: Global development assistance must be more than doubled over the next few years, this does not require new pledges from donor countries, but meeting pledges already made. Each developed country that has not already done so should establish a timetable to achieve the 0.7% target of gross national income for official development assistance no later than 2015, starting with significant increases no later than 2006, and reaching 0.5% by 2009. The increase should be front-loaded through an International Finance Facility, and other innovative sources of financing should be considered for the longer term.

In the case of Brazil and Chile which can be considered as geographical middle powers or emerging powers in the region, they can be emulated by the rest of Latin American small states. In the case of Brazil it has strengthened its strategic partnership with Argentina, and reinforced the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), with unique financial mechanisms among developing countries and with a key program called "zero hunger" by its president Lula Da Silva in order to reduce poverty in the most vulnerable areas and bring food to the public schools to avoid bad nutrition in kids and reduce child mortality due to starvation

Furthermore Brazil has strength its role in conflict prevention acting as a strong player and a key mediator not only in Latin-American between Colombia and Venezuela tense diplomatic relation due to sovereignty and security issues but also in the Security Council along with Turkey to offer Iran an interesting deal for its nuclear program and to show its transparency in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the world.

Another successful regional example not of a small state but small state historical in the multilateral scenario is the one of Chile by implemented successful economic reforms in the last 20 year and reaching a considerable degree of development from that point of inflexion and an international positioning and a continuity importance in active participation as a key actor in the United Nations and regional Latin-American organisms such as the GRIO Group and CALC representing and remains an important state actor in regional decisions to implement infrastructure security measures and development program in its territory.

Trade: The Doha round of trade negotiations should fulfill its development promise and be completed no later than 2006. As a first step, Member States should provide duty-free and quota-free market access for all exports from the Least Developed Countries.

Debt relief: Debt sustainability should be redefined as the level of debt that allows a country to achieve the MDGs and to reach 2015 without an increase in debt ratios.

In the geographical case of Small States in the Central American context is important to have an inclusive foreign diplomacy system and contacts before a diplomatic envoy is sent to another host country. Having a good knowledge of this host country and its trading partners has to be considered before practicing economic diplomacy or lobbying for a specific national project or program that wants to be considered by a specific country in a multilateral organism such as the UN, the IMF or the World Bank or in subsidiary bodies such as the Economic and Social Forum (ECOSOC), Organization of Food and Agriculture (FAO) or General Agreement on Free Trade and Tariffs (The GATT, or the Doha Round), same has to be done before establishing a connection and a channel of cooperation with international Agencies of cooperation or with Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that help in the funding or some areas or cities in a less developed nation.

The question of economic limitations in maintaining diplomatic services promoting not only political relations bilateral or multilateral is a current issue that the small countries face compare to the powerful nations who have more missions and embassies abroad, but part of the solution is to achieve effective economic diplomacy with less but well prepares diplomats specializing in many interdisciplinary fields to reduce also costs by technology uses such as videoconferences and e-mails as efficient channels of permanent communication.

Last but not least the infrastructure of a ministry of foreign affairs and the designated functions and roles that the different departments (politics, economics, social and environmental issues) determines and impact how the sphere of action is covered for economic diplomacy not only at the local country level with national institutions but in coordination with the diplomatic envoys and their role in sounding and bargaining and supporting state initiatives and local projects abroad, all this by respecting its foreign policy objectives and agenda setting of the main subjects being pursue by the government and the representation of the will of their citizens abroad.

Chapter III

Small States within the United Nations

The picture has been very clear small states even if being historically United Nations members with the right of representation and important presence and influence in world political economical and social issues of the international agenda constantly discuss by all the UN six organs (the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat) and its subsidiary bodies have not had an equal voice compare to the superpowers and P5 permanent members plus other strong states. This led the way by the Kofi Annan initiative called in Larger Freedom (back in 2005, when he was the Secretary General in the UN) pushing for a new United Nations reform in all its structure to reach the goal of a more equitative level playing field for all the 192 state members. Unfortunately this initiative has been advancing tool slowly and the need of a whole restructuration of this top regional organization not only a reform has come in to mind up to present.

Taking in consideration the 65th UN General Assembly (September 2010) an outstanding example of small state leadership within an important international organization and mainly a regional body representing the interest of developing nations and expressing their voice in the UN General Assembly comes to consideration.

This is the case of Argentina and its leading role in assuming the G-77 presidency and expressing through its president Cristina Fernandez in the recently past 65 United Nations General Assembly the need for the United Nations as the main international organization to become more representative of the interests of all its members within the multilateral context and to act as a major forum where the developing countries can also have access to decision making process on global affairs. She also stressed the need for a Security Council reform in its task of reflecting today's world and not continuing to reflect a world of post –war, when its role was to balance a scenario that disappeared with the cold war.

The opportunity for small states development and presence in the multilateral context and particularly in the United Nations global debate comes with Argentina assuming the G77 presidency considering the fact that the G-77 plus China brings together the largest share of world GDP and the largest population.

The downside of this is that this Group historically even if being and interlocutor for developing country in the global issues and debates has had no proportional representation in international bodies and the decision-making system, therefore the current challenge is to strength this regional mechanism.

This update of the G77 and other regional organizations should be done with the support of the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies and other global institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and Development Agencies and Global Partners that work with small states. As a result regional organizations can achieve in the long run a more equitable and effective structure that can accommodate their initiatives and demands between the developed and developing countries and reduce the technological gap between powerful states and developing and poor states.

Other Latin-American countries such as Uruguay and Paraguay have similarities with Argentina views and demands in expressing in the 65 United Nations General Assembly the common need to establish a more democratic and open system in the fields of international finance and economy and therefore a new financial architecture that must be based on clear rules capable of allowing all countries to benefit from the potential that international trade offers as an engine for development.

In the same context another example can be seen by small states such as El Salvador and Guatemala expressing their views within the 65th UN General Assembly to attract attention and demand cooperation from other powerful states to develop initiatives to combat hunger, poverty, organized crime, human trafficking and money laundering.

El Salvador expressed in its statement the need for more cooperation from developed nations to developing ones in order to eradicate hunger and achieve a regional initiative to combat violence delinguency and drug traffic and achieve security and development.

Guatemala expressed the following statement to draw attention multilateralism in General and the United Nations in particular has to face global challenges such as the economic crisis, climate change, and combating organized crime networks engaged in the trafficking of people arms and drugs and in money laundering.

It seems relevant to add two more fundamental pillars laid by Kofi Annan in his book called in larger freedom, delicate issues such as Security Council and Economic and Social Council roles deserves also an analysis in today's world and particularly proper representation for small states interests and initiatives.

Cuba deserves another focus considering its particular historical reality where the economic embargo imposed by the United States up to present has definitively represent the major economic and development limitation for this small state to reach a higher position in the world agenda an presence in the United Nations, its subsidiary bodies and other regional organizations such as the Grio Group (representing Latin America) and the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). Even though the historical Cuba economic embargo it has not limited totally a national development in social issues such as education, health and poverty relief and this can be seen considering the next example: The 7th special session of the Human Rights Council celebrated in Geneva 2008, was called by Cuba expressing the need to discuss the negative impact on the realization of the right to food of the worsening of the world food crisis, caused inter alia by the soaring food prices.

This Cuban initiative had the support of 41 out of the 47 members of the Human Rights Council then it was co-sponsored by a total of 91 UN state members. It also reflects a clear example of a small state initiative push within a United Nations mechanism in the multilateral scenario (along with other powerful and developed nations), representing a first special session of a United Nations Subsidiary Body addressing a thematic issue as opposed to a country situation. This means that the them under discussion have a great impact worldwide not only in the particular case of Cuba but this small state bring the topic for open discussion and created an inter-dialogue to address this issues among the other members and the way it should be focus developing new ideas and solutions.

Also the number of states taking the floor for this open discussing was impressive and the final gained showed by small states work in pushing for a global initiative was the conscious efforts done by some other States to define the current role of the Human Rights Council (the Council) by highlighting the fundamental right to food demanding and urging a coordinated international world response, mapping an effective human rights approach in the response of the United Nations (UN) to the food global crisis affecting the world since 2008.

Security Council: The Security Council should be broadly representative of the realities of power in today's world. The Secretary-General supports the principles for reform set out in the report of the High-level Panel, and urges Member States to consider the two options, Models A and B, presented in that report, or any other viable proposals in terms of size and balance that have emerged on the basis of either Model. Member States should agree to take a decision on this important issue before the Summit in September 2005.

It is interesting to take in account that not only small states but also an emerging middle power such as Brazil main declaration within the context of the 65 United Nations General Assembly through its foreign minister, Mr. Celso Amorin, highlighted the need for a more equitable and democratic Security Council where the Non Permanente Members have an equal saying and stronger representation in the global decision process and not only left it to the five permanent members (United States, China, Russia, Great Britain, France) plus Germany. For instance Brazil has a common view with the rest of small states in Latin America, which currently push for a redesign of the Security Council with a more open policy for non-permanent members to be included in the top world decisions. As a result this new effective policy can in turn generate a more efficient and democratic balance international organization along with a more representative infrastructure. A stronger demand in the same context can be found in Venezuela Statement in the 65th United Nations General Assembly pushing forward for a change of model within the Security Council Organ and suggesting its expansion from 5 Permanent members to 15 members expressing the following statement the rebuilding of the United Nations involves strengthening the General Assembly in the field of international peace and security, he added, noting that for almost 20 years discussions have been going on about Council reform and strengthening the Assembly, but almost nothing has been achieved.

Venezuela proposes to suspend the right of veto enjoyed by only five members of the United Nations (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and US). This remnant of the Second World War is incompatible with the principle of sovereign equality of States. Venezuela also proposed an increase of the membership of the Security Council in its permanent and non-permanent categories. Why are developing countries deprived of the right to partake in this forum?

Security Council It is currently amazing how the perception of United Nations Reform its finally starting to appear at least on paper and with a clear example of structure reconfiguration aiming for a more fair and balance world decision instance. This is shown by the entry not only of Germany as a non permanent member of the security council if we consider that Germany along with Japan have a historical powerful weight along with the most powerful states and veto decision (The United States, Great Britain, France and China) no element of surprise here. The real surprise is that finally a geographical representation appears by South Africa (Africa region) and Colombia (by the Latin-American region) finally have achieved a non permanent status and therefore can execute some degree of influence in the international agenda and the other key powerful nations just mentioned for world crucial decisions and as result level out a more democratic final decisions.

On the negative side even with the inclusion of Sudafrica, Colombia as a non-permanent member plus the already powerful India the degree of influence can vary with their own specific interests and key alliances with the P5 members plus Germany and Japan trading their sovereignty for the common good of the majority but this game of power relations remains to be seen in practice with the new reconfiguration of involving more actors and in turn more similarities or differences in world paradigms.

Economic and Social Council: Along with other key institutions that help to reduce the gap between developed and developing states worldwide such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Inter American Development Bank (BID) and Aid Organizations providing funds to small and vulnerable states, the Economic and Social Council should update its role with its state members and their peculiar changing realities and needs in the common areas of poverty, underdevelopment and national projects that rely on international funding. A case to case continuously analysis can determine and map the state members of ECOSOC and their main goals such as eradicating poverty, investing in national projects and reach development.

As a result of this new and improve mechanism ECOSOC can effectively assess progress in the United Nations strength its role in assistance and development agenda and serve at the same time as a high-level development cooperation forum, and provide direction for the efforts of the various intergovernmental bodies in the economic and social area throughout the UN system and outside.

Small states advantages and limitations in the diplomatic and political multilateral field within the United Nations framework

Some of the main elements that can be use in favor of small states are the openness, flexibility and easily internal consultation when formulating public policy and the portrait it in the multilateral arena.

Small States tend to operate in accordance to the rule of law and legitimacy in the multilateral setting, multilateral diplomacy can represent a great advantage for these states to show their initiatives in the main regional or global issues, or to obtain cooperation in the Agenda Items that can be discussed in multilateral forums or in the feedback provided from this multilateral scenario to their bilateral relations. Small states can act as bridge building by working together for common and share causes or by building coalitions to address same challenges. Even though small states have a lesser degree of power and development compare to middle powers (Mexico, Brazil, India), they do have the power of engaging in coalitions like is the case of the

G77 (with the leadership of a great power, China) an the G20, bargaining power might be reduced due to concessions in negotiation which occur not in the same level playing field (a clear example is the case of Small Developing Economies such as El Salvador or Costa Rica in the Central American region dealing with the United States or Europe with exports and imports of goods and services at the World Bank negotiation table, or opting for funding at the International Monetary Fund, IMF).

Most Developed Nations will have a clear advantage in its economic and political power and geopolitical impact than less development Countries. These last ones have to fight permanently in obtaining a privileged seat at the United Nations (like the one obtained by Costa Rica a non-permanent member in the United Nations in the Security Council

Advantages for Small States One good example on how diplomacy can be use effectively by small power nations is shown historically by the peculiar case of the Four Asian tigers (Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan), who were a role model to follow for the developing countries back in the early 90s, reaching and impressive degree of development and probably reach the status of middle power with not to many natural resources but with the main one:

The people producing goods, electronics, high technology and services and exporting them to the Asian and European and United Sates Markets, unfortunately this did not last to much when the when the bath collapse as a currency and the Asian market faced an economical downturn due too much outflows of capital and less inflows to the Asian continent, as a result Asian Financial Crisis started in 1197 hitting parallel economies in the market such as the Mexican and Brazilian market in Latin America.

Grouping in important common clusters can benefit small states to have a stronger voice and representation in the United Nations, these taking in consideration that the current configuration of the UN structure is composed of 100 small states from its 192 total members. To mention a few: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Timor Lester with some other states they constitute the Forum of Small States (FOSS), coordinated by Singapore.

Also the issue of building coalitions with lager and powerful nations or with middle powers are another important mechanism such is the case with the Caribbean with Canada and in the Pacific region New Zealand with Australia.

Bioregional the European Union exemplifies clearly a strong alliance (compose of 27 European States, big and small states) and its commercial building blocks or alliances with small states in Latin-American (Reaching and Association Agreement) and most currently with South Korea with tariff reductions for import /export products, aiming further to get a powerful state such as Japan to be involved in bilateral talks and embark in the same beneficial economic and investment trend. Another effective strategy is that Small States operate trough collective action. The Island Growth Initiative between Island and Small island Developing States on fishery resources, ocean governance, clean energy and gender issues are a clear example of a small state executing efficiently collective action to pursue certain common objectives.

The fund would support the needs of small island developing States, including issues of poverty reduction, sustainable management of natural resources, fighting climate change and promoting gender equality and women's empowerment to ensure this effective small state initiative and good cooperation, an advisory group consisting of representatives of both Icelandic and small island States was established to review project applications and propose project grants.

In recent times countries such as Switzerland and the Nordic countries showed how well-informed diplomacy can be considered as a fundamental tool in obtaining desired results, in vital economic or security interests reflected in a major decision of the United Nations

International Court of Justice in the Anglo- Norwegian Fisheries Case. The ruling of the International Court of Justice was in favor of Norway by 10 votes to 2 declaring that the method employed for the delimitation of the fisheries zone by the Royal Decree of July 12, 1935 was not contrary to international law finishing a 40 years dispute between this two countries delimiting a state territorial water.

It is clear the Norway (small sate) case fighting for territorial rights in accordance to international law against a powerful state as Great Britain, constituted a great win for the first one. The same success applies for small states when facing economic, investment and trade issues and problems, debates involving their size and capacity for their national growth and economic subsistence.

Due to its direct interdependence with the international financial markets and their openness and vulnerability and direct consequences and their debate between protectionism or free trade policies, it becomes essential to highlight some cases where small states adapt their own policies within a strong world economic organization such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) to compete with stronger and powerful states.

In this line the issue of specializing in certain fields can contribute to succeed in an unbalance scenario. A significant cluster can be found by Iceland specializing in medical research, Finland specializing in telecommunication and Singapore doing the same in information technology, reflecting the three of them crucial transition from commodity producing roles to service selling roles.

This of course requires State vision, cost/benefit analysis and specialization along with investment in certain areas and human capacities that in the end provide important economical returns and translate in development for small states. One key disadvantage for small states in the multilateral context is the categorization of states according to the dimension of power. There is a great correlation that exists when the most powerful or great power as a result have a stronger weight in international relations and specially in the decision process Ex the P5 or five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council plus Germany and sometimes other nations.

For small states it is important to act on the basis of the principle that all Council Members, permanent or elected, no matter size (large or small states) are equal in their rights and duties and in their responsibilities as Council members and they also have the same weight in speaking up in the decision process mechanism of this higher instance.

This can have added value generating more visibility and influence from small states when powerful ones relies on a majority decision or the need of collective action in the decision process or before reaching a resolution for the common good of all state actors involved in a certain topic.

Even with the controversial veto issue a democratic veto exist aside from the five unilateral vetoes of each of the 5 Permanente members, therefore no resolution and no paragraph of a resolution can be adopted unless it has a total of nine affirmative votes (including here the non permanent members). Here lies the core issue of small states demanding enhancing the Security Council for non permanent members and as a result a more equal and representative United Nations instance by creating a more geographical balance with a more proportional representation when reaching a resolution, sanction or recommendation.

An excellent example can be found below in the role and actions of neutral or non-aligned states representing small states interests in international organizations and particularly in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was created in the 1970 in an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union as founding members. Its main structure works with rules of procedure reflecting the ideal of sovereign equality, by rotating chairmanships of committees and subcommittees and agreeing thanks to Romania and Finland on establishing the decision making rule of consensus even after a proposal of the United States of a two tier system similar that the one that operates in the United Nations that did not prevail. The reason for this was that the CSCE light institutional structure could be strangled by the imposition of a United Nations-like decision-making apparatus.

So the main focus here lies in two important historical examples of withholding consensus on major CSCE proposals, both of which happened when a small state felt unwilling or unable to support the growing consensus surrounded in a particular issue. The first example or challenge faced by a small European state such as Liechtenstein happened when the CSCE was undergoing on a big change after the fall of the Berlin Wall (back in 1991) and the end of the Cold War and wanted to strength and consolidate the democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe by locating its new institutions in Warsaw, Poland and Prague, Czech Republic.

As a result the proposal of Warsaw, Poland hosting the office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights achieved general consensus of the CSCE members with no reservations. On the contrary the proposal of placing the CSCE Secretariat in Prague, Czech Republic faced objections by Liechtenstein due to historical reasons even if mentioning that its decision would not threatened the withholding of consensus. For the Unites States this was exactly was Liechtenstein was attempting with its reservations. In this case after a harsh debate, the Liechtenstein Delegation was mollified, consensus was achieved and the Secretariat of the CSCE was headquartered in Prague, Czech Republic.

The second relevant example of a small sate-using consensus as a weapon happened when Malta refused to support the Helsinki Final Act. Malta's main reasons had to do with security, sovereignty and geopolitical based on three historical reasons described below:

The first was the issue of Malta's extremely small population, second was that Malta had a small technological base and could not be considered as influential in the European region and the third one and probably the most important one was the geopolitical one linked with Malta's security. Because of its geographical position it was vital to remain neutral for historical reasons and outside of military alliances considering the strong relations that it has with the North African Sates, to whom Malta lies very close, would feel less threatened by joining a conference clearly European in focus and delimitation. When the negotiations for the Helsinki Act were almost completed and a Mediterranean Chapter push by Malta was not included, Malta made complex diplomatic maneuvers to press for its inclusion and finally threatened to withhold consensus. Finally the Mediterranean chapter was included and remains now part of the OSCE.

So the main lesson here is that the Maltese experience during the process of the Helsinki Final Act consultation showed that the principle of sovereign equality can be pushed to its logical extreme by a particular state (in this as a small state) and this affords protection from retaliation by other states.

As a result in reality the principle of sovereign equality if properly use helps to mitigate the power differentials between powerful and small states in international organizations and can serve as a major tool for a small sates bargaining power and the pursue of its own interests and protection.

Switzerland is another small country within the Europe that has a peculiar strategic position of neutrality historically in regional European matters that have helped to strength its diplomatic block ties with powerful nations such as Germany and France, it constitutes another illustration on how a small country that relies mainly on its agriculture have evolved in technology and organization as being the host country of the most important international organizations of the United Nations and therefore a think tank of direct and important influence in Europe geographical decisions.

Chapter IV

Small States in regional organizations

Belonging to interregional and regional organizations mostly all the times do not affect the national identity of small states (unless wars or lack of effective role of this organizations as regulating conflict among two nations or in the region). If the right action and the conduct role of the regional and interregional organization (such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the African Union, The Economic Council of Europe, etc) work effective with its states members it's more beneficial in the several areas such as avoiding violence in the small states.

Bringing cooperation to security programs and mainly helping in the development areas of education, poverty relief and infrastructure along with national plans of implementation.

In the Latin American context a clear example on how a small state can push for an initiative within a regional organization in the issue of migration policy comes to mind. Sometimes nationality and sovereignty play a major role by belonging to an important regulatory Organization such as the OAS in the Latin-American region as the Case of El Salvador-Honduras war and the case of Cuba being separated and isolated with the OAS.

On the other hand belonging to the OAS for El Salvador, Honduras and several other Latin-American countries (Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica) help to portrait these countries nationality as searching all of them the democratization regionally conflict prevention or escalation in the region.

In the case of Honduras with the overthrow of president Zelaya and the installment of Michellleti, countries such as Argentina, Nicaragua and El Salvador has shown full support to the Organization of American States (OAS) in its protagonist role in the Honduras case to reach a diplomatic solution and respect the democratic process and peaceful resolution in this country and for the benefit of the central America region. This example clearly states that sovereignty and nationality are encapsulated by these countries and by integrating an important regulatory and interregional organization such as the OAS to avoid further conflict escalation.

This is the case of El Salvador which in turn has historically being a country affected by migration flows of origin, transit and destination. In this context a series of high-level meetings were held in El Salvador (back in august of 2008).

'Coordinated work of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Central American Commission of Migration Directors (OCAM) have a regional interest of strengthening migration management in the Central American region' (http://www.iom.int/jahia/ ... n?entryId=28138)

In the case of El Salvador 'the Director of Immigration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented a project named Support to Regional Integration through Strengthening Migration Management Central America, which was financed in by the Union .The aim of the project and its evolution relies on improving the infrastructure for data collection at border areas, as well as the exchange of information between countries in order to strengthen the technical capacity of officials in the region involved in migration management, through training aimed at improving cooperation and coordination among countries of origin, transit and destination. By improving regional migration management will, undoubtedly strength as a result the integration process in Central America, which has been strengthened by the enactment of free movement of people between the members of the C4 countries, (El Guatemala) '.(http://www.iom.int/jahia/ Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and n?entryId=28138)

This also represents a replication of the fundamental benefit of the European Union process when it opened its own borders and at the same time ensured security between the countries of the European region. It also sets a precedent for having new intraregional migration discussions for the Central America and the Latin-American region migration flows.

Conclusions

If a small state takes the right action and the conduct role of the regional and interregional organization working effectively with its states members it's more beneficial by opening channels to bring investment and cooperation and to explore and implement security programs to combat violence, drug trafficking and crime, and at the same time design national strategies that help in the development areas of education poverty relief and infrastructure.

Small state work with United Nations Subsidiary Organs

An interesting case can be found in El Salvador role within the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) when this country assumed the GRULAC Presidency (representing Latin American the first semester of 2011). By having the Presidency of this important subsidiary organ of the United Nations it manage the following tasks:

First it will call for table and plenary meetings to the GRULAC country members. Second under the mandate of the GRULAC PLENARY, the presidency represents the regional group in meetings or regional consultations, meetings with the General Director of the UNESCO, Presidents from other electoral and regional groups, and with the General Sub directors from the UNESCO Programs. It will present in each meeting a report of the activities and functions done. Make consultations and presents to the plenary the work group conformation in function of the competent areas of the UNESCO and others if required. Finally it will be in charge in coordinating the work preparations at regional level in the Executive Council and coordinates the preparation of the General Conference of the UNESCO.

At the multilateral level, El Salvador has been participating in the United Nation as a member since its creation (back in 1946) and is an active member in the different UN main organs (such as the Security Council, The General Assembly, The Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice) and the UN Subsidiary bodies and Commissions, (such as FAO, UNICEF, WHO, WTO, IMF, OPCW, AIEA, etc.) has been exploring ways of having a stronger presence within this international organizations which in turn could help to overcome its small size and enhance its bargaining capacity and achieve more development.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) along with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) have helped with their programs the under developing and most vulnerable countries. Therefore the participation within this subsidiary organs is vital when small states deal with delicate and sensitive issues such as the current economical crises and when adopting worldwide resolutions and recommendations in coordination with other Unite Nations specialized agencies such as the World Food Program (WFP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) to eradicate poverty and develop a more balance international system for smaller nations and donation nations to achieve the Millennium Development Goals in poor areas such as Africa, Asia and Latin-America

International Security represents an important are for small states to involve and gain national regional and international presence therefore the use of effective diplomacy and coordinated foreign policy can make the difference and have a positive outcome in achieving a certain goal.

For instance the crucial role that New Zealand had in international security is shown by the leading role played in peacekeeping operations. This small state executed an extraordinary unilateral action and gained important international recognition and status in its leadership of PKOs missions and support from other powerful state like Great Britain after making a great impact in this United Nations field.

New Zealand contributed to over 15 United Nations peacekeeping missions since 1945. These have included mine clearance training in Pakistan, Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, Angola and Laos, medical services in former Yugoslavia and Somalia, naval support in Cambodia and the Arabian Gulf, and air force support in Rwanda and Somalia. New Zealand's largest UN peacekeeping force contribution was 250 troops and nine observers in 1992-3 serving in the former Yugoslavia.

New Zealand has also contributed to non-UN peacekeeping operations, including assistance in the Sinai and Rhodesia. New Zealand also joined with Australia, Tonga, Fiji, and Vanuatu to form the South Pacific Peacekeeping Force and made a significant contribution to brokering a peace accord for Bougainville in Papua New Guinea. In November 1998, New Zealand had a total of 657 New Zealand Defense Force personnel serving overseas, with 150 serving in UN peacekeeping related activities in the 1997/98 financial year. These personnel served in countries such as Angola, Cambodia, Iraq, former Yugoslavia, Mozambique, Laos, and at various UN headquarters.

The case of Nepal is not different it has also done a great contribution on peacekeeping operations as a simple example in 2006 of the 17 United Nations Peacekeeping operations over the world Nepal deployed 3,485 peacekeepers and also served as a member of the UN Special Committee of Peacekeeping operations.

The following chart highlights the role played by the Royal Nepal Army in the promotion of international peace: **Royal Nepal Army in various UN Missions in 2006:**

S.N.	Year	Missions	Country	Participation
1	1973-1974	UNEF	MIDDLE EAST	571
2	1977-2002	UNIFIL	LEBANON	28,067
3	1992-1996	UNPROFOR	YUGOSLAVIA	6,342
4	1993-1994	UNOSOM	SOMALIA	622

5	1994-1995	UNHIM	HAITI	820
6	1991-1994	UNGCI	IRAQ	200
7	2000-2002	UNTAET/UNMISET	EAST TIMOR	775
8	2001-2004	UNAMSIL	SIERRA LEONE	4,000
9	2003- Till now	MONUC	CONGO	4,532
10	2003- Till now	UNMIL	LIBERIA	160
11	2004- Till now	ONUB	BURUNDI	1,860
12	2004- Till now	MINUSTAH	HAITI	1,500
13	2005- Till now	UNMIS	SUDAN	200
TOTA	AL CONTINGE	49,649		

Finally another case of small state contribution in the field of international security is found with Ireland. It has had an outstanding traditional role of involvement in United Nations peacekeeping operation and contribution for promoting international peace worldwide more than fifty years. This state has certain conditions from its government for its defense forces to get involve in these operations. The also known criteria as the "triple Lock" conditions are the following ones:

- The operation must be authorized/ mandate by the United Nations;
- It must be approved by the government
- It must be approved by way of a resolution of Dáil Éireann, where the size of a Defense Force contribution is more than twelve percent

Irish Defense forces had participated successfully in several countries all over the world such as: Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Russia, Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Kuwait, Namibia, Western Sahara, Liberia, East Timor and Central America. With the main goal of participating within the United Nations mechanisms in the cause of international peace this country has promote a positive image and its defense forces within the international community but at cost of 85 members of its defense forces given their life for this purpose.

It is essential to include the political will of Ireland as a crucial United Nations member after signing a memorandum of understanding with the UN which commits its defense forces to participate in the United Nations Standby Arrangement (UNSAS) providing 850 defense force personal for UN peacekeeping operations at any given time.

Also worth replicating the following chart of humanitarian assistance missions worldwide provided by its defense personal successfully by providing medical and dental care, infrastructure reparation and assistance to local enterprises as shown in the chart below:

Humanitarian Missions				
Mission	Duration	Total Irish commitment		
1st Irish Rwandan Support Group (IRSG)	August - December 1994	39		
Irish Refugee Agency Macedonia	May - June 1999			
2nd Irish Rwandan Support Group (IRSG)	January - February 2000	21		
3rd Irish Rwandan Support Group (IRSG)	January - February 2001	15		
UNJCC in Sri Lanka (Post Tsunami)	January - March 2005	4		

Then to understand this full Irish commitment and major contribution to the UN it is important to any other UN member to study it within the framework of the UNSAS mechanism and its twelve steps framework of action cited below:

1. BACKGROUND

To deal with threats to international peace, the United Nations has become increasingly involved in peacekeeping operations throughout the world. However, the time available to organize and deploy more and more peacekeeping forces, along with the complexity of peacekeeping missions has made it increasingly difficult to implement Security Council peacekeeping mandates. As a result, the Secretary-General has identified the need for a system of "Standby Arrangements" with the capability of deploying on short notice to facilitate the planning, implementation and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

2. PURPOSE

This document describes the system of United Nations Standby Arrangements '.

3. SYSTEM

The Standby system is based upon commitments by Members States to contribute specified resources within agreed response time for United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The resources will be used **exclusively** for peacekeeping operations mandated by the Security Council.

The system consists of pre-arrangements negotiated between the United Nations and individual Member States. The resources agreed upon remain on "standby" in their home country, where necessary training is conducted to fulfill specified task or functions in accordance with United

Nations guidelines. When necessary, they are requested by the Secretary-General, and, if approved by the Member States, are rapidly deployed.

4. REQUIRED RESOURCES

The resources required are:

- Military units/sub-units/elements (personnel and equipment organized and trained to fulfill a task or mission).
- Specialized personnel, both the civilian and military will be able to perform specific functions.
- Material and equipment.
- Services.

Structures were developed with the view to ensure that all Member States could participate, regardless of their size, capabilities or situation. Hence they were broken down by functions and tasks into building blocks of various sizes and configurations. The guidelines reflect tables of organization and equipment, which best respond to the worst conditions and environment (where an infrastructure is non existent or has been destroyed by conflict); they can be adjusted and tailored to meet all real requirements of a given mandate. They constitute the individual building blocks of each of the operational functions present in the execution of peacekeeping operations. They have been devised to:

- Assist in normalizing the process of mounting future operations;
- Assist planners in defining the actual organizational requirements and costs of missions;
- A guide Member States in structuring their contributions '.

5. DEFINITION OF PEACE-KEEPING

It means the United Nations presence in the field (normally including military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement (or monitor the implementation of) arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces etc.), to the resolution of conflicts (partial or comprehensive settlements) and to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief in situations of conflict.

6. RESPONSE TIME

Response time is defined as the time that elapses between the moment a formal request from the Secretary-General is received by the Permanent Representative of the Member State concerned, and the time when the resources are ready to be picked up for deployment at specified points of embarkation. To ensure that forces will be expeditiously organized and rapidly deployed, the preferred response times given as guidelines to contributing Member States are as follow:

- Seven days for individual personnel;
- Fifteen days for units/sub-units/elements involved in the reception phase;

- Thirty days for other units/sub-units/elements '.

7. EMPLOYMENT PERIOD

Member States designate the period of employment of their personnel, as six months for units/sub-units and elements, one year for individuals '.

'8. TRAINING

The responsibility for the training of personnel in the performance of peacekeeping duties remains with Member States and is at the Member State's expense. To facilitate standardization, training guidelines to specific United Nations tasks and objectives will be published by the Secretariat $\acute{}$.

'9. COMMAND AND CONTROL OF RESOURCES

Member States retain responsibility of Standby resources until they physically leave the home country. During their period of assignment to the United Nations peacekeeping operation, personnel made available by Member States remain in their national service but under operational command of the United Nations.

In the case of contributions of equipment or services, the terms and conditions stated in each pre-arrangement will delineate responsibilities '.

10. FINANCING

The Member States assume all costs as long as resources remain on standby in their country.

The United Nations begins to pay for the deployed elements as soon as they leave their country. Reimbursement is done according to existing United Nations rules and regulations '.

11. LOGISTICS

Logistic support for peacekeeping operations is normally the responsibility of the United Nations. However, Standby Forces being rapidly deployed must be self-sufficient until the United Nations support system is established. The recommended stockage level is 180 days for spare parts and 60 days for all other items. Also recommended is a minimum stockage level of 30 days during the whole execution phase types and quantities to ensure uninterrupted capability $\acute{}$.

12. AGREEMENTS

Standby Arrangements between the United Nations and Member States can be in the form of "Memorandum of Understanding" (MOU), specifying of resources provided, response times, and conditions for employment.

Also attached to the MOU's are technical data or requirements regarding contributions. The MOU's will be updated annually. MOU's are the preferred form of agreement for the United Nations, but other forms of agreements may be accepted (note verbal).

A model MOU, outlining the general guidance and conditions, is made available to all Member States. Included in the United Nations conditions to the MOU is a reference to the conditions outlined in the current "Model agreement between the United Nations and Member States contributing personnel and equipment to the United Nations peacekeeping operations", dated 23 May 1991'. (Full text http://www.un.org/chinese/work/peace/rapid/sys.htm)

In another comparative case the Baltic States (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) achieved European Union membership in 2004, an as a result obtained a more political stability and development by integrating more with the West and strengthened its regional cooperation along with stable relations with Russia and took advantage of its key geographical position to act as bridge between Russia and the West.

For small states is essential to be active in multilateral trade negotiations even if it this could be costly, according to Dr. Richard L. Bernal article called Small developing economies and the multilateral system: A Caribbean perspective, there are five key reasons for small states to remained involved in trading negations:

First is the importance of international trade to small economies. Imports are vital in production and consumption; growth is dependent on imports and import capacity.

Foreign exchange inflows, development assistance and loans are always needed. Small developing economies have a greater need to external markets than large economies due to the small size of their domestic markets and limits resource base that cannot sustain economic growth. A balance between exports and imports is necessary to avoid an economy collapse.

Second their vulnerability to external developments. This happens due to a high degree of openness and a concentration of exports on a very small number of products. One example was Dominica, which depended only on banana exports to Greta Britain until the banana regime of the European Union was changed. Another example can be found with the Central American Countries exporting mainly textiles and manufactured products and coffee. Small developing economies as part of trade negotiations can protect current trade privileges.

Third the distinct and sometimes unique nature of small states interests, these can be recognize and achieve appropriate treatment within the framework of trade negotiations. Small developing states wants to retain existing preferences in key markets by establishing the key principle that small size represents an additional constraint and therefore it should be accorded as a special and different treatment than the developed states.

Fourth the enhancement of negotiation leverage

Finally the protection of small states rights

Chapter V

Small states using the two models of diplomacy

According to Sulev Kannike article Diplomats can be considered in two different groups. First the ones that are more skilled in cooperative diplomacy which is based on horizontal communication where allies and partners are in the same level and are in principle equal and second those who are better at conflict diplomacy, which is vertically structured and hierarchical where the different parties have conflicting interests and they have a clear picture of each other

As a result Small States can use the two models of diplomacy depending on the desire outcome it could be cooperative or conflict diplomacy.

Another important technique for small states to develop is to dissociate from strategic conflicts. A clear picture of this is that large states enter in international conflicts as proponents of conflict diplomacy relying on their power while Small States does this by mediation, and also by the behavior of their partners. Therefore as a result the creation of alliances (building coalitions) can have the permanent advantage of being oriented to their partners and not to their enemies.

When executing cooperative diplomacy small states can face obstacles due to its to its limited human resources in their foreign service staff and their small size ministries of foreign affairs having the permanent need for organization and planning represents a major collective action and effort from national government its ministries and democratic institutions to project an effective diplomacy and a high degree of international positioning abroad.

Chapter VI

Mediation process for Small States

First the concept of international mediation in the diplomatic framework needs to be described before applying this mechanism and its use as a powerful weapon not only reserved for powerful states but also for small states in the multilateral field of action.

Two important definitions are then worth of analysis:

First the European Code of conduct defines the term mediation as the following:

"[a] Any process where two or more parties agree to the appointment of a third party [...] to help the parties to solve a dispute by reaching an agreement without adjudication and regardless of how that process may be called or commonly referred to in each Member State."

Then the following definition given by the center for effective dispute resolution (CEDR) comes into play by highlighting the fact that the mediator's role is to remain neutral and bring assistance for the parties within a dispute.

A flexible process conducted confidentially in which a neutral person actively assists parties in working towards a negotiated agreement of a dispute or difference, with the parties in ultimate control of the decision to settle and the terms of the resolution.

Then the type of mediation is chosen depending on the issue being discussed. According to Sarah Bolger, Brenda Daly and Noelle Higgins important article, denominated International Peace Mediators and Codes of Conduct, An Analysis Track I, Track II diplomacy and the conjunction of both are vital tools for any state in diplomacy and its role of mediator in certain diplomatic situation. Here is the article definition of track 1 and track II diplomacy to derive is further use for small states in the bilateral and multilateral level:

Track I diplomacy refers to official governmental diplomacy and may be carried out bilaterally between two states, or multilaterally when several states work together and even regionally or globally through regional or inter-governmental organizations, such as the EU or the UN.

States may want to mediate conflicts for several reasons, including a perceived threat to their security, a desire to continue or enlarge their sphere of influence, or, more altruistically, a desire to end the suffering of those caught up in the conflict.

Track I diplomacy tends to primarily reflect Bercovitch's directive mediation strategy by following a more power-based approach to the mediation process.

Track II diplomacy is also referred to as citizen diplomacy and is generally carried out more informally than Track I diplomacy. Joseph Montville, a former US diplomat, coined the term Track II in the early 1980. Montville recognized the limitations of Track I diplomacy following US withdrawal from Moscow after Russia invaded Afghanistan. In 1979, and recognized the need for a variety of actors to engage conflicting parties on various levels.

Here is important to 'distinguish traditional diplomatic activities (Track I diplomacy) from unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversarial groups or nations with the goals of developing strategies, influencing public opinions and organizing human and material resources in ways that might help resolve the conflict'.(http://www.beyondintracta... omacy/?nid=1329).

According to Sarah Bolger, Brenda Daly and Noelle Higgins there is a strong perception that Small States can be considered to act in an impartial way as a mediator and have a higher degree of credibility as oppose to powerful states. This last ones acts first with a self interest motivated drive and become involved in the negotiation process if it suits its own agenda and if they influence the shape of the outcome of the negotiation. In order to confirm these differences between a small state and a powerful state mediation role it is important to show the two cases described below:

Two small states contrasting experiences come into perception, one successful the other one to some degree:

First was the case of Algeria which proved to have an effective mediation role in the in the Iranian crisis.

Second the case of Egypt's role in the Middle East process was more complicated even though it helped to provide a channel for negotiations for the two parts involved in the Gaza conflict and some advances in peace talks and cease of fire at least for some time periods.

In the other side of the coin another two contrasting examples of powerful states acting as self interested mediators comes into the analysis:

On the one hand the case of the Russians acting as a mediator have the important task on advising the Serbs that NATO would use force, as a result the Serbs accepted the latest NATO proposal considering the fact that Russia had their best interest in mind.

On the other hand a failed attempt don by the United States in the case of the Falkland Islands (for the British) or the so called Malvinas (for Argentina), a complicated historical and geographical island dispute involving states sovereignty and territorial dispute:

The United Sates assuming the strong mediator role told Argentina that the British would engage in the use of force for this territorial island dispute if Argentina did not withdrawal their troops. Argentina ignored this being aware that the US was biased in favor of Great Britain. As a result the mediation attempt failed and the eminent attack happened.

Mediation and Rules of engagement

International mediation includes codes of conduct within diplomacy for any state (powerful medium or small states). This can be perceived as codes of conduct and represent key elements in the mediation process to push for success. Different types of mediation can be use in this case by small states in order to have a positive result in peace settlement.

According to Sarah Bolger article denominated International Peace Mediators and Codes of Conduct: An Analysis, the description of mediation categories are the following to choose from depending on the situation or conflict being discussed and its degree of complexity.

Facilitative Mediation

Being the original type this one provides a structure that ensures that the parties involved in conflict reach an agreement and an acceptable settlement for both. The key issue here is that this type of mediation is done by consensus and voluntary. Also the mediator plays a minimal role in the mediation process by facilitating the channel of communication for both sides and not in influencing the mediation process or the outcome.

Landing on the geographical region of Latin America and particularly in the case of EL Salvador, the church and the United Nations special envoys played a vital role acting as peace mediators facilitation the communication and dialogue during the armed conflict of 12 year of war (from 19179-1992) between the armed forces and the guerilla until the peace accords were signed in Chapultepec, Mexico in 19992.

Also another illustration of facilitative mediation was the United Nations acting as a mediator to facilitate the communication between Venezuela and Guyana back in 19990.

Another example of this is the Organization of American States (OAS) mediation role acting as a facilitator between Belize and Guatemala sovereignty and territorial dispute (back in 2000 and 2003).

Evaluative Mediation

I this case contrary to facilitative mediation the mediator have indeed a greater level of participation and interaction in order to assure that a settlement by the two parties is achieved and the mediator gets involve in the process and also in the outcome.

The mediator role analyses both positions and highlights to each one their strengths and weakness and then provides suggestions showing how the dispute can be solved, including details of settlement. This approach is also known by academics as the problem solving approach. An example of evaluative mediation can be found in the Organization of American States (OAS) as the main regional mechanism to settle the dispute between Colombia and Venezuela after they broke diplomatic relations due to security and sovereignty disputes and accusations.

The role of the OAS and president Miguel Insulza strong participation in the mediation process helped to certain degree with the support of many other Latin-American OAS members for this two neighboring countries to create the favorable conditions to re establish diplomatic relations in favor of their countries and for the regional security of the Latin American region and its political impact.

Transformative mediation

This type of approach is based on the idea that the mediation process itself has the potential to generate transformative effects, and these ones valuable for the parties and for society. This approach also introduces another to key variables: empowerment and recognition.

Illustrating the parties the several options they have the choices they have to make does empowerment and also the control they have over this choices. Recognition by showing to each part to see things from the other one's perspectives derives in working in an approach

accommodating both. The Egypt initiative can be easily put in place here by starting with this approach showing the Arabs and Israel the need to settle their dispute by give and take during the Gaza conflict, unfortunately the mediation came lately and the desire effect of peace settlement was not reached.

Another case worthwhile considering under this mediation approach is the one of the Middle East international process have had several mediators such as the United Nations, the United States, Egypt and Brazil having also used this diplomatic mediation approach explaining to both sides the need to analyze their effective options and recognized what each has to concede in other to accommodate each ones needs and reach a beneficial agreement for both in restoring international peace in the middle east region.

International mediation

Understanding international mediation can be seen from a magnifying glass to include small states involvement in conflict mediation and reaching a positive outcome in some of the historical diplomatic-political issues.

This is the case of considering the Norwegian case in its model of conflict resolution and fundamental peacekeeping role in the Sudan crisis contributing to find a peaceful solution, reaching an agreement between the belligerent's sides in 2005.

As the Marcus Foster clearly describes the model use in this context it reflects an integrated structure composed of the following six interrelated elements:

- 1- Personal trust: Legitimacy derived from personal contacts
- 2- Secrecy and confidentiality
- 3- Long term commitment
- 4- Government funding at critical points
- 5- Active facilitation
- 6- Neutrality: Acceptance of Norway's role as an unbiased team player, with an ultimate interest in cooperation

This model integrated with three fundamental styles of conflict resolution (facilitation, formulation and manipulation) helped to achieve a peace agreement in 2005.

The integrated Norwegian model described above proved a high degree of efficiency of conflict resolution at least temporarily and it is an excellent illustration worth analyzing and of emulation by other small states (Latin-American, Africa, Asian States in international mediation process to derive in a higher degree of international positioning and worldwide political and diplomatic recognition as a state efficient and trustful mediator in the geopolitical game.

During this mediation process all states in diplomacy have to develop impartiality and neutrality as part of the codes of conduct to follow and achieve a successful channel of communication and set a framework for pre-negotiation and negotiation.

A model to follow can be found in the European Code of Conduct for Mediators, in its article 2.1, highlighting the fact that a mediator's neutrality is necessary to ensure impartiality an in its article 2.2 which reflects the essence of mediation and its ultimate goal in overcoming obstacles and set a spece of dialogue and settlement. In order to obtain a positive result (a solution to the conflict and its degree of complexity) by executing the issue of impartiality, the mediator has to be perceived as acting by impartiality at all times and towards the two sides being at the same time committed to serve all parties in an equal manner of respect within the mediation process.

Mediation lead by a state actor or multilateral organization or a focus group could have a positive outcome in conflict prevention or conflict resolution within any affected region (Latin America, Africa, Europe, etc.) by including a credible mediator in areas such as religious or

ethnic conflict or in territorial or economic disputes or agreements depending on the political will of the parties to resolve their dispute in several meetings or by doing step by step diplomacy with the support of international law and legal binding.

In the peculiar case of Latin American (integrated by many small states) the principle regional organization is the Organization of American States (OAS) that probably work more as a Focus Group leading regional initiatives and showing a higher degree of political will and consensus and mediation to support regional initiatives such as ending the violence or helping the young people with democratic values and education, as is the case in the next OAS regional meeting to be held next June, 2011 in El Salvador, with the title Security in the Americas.

Framework of operation for Small States Diplomacy

In the case of Latin America Foreign (an other regions: Africa, Asia, etc) Policy and Diplomacy some principles most always be present for its "Small states to achieve a higher degree of development such as Good Governance, Principle of Accountability, Transparency and the respect to the right of law along with national government plans and government lines of action in coordination with the private sectors, Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) and other academic institutions:

Good governance refers on how governments and other social organizations interact, how they relate to citizens, and how decisions are taken in a complex world. Governance is a process whereby societies or organizations make their important decisions, determine whom they involve in the process and how they render account.

The governance system or framework is analyzed from the point of view of the agreements, procedures, conventions or policies that define who gets power, how decisions are taken and how accountability is rendered. Also good governance has to include participation, consensus orientation, accountability, transparency, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and following the rule of law. Its main goal is to assure that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.

The five principles of good governance defined by The United Nations Development Program (UNDP Governance and Sustainable Human Development, 1997), the concept of governance is applied in different contexts, global, national, and institutional.

'Principle of Accountability decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This Accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external. **Transparency** – transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them. **Fairness** and **Equity** – all men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing '. http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov ... attributes.html).

'With respect to the Rule of Law – legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights. Public and Foreign Policy and Diplomacy has to be done at local regional and multilateral level with transparency and accountability to its citizens, and also based on the national interest.

Legitimacy and Voice (principle of good governance) Participation – all men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.

Consensus orientation – good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures'. (http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov ... attributes.html).

Finally it is also important to include elements such as persuasion, neutrality, sovereignty and national identity as key factors that help small states to build strategies or forming coalition blocks for small countries and to become successful in the multilateral diplomatic context and have a stronger international position to push their initiatives in the world political forums and gaining support from the powerful nations and also receive technical assistance in the different development areas such as effective economy and political policies in conjunction with a national implementation plan from the local governments and to promote economic sustainability for the long term.

Conclusions

As a conclusion it has being showed that Small States have face an unequal treatment historically this has happened and continues up today to reduce the gap from developed to underdeveloped states and the creation of a more equitable and leveled playing field to conduct its diplomacy and reach development and a better standard of life.

Due to its lack of economical and sometimes natural resources exploitation from others and mainly its weak state capacity to become producers more than pure consumers adding lack of information and technology tools the need of having good government decisions and diplomatic strategies and effective promotion of public policies becomes essential to catapult them locally regional and international to evolve and reach development leaving common issues.

In the case of Latin-American small states historical problems such as poverty, drug trafficking, mitigating migration and the creation of social programs that provides education has to be overcome.

Economic diplomacy in image promotion needs to attract investment and focalizing cooperation in the most needed areas or the fulfillment of the millennium development goals (MDGs).

Inserting small states in the international scenario is not an easy task and providing initiatives become relevant in the issues of discussion under world forums and regional organizations such as the Organization of American States, The GRIO Group, ECOSOC, the Peace Building Commission, the Human Rights Council and other important United Nations Subsidiary Organs within its framework to discuss important themes and putting them in the international agenda to gain more presence and world attention as leader countries of development and peace and democracy promoters.

This unequal and different geographical treatment has happened since colonization mainly in the Latin America and Africa region since the creation of the maximum regulatory international organization worldwide (The United Nations back in 1945) and after the 2nd world war and the cold war geopolitical block configuration (between the United States and Russia) and the geopolitical evolution until the collapse of the Soviet Union and a new world reconfiguration with the United States as the major superpower along with Germany France , Great Britain , Japan and China, Canada up to present where from an unipolar world we reached an oligopoly world with the states described before and others such as India, Brazil, Chile, Pakistan ,The Baltic States emerging as new important powers along with the transnational enterprises regulating the world market .

As a result the constant search for effective diplomatic techniques such as a bioregional agreement between Central America and Europe reflects a great regional initiative to reduce tariffs of exports and imports among the two regions and to strengthen political ties to consolidate a higher degree of development for the Central American States.

The CAFTA Agreement between Central American states and the United Nations are also another important mechanism with the same goal of reducing tariffs and enjoy a preferential treatment for Central American products exportation and to reach the US huge market also opening the door for other markets and investors in Central America to use this channel by opening fabrics such as textiles manufacturing.

A successful regional example of small states efficient diplomacy and consolidating efforts as a block of states with a common purpose and goal is found in Latin America (including Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama) can be found with the current endorsement of the Association Agreement with the European Union which will catapult the existing commerce and investment between the two regions and two markets and as a result create job opportunities and will benefit the process of Central America integration itself. This important agreement that was reached after three years of negotiation among the two parts includes a free trade agreement and better mechanisms to strength the political dialogue and the cooperation between Central America and the European Union (EU).

The migration initiatives described before done by Mexico in accordance to world migration regulations and respect for human civil rights shows a how a small states can exerted influence within its geographical zone and worldwide by other countries dealing with huge immigration and emulating this initiatives to mitigate the problem effectively.

The contribution of El Salvador of sharing its democratic experience and contribution to peace consolidation after a period of twelve years of civil war and democratic consolidation within the Peace Building Commission of the United Nations along with is involvement in successful peacekeeping operations missions in Iraq, Lebanon are not different in success compare to other geographical small nations such as New Zealand Ireland and Nepal considered permanent contributors of international peace promotion through the United Nations model of Peacekeeping operations described before.

The vital contribution of another Latin-American state such as Costa Rica that have had important educational government programs and achieves a considerable development in United Nations Subsidiary Organs mainly in the Human Rights Council and in the Security

Council, is reflected in its building block coalition due to its diplomatic efforts by joining the United for Consensus Group, composed of other important states described before to push for a more transparent UN Security council Organ and for more geographical representation by expanding it to twenty non permanent members.

The constant diplomatic and political efforts done by Cuba in different world forums and organizations to promote the right to food, development and gap reduction from developed to underdeveloped and vulnerable states and the technology transfer from north to south continuous to represent an uphill battle for Latin-American and African nations in reality.

The way Breton Wood s financial institutions work with underdevelopment states needs also to be revised specially in its modalities of bringing assistance at a high rate and high quotas that take a long time to paid back, this also applies to transnational companies that extract a high percent and left a very small percentage to the hostage country.

Finally a small state can be consider in absolute (geographical terms, development degree, population, culture, etc) or relative terms (diplomatic relations or blocks of small state countries) this classification varies and adapts depending on the state realities and the way these countries overcome issues such as security development, poverty, good or bad governance but it does not limited its capacity and its initiative policy formulation and impact to gain presence in the international political and diplomatic level and evolve as strong and developed state by continuously find ways of conducting its diplomacy and foreign policy.

Along with the efficient use of information and technology(such as e-mails, videoconferences, faxes and other wifi equipment and social networks to some degree due to confidential and sensitive issues) to train special envoys, ministries and permanent missions to work in permanent coordination with the state capital and to achieve a higher incursion and exerting important influence receiving more attention from the geopolitical scenario dominated still the oligopoly of major powers (described before) that have the absolute power to determine the rules of the game and the top decisions and procedure to follow with all the international agenda in a not balance and leveled playing field that represent the interest of all worldwide and not a selected few.

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