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MINEFIELDS IN THE CARIBBEAN:
A REGION VECTORED TO BECOMING FAILED STATES

by

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Introduction

The Caribbean islands are riddled with poverty, crime, and corruption and these problems are mines that eventually will explode into a regional incident. First, it is important to understand the history of the Caribbean; categorize and describe the minefields (poverty, crime, and corruption) in the region; and give a perspective on who planted these mines and how the mines are being nurtured. This sets the foundation to tackle how to defuse these mines and show why the US should help. The culmination is a look at life without these minefields in the Caribbean. This paper focused on the larger Caribbean islands that are most progressive in the region such as the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. These islands carry enough clout in the region where smaller islands in the region merely mimic the approach of these larger and more progressive islands. This leads to the assumption that if these larger islands become failed states then the smaller islands will follow suit. Figure 1, below, shows a map of the Caribbean.

Figure 1.



Brief History of the Caribbean

It is believed that about 3000 years ago the Ciboney, Arawak, and Carib Indians migrated from South America to the Caribbean isles. By the time Christopher Columbus arrived in 1492 the Caribs were the dominant people in the region. The Caribbean islands changed hands among European powers from 16th to 19th centuries. It is widely accepted that there was a Triangular Trade in place: The Europeans brought cloth, whiskey, and cheap manufactured goods from Europe to West Africa. The West African rulers provided slaves for these merchandises. The Europeans then brought the slaves to the Caribbean where they were sold to the plantation owners for rum, sugar, and other tropical products. These products were brought back to Europe. Eventually, the human costs of purchasing and transporting these slaves outweighed the economic gains therefore slavery was abolished in Europe and the U.S. between 1838 and 1886. Because of the abolishment of slavery, the plantation owners had a shortage in their labor force on the farms. The plantation owners filled this gap by importing indentured laborers from China and India. So, predominantly, the region started out and remained an agricultural based society all the way through the mid 20th century.

Defining and Categorizing the Mines

It is essential to define and categorize the mines and then show their impact on the region. The mines are defined as the poverty, crime, and corruption that exist throughout the Caribbean. **Poverty** clearly exists within the Caribbean. This can be proved by comparing common wages in the poorest state in the U.S. with those in the largest English-speaking nation in the Caribbean. In 2004, Mississippi's per capita income was ranked the lowest of all the states in The Union.¹ Not surprisingly, median wages in Mississippi far exceed wages in the Caribbean. For example, the median wage for a registered nurse (RN) in Mississippi is \$39,940, whereas in Jamaica the median wage for an RN is \$6,560.² Similarly, in Mississippi the median wage for a person with only a high school (HS) diploma is \$32,000, whereas in Jamaica, the median wage for a person with only a HS diploma is \$5,674.³ It is also worth noting that the poverty threshold in the U.S. exceeds these abysmal Jamaican salaries. For instance, the salary for the Jamaican RN falls well below the Poverty Threshold in Mississippi. The US Census Poverty Threshold for 2004 is shown below in table 1.

Table 1. Poverty Thresholds 2004						
Poverty Thresholds for 2004 by Size of Family and Number of Related Children Under 18 Years						
Size of family unit	Related children under 18 years					
	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five
One person (unrelated individual).						
Under 65 years.....	9,827					
65 years and over.....	9,060					
Two persons						
Householder under 65 years.....	12,649	13,020				
Householder 65 years and over.....	11,418	12,971				
Three persons.....	14,776	15,205	15,219			
Four persons.....	19,484	19,803	19,157	19,223		
Five persons.....	23,497	23,838	23,108	22,543	22,199	
Six persons.....	27,025	27,133	26,573	26,037	25,241	24,768

Seven persons.....	31,096	31,290	30,621	30,154	29,285	28,271
Eight persons.....	34,778	35,086	34,454	33,901	33,115	32,119
Nine persons or more.....	41,836	42,039	41,480	41,010	40,240	39,179
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Last Revised: January 28, 2005						

Agreeing that poverty exists within the Caribbean, then the next logical step is to prove that poverty in the Caribbean qualifies as a mine. Impoverished regions can become breeding grounds for terrorists. The proximity of the Caribbean to the U.S. would make the Caribbean a suitable staging ground for terrorists because it already is a staging ground for illegal drugs entering the U.S. According to Korb, terrorists come from countries that suffer from political, economic corruption, and underdevelopment.⁴ The U.S. in its quest to stamp out terrorism should view the impoverished Caribbean region as a minefield for terrorists and a logistical base for terrorists. Richard Reid, the shoe bomber, had ties to the Caribbean. This threat would require the U.S. to dissuade and persuade the Caribbean from poverty by providing political, economic, and developmental help. Defusing this mine is addressed later in the paper.

Another mine in the Caribbean is **crime**. The Bahamas, Trinidad, and Jamaica all have problems with crime. The crime rates in these influential Caribbean countries exceed the average crime rate in the U.S. Table 2, below, shows that in the 1970s there were five Caribbean countries named in the top 10 Countries for Murder.

Table 2.			
TEN WORST COUNTRIES FOR MURDER (MID-1970s)	PER 100,000	TEN WORST LARGE CITIES FOR MURDER, 2002	PER 100,000
(1) Lesotho	141	(1) Washington, DC	45.8
(2) Bahamas	23	(2) Detroit	42
(3) Guyana	22	(3) Baltimore	38.3
(4) Lebanon	20	(4) Memphis	24.7
(5) Netherlands Antilles	12	(5) Chicago	22.2
(6) Iraq	12	(6) Philadelphia	19
(7) Sri Lanka	12	(7) Columbus	18.1
(8) Cyprus	11	(8) Milwaukee	18

(9) Trinidad & Tobago	10	(9) Los Angeles	17.5
(10) Jamaica	10	(10) Dallas	15.8
as reported by SafeStreetsDC.com for the year 2002:			

Table 3, below, shows a more recent look to prove that Caribbean countries are again among The Top 10 Countries for Homicide. Crime rates per Capita in some Caribbean countries rival the rates in the crime riddled U.S. big cities. Trinidad with 9 murders per 100,000 could be included in the top 10 spot.⁵ Additionally, the Bahamas with 17.2 homicides per 100,000 is also missing from the Top 10 list.⁶ Crime is still high in recent years. As of 24 October 2005, there were over 300 persons murdered for the year in Trinidad. Crime rates this high ushers in a certain level of dehumanizing by the murderers and also desensitizes the populous who could think that high murder rate is normal for their society.

Table 3.			
TOP TEN COUNTRIES FOR HOMICIDE, 2003	PER 100,000	TEN WORST STATES FOR MURDER, 2003	PER 100,000
(1) Columbia	63	(1) Louisiana	13
(2) South Africa	51	(2) Maryland	9.5
(3) Jamaica	32	(3) Mississippi	9.3
(4) Venezuela	32	(4) Nevada	8.8
(5) Russia	19	(5) Arizona	7.9
(6) Mexico	13	(6) Georgia	7.6
(7) Lithuania	10	(7) South Carolina	7.2
(8) Estonia	10	(8) California	6.8
(9) Latvia	10	(9) Tennessee	6.8
(10) Belarus	9	(10) Alabama	6.6
based on FBI Uniform Crime Reports for the year 2003:			

Certainly, after seeing the empirical evidence of crime in the Caribbean there is no doubt that crime is a mine in the region. Once the society gets to the point of hopelessness then the slippery slope to terrorism may start to incubate. Speaking at the Inter-American Dialogue on 8 July, 2005, Dr. Peter Phillips, Jamaican Minister of national security, said the Caribbean's

expanding security challenges, includes the narcotics trade, human and arms trafficking, escalating gang violence, and natural disasters.⁷ This is similar to the situation in Afghanistan, where the narcotics trade provides a source of revenue to the untrained and the impatient. The mass media has “fanned the fire” by communicating prosperity across the world in very glamorous qualities by giving the perception that anyone, including the untrained, can attain wealth through minimum effort. The media also portrays a certain standard of living that allows everyone to think they are entitled to have a well endowed standard of living. Also, the film and music industry add fuel to the fire by making crime seem so glamorous by coloring it with lyrics of vanity and glamorous fashions in the music videos. Given these images, a reasonable person could see how the weak, fickle, or undisciplined poor could be drawn toward the words of these modern-day false prophets. There is hope for the region. Barbados has a very low crime rate; this could be partly due to their elevated literacy rate and the general discipline they display in their community.

Finally, another mine is that of **corruption**. Corruption is rampant in the Caribbean and is a destabilizing force in the region. Transparency International did a statistical study on world corruption. The results were published on the Nationmaster website. They defined corruption as it relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people, academics, and risk analysts.⁸ The ranges for corruption ranged from 0 (highly clean) to 10 (highly corrupt).⁹ This included police, business, and political corruption. The U.S. was ranked 112 of 130 rated countries with a mild corruption index of 2.5. of a possible score of 10. Caribbean countries were at least twice as corrupt with scores of 5.4 to 8.5. A quick comparison of corruption is shown in table 4, below.

Table 4. Country Corruption	
Country	Score (0-10)

Haiti	8.5
<i>Iraq</i>	7.8
Honduras	7.7
Venezuela	7.2
Jamaica	6.2
Trinidad	5.4
U.S.	2.3
Deciphering the Scores: 0 for highly clean; 10 for highly corrupt	
Source: Transparency International	

The corruption spirals the islands into disenfranchisement and poverty which yields pain and suffering to the people. The crime is partly used to enforce the corruption. In 2004, Trinidad's Director of Public Prosecution Geoffrey Henderson said organized crime in his country is being supported by legitimate businesses.¹⁰ According to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, after satisfying the basic need for survival (food, shelter, and clothing), people then want to be free from pain and suffering. The Caribbean people are not free from pain and suffering, or the corruption that induces more pain and suffering upon them. The plight of the Caribbean people also falls in line with Korb's warning that terrorists also come from countries that suffer from economic corruption. Having defined and categorized the mines in the Caribbean, it is time to identify the conditions that helped to plant and nurture the mines.

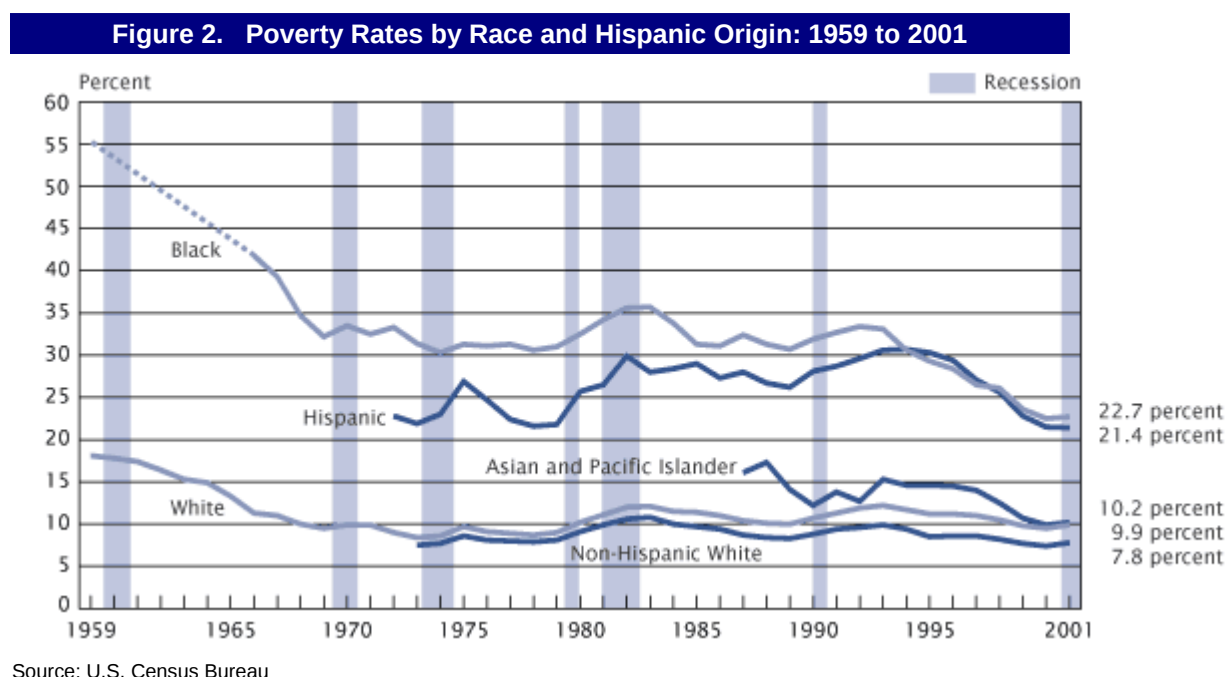
Who Planted These Mines And Are They Being Nurtured?

It is reasonable for one to ask who planted these mines and are they being nurtured? The fingers point at the British, French, Spanish, North Americans, and Caribbean leaders. The British, French, and Spanish planted and nurtured the mines during their **speedy decolonization**. After WW II, the British, French, and Spanish hastily decolonized the Caribbean. Had decolonization been phased with moderation, where the islands were able to learn to fend for themselves before the “umbilical cords” were removed, then they would have survived. This phasing took place in Europe, Japan, and modern day Puerto Rico which still hangs on to its frayed umbilical cord to the USA. The speed of decolonization can be linked to economics.

Economically, the British could no longer afford to keep the colonies. 1972 estimates showed it would have cost \$2.8 billion British pounds (17 times that of 1939 cost) for the British military to defend the British empire as it stood in 1939.¹¹ This Caribbean decolonization trend started in the mid 1900s. West Indian colonies lost their economic importance when slavery was abolished.¹² This was accentuated when the British abandoned all rights to the Panama Canal and started withdrawing British garrisons in 1905. Following this event was the declining sugar markets in the 1930s.¹³ Then, the islands were left in a state of neglect until their mass independence in the early 1960s. This economic collapse groomed the poverty.

Poverty in the Caribbean can be traced back to the periods of decolonization. For the major Caribbean countries, with the exception of Haiti which gained its independence from France in 1804, decolonization occurred in the 1960s. Jamaica and Trinidad were the first countries in the region to gain their independence. They both gained their independence in 1962.¹⁴ Barbados gained its independence in 1966. Looking at figure 2, from the US Census

Bureau, one sees that the poverty rates for Blacks in America in 1962 was at 50%. Poverty rates were higher in the Caribbean for corresponding periods.



Since the Caribbean people were financially worse than the American Blacks, then one could deduce that poverty in the Caribbean exceeded 50% of its population during the periods of Caribbean decolonization in the 1960s. This prompted the Caribbean people to migrate to the U.S. in order to seek a better way of life and escape the impoverished way of life in the Caribbean. Unfortunately, the North American immigration laws were not always friendly to the Caribbean people, as we will see in later paragraphs of this paper.

There is more evidence of how the speed of decolonization contributed to poverty. There is a correlation between the independence dates of some islands in the region to their per capita income. In Table 5, Jamaica had a per capita income of \$3,800 in 2003 and Trinidad's per capita income was \$9,600. Even though they both were decolonized in the same year, Trinidad has oil to improve its countries revenue and infrastructure and Trinidad is less populated than Jamaica. The decolonization in Barbados was 4 years later (1966 vice 1962) and this lessened the shock

on its economy. Barbados to its credit also has one of the highest literacy rates in the world. The Bahamas and Bermuda boast one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. The Bahamas gained its independence later in 1973.¹⁵ Therefore, the Bahamas gained an even more favorable (light) tremor than Barbados from the decolonization shock. Bermuda is still an overseas colony of the U.K. and is ranked #4 in per capita income, in the world.

Table 5.		
World Ranking	Country or State	Per Capita Income (in US \$)
2	U.S.	\$37,800
4	Bermuda	\$36,000
n/a	<i>Mississippi</i>	\$22,861
54	Bahamas	\$16,800
56	Barbados	\$16,200
80	Trinidad	\$9,600
141	Jamaica	\$3,800
185	Haiti	\$1,600
186	Iraq	\$1,600
196	Rwanda	\$1,300
231	East Timor	\$500
Source of Information: <i>CIA - The World Factbook 2004</i>		

As if the decolonization shock was not enough, there were also **unfair trade practices**. The U.S. and U.K. also contributed to these mines when they used unfair trade practices in the Caribbean. As the industrialized countries competed for markets in late 1800s and early 1900s most countries began to set up high tariff barriers around themselves.¹⁶ The high import taxes kept the Caribbean goods out of the industrialized nations. In addition, the industrialized nations thought they could force their surplus manufactured goods upon the colonies.¹⁷ This mercantilist practice was also present in the 1700's when the U.K. dumped surplus goods (such as "tea") on the American colonies primarily to enrich the U.K.¹⁸ Interestingly, while the U.K. was busy fighting WW I, the Japanese took over the Asian trade routes and the US took over the Latin American trade routes. With less export markets available for the U.K, this led to unemployment

and labor problems in Britain after WWI.¹⁹ At the time, commercial companies were mainly interested in profits, when they ruled colonies as the local government. In retaliation, the colonies practiced irrational hatred and they rejected everything related to the “mother country,” or the West.²⁰ This led colonies to spiteful decisions that only hurt the colonies. The U.S. tariffs in the Caribbean were just as harsh.

The U.S. also displayed some imperialist relationship with Caribbean countries. In the 1930s the U.S. used the Caribbean for raw materials and instituted a semi-feudal system in the region by imposing **high tariffs** on imports from the Caribbean.²¹ Pruden also pointed out that problems such as underdevelopment, overpopulation, and low living standards and social injustices don’t disappear when the “foreign masters” disappear and native governments take over.²² This manifested itself when the Caribbean leaders started to nurture the landmines. The effects of the Caribbean leaders will be addressed later.

The U.S., U.K, and Canada policies also nurtured and emboldened these mines through **preferential trade and harsh immigration policies**. The immigration policies demeaned the Caribbean people and lowered their self worth and esteem. It is hard decoupling immigration policies from fiscal policies because one drives the other. It is a natural tendency for poor people to follow the dollar. This is very evident in the Caribbean where U.S. investments in sugar kept the labor concentrated in the Caribbean; however, after the collapse of the sugar market and pullback of foreign investors the Caribbean people embarked on the mass migration waves. One could trace the effects of subsidies and preferential trade in the region then tie them into the immigration policies that impacted the Caribbean.

Marshall claims that during the 1880-1890s Europe entered the sugar market with their beet sugar which received significant government subsidies.²³ This made it hard for the

Caribbean cane sugar to compete; however, after 1900, the U.S. invested heavily in the sugar industry in the Caribbean.²⁴ This investment enabled the Caribbean laborers to stay in the Caribbean and provide the labor force for the sugar industry. Shortly after, the U.S. began giving preferential sugar duties to Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.²⁵ These preferences definitely shored up the economies of these chosen countries at the detriment of other Caribbean countries. This led to migration of Caribbean workers to help construct the Panama Canal. The U.S. purchased the Canal in 1904. In 1914 the Panama Canal was completed which again left the Caribbean workers with an employment gap. The subsequent crash in sugar prices in 1921, the Great Depression, and unfavorable immigration laws towards the Caribbean people did not help the plight of the Caribbean people.

Eventually, some aid was provided to the Caribbean during World War II (WW II). During WW II, the US experienced a labor shortage that was filled by migrant workers; however, the US immigration policies were just based on mere convenience without care for the welfare of the Caribbean people. Between 1942 and 1945 a total of over 400,000 workers were imported—British West Indians (Caribbean people) made up 17% of these importees.²⁶ There are at least three U.S. immigration policies that negatively impacted the Caribbean: The Immigration Act of 1924, the Immigration Act of 1952, and the Nationality Act of 1965. The U.K. also made their contribution through Britain's 1981 Nationality Act that showed that black colonial subjects were not welcome in Britain.²⁷ The Canadian immigration laws were quite explicit in their bias. From 1815 to 1962 the immigration of Blacks to Canada was disallowed because they were unfit by nature to the climate.²⁸ Also, Canada's 1952 Immigration Act was very selective for white collar and skilled workers.²⁹ This Canadian policy would enable a

Caribbean brain drain during that period. Section 61 of the 1952 Canadian Immigration Act read as follows:

The Governor in Council may make regulations for carrying into effect the purposes and provisions on this Act and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, may make regulations respecting (a) ... (g) the prohibiting or limiting of admission of persons by reason of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin, unsuitability having regard to the climatic, economic, social, industrial, educational, labor, or health, or other conditions ...³⁰

The mines are also nurtured by **externally imposed security policies**. This is evidenced by the U.K., in the form of Privy Council rulings; and by the U.S. in its deportation policies. Since their independence and based on Commonwealth lineage, the Privy Council, based in the U.K., is the ultimate appellate court for the Caribbean islands except Guyana. The Privy Council has frequently issued rulings to halt the execution of convicted murderers. According to the Europa Regional Surveys of the World, in 2001, 10 Caribbean countries agreed to establish a regional court as the final court of appeal for those countries. This court would be called the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ). According to the Europa Regional Surveys of the World, in 2001, the CCJ would replace the Privy Council for these countries. The Privy Council has slowed the formation of the CCJ. Even if the CCJ replaced the Privy Council, something has to be done to control the flow of the crime-gushing pipelines that flow deportees into the region.

According to Europa, the Jamaican police asserted that deportees are involved in most of the murders and armed robberies in the island, while Guyanese authorities claimed that violent crimes such as drive-by shootings, kidnappings, and carjackings were rare before the influx of deportees in 1997.³¹ The article also claimed that in most instances the deportees had little or no family ties in the country to which they were deported but they were skilled with sophisticated knowledge of modern crime. To compound this issue, the article went on to say that the USA,

U.K., and Canada frequently issued travel advisories that sway their nationals from visiting the region. These advisories frustrate the Caribbean economy which is highly dependent upon revenue from tourism. The Caribbean mines are not only fertilized by foreigners, there are local “cultivators” who grow the mines for profit.

Corrupt and inept Caribbean politicians also planted a few mines of their own in four ways. **First**, they contributed to the emigration of Caribbean population. Because the government had not created a stable, low-crime, and business friendly community, the people were lured to emigrate. People ended up leaving the Caribbean to chase the dollar. It is true that the emigrants usually remit funds to the Caribbean and with the young and fertile emigrating it reduced the fertility rate over the last 40 years.³² These gains do not outweigh the malaise in the Caribbean when its most ambitious young people leave.³³

North America and Europe have benefited from the Caribbean immigrants but at the Caribbean’s expense. Caribbean emigrants are productive human capitals who contribute to economic growth.³⁴ When the skilled left the Caribbean in the 1970s, they left a void of potential leaders, depleted the regional skills, and demoralized those who were left behind to live with the less capable leaders. This resulted in the elderly and the very young staying behind in an inadequate productive base.³⁵ The mass immigration caused a void of skilled professionals in the Caribbean, thereby, removing potential contenders for political leadership positions in the Caribbean. This led to the long tenure of corrupt Caribbean leaders whom remain in power virtually unchallenged because the better contenders already left the islands.

Second, the long tenure of the leaders has led to problems in the region. Today, the media and the masses are more engaged with world events and they demand more from their leaders. The higher demands make it hard for current leaders to keep growing with ideas and

keep pace with world developments. A country needs continual infusion of new energy about every 8-10 years maximum, in order to negate lack of ideas, poor vision, and corruption. Recent critics on U.S. media speak of the difficulty of U.S. Presidents to lead during their second term in office. They cite that U.S. Presidents get burned out after 6 years in office. In Barbados, Prime Minister Owen Arthur has been in power since 1994 and is up for reelection in 2008. In Jamaica, Prime Minister Percival Patterson has been in power since 1992 and is being replaced in 2006 by someone whom has been a Deputy Prime Minister since 1978. In Trinidad, Prime Minister Eric Williams served from 1956 until his death in 1981. These tenures were too long.

Third, the Caribbean leaders' ineptness in fiscal policies also contributed to the demise of the Caribbean region. Caribbean countries borrowed heavily from the developed nations in order to pay for the high price of petroleum. The following factors left the developing world in a financial crisis: spike in interest rates, capital flight, bankers' reluctance to lend, and declining commodity prices,³⁶ The interest rate hikes resulted from the central banks in developed countries' attempting to control the rise in inflation. This occurred in the 1980s. Because the developing countries got loans from the developed countries on a variable rate, as the developed world increased their interest rates it impacted the developing nations' ability to repay their loans.

Capital flight was another concern. This refers to residents in the developing countries who convert local currency into U.S. dollars then deposit the funds abroad. This drained the U.S. currency reserves in the Caribbean. Having less foreign reserves also hurt the Caribbean. Because the Caribbean countries now had less foreign reserve currency, they could not meet their loan payments. This therefore drove their need to borrow more funds from the developed countries to meet their periodic payments. The foreign banks refused to lend the Caribbean

countries more funds since the Caribbean countries were now seen as a greater financial risk.

The Caribbean countries had to find a way to make these payments so they approached the IMF for assistance. The IMF brokered deals (loans) with banks on behalf of the Caribbean countries.

The terms of these loans placed some harsh conditions on the Caribbean countries. It required the Caribbean countries to drastically reduce their spending for infrastructure and imports. This led to a more impoverished state within the region whose commodities cannot demand favorable prices.

Almost half of the world's tax havens exist in the Caribbean. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), made up of the world's richest nations, issued a list in 2000 of 35 tax-favorable jurisdictions (tax havens) and noted that 15 of the 35 tax havens were in the Caribbean.³⁷ The region's loose financial guidelines give the potential for Caribbean funds to aid terrorism. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF), based in Paris has been putting pressure on these tax havens. The FATF has enacted measures to criminalize money-laundering and to confiscate the proceeds of crime. The FATF has also required institutions to report suspicious financial activities to competent national authorities. Reports presented to the U.S. Security Exchange Commission (SEC), in 2002, claim Enron used 692 companies in the Cayman Island to avoid paying taxes in the USA.³⁸ Canute also mentioned that some eastern Caribbean countries were selling passports to non-nationals. This practice attracted undesirable people such as those involved in organized crime and those trying to escape high taxes in their home country. Corrupt banking, drug smuggling, money laundering and organized crime persist in the Caribbean.³⁹ There is a link between corruption and poverty. Sir Bob Geldof, Transparency International, said "it is not possible to beat poverty without tackling corruption."

Fourth, distrust and thirst for power prevented the formation of any meaningful alliances among the Caribbean countries. Unlike Australia, Canada, or America, no Caribbean country was large enough to be self-sufficient. Obviously the islands could have merged their resources to compete on the world scene but they lacked cohesion of purpose. The only deep loyalty of West Indians outside their own islands was to Britain and they were more proud of being British subjects than of being Caribbean nationals.⁴⁰ This reflects a poor sense of self esteem among Caribbean people, but they were not alone in feeling this way. The East Indians also suffered from low self-esteem. They too yearned to be like the British; however, the British did not intermarry with the Indians and chose instead to govern from afar. They educated the Indian middle class and employed them within the civil service to keep the government running smoothly. Paradoxically, the young Indian students learned about democracy and self-rule, in school, and began to yearn for their own self-rule for India. Contrastingly, the U.S. colonies were managed by people with wealth, and they were left alone until the late 1700s to develop their democracy and run their own affairs. The people in the U.S. colonies were successful at running the colonies' affairs. Pruden mentions that English businessmen saw that the colonies were running a profitable trade business and so the British tried to insert themselves in the process as brokers.⁴¹ In nearby South America, things were different. The South Americans never gained much experience in self-governance since their mother country ruled them with an iron hand.⁴² So far, the case is made that the mines exist in the Caribbean, that they are destructive, and that they have and are being nurtured. Next, it is important to explore the corrective measure to defuse these mines.

How Do We Defuse These Mines?

The Caribbean mines can be defused by **stamping out the 3-I's**, and performing regime changes in the Caribbean. The 3-I's are ignorance, indiscipline, and impatience. A person possessing these traits serves only as a vector for transmitting crime, poverty, and corruption throughout society. The 3-I's could be diminished from society through good parenting and education, and improved use of the mass media.

Good parenting and education could help solve the 3-I's. Paradoxically, those suffering from the 3-I's usually have parents who also suffer from the same. How do we break this path? Through mandatory education, the UN could partner with positive people in the Caribbean to promote education and positive mentoring programs in the region. These programs should be directed toward improving adult literacy. The UN could tie the requirement for mandatory education to any aid they provide to the Caribbean. Emphasis should be placed on improving educational thinking and elevating self esteem in the poor and in those at risk. This boost in education could at least reduce the ignorance factor in the 3-Is and help to dilute the poverty in the region. Comparatively speaking, people in the lowest social strata in American society have financial challenges “keeping up with the Joneses.” Clearly, those in the lowest social strata in the Caribbean society would have even more financial challenges achieving this feat. Improving education among those with the 3-Is could lower their insistence on affiliation (keeping up with the Joneses), thereby freeing up more of their budget for use on “freedom from pain and suffering”—healthcare.

The radio and television (TV) commercials should display disclaimers (similar to those disclaimers in the cigarette commercials) to remind the poor and “3-I prone” personnel of

rational choices. Currently, radio and TV advertisements mostly sell items that are outside of the poor person's financial reach. Even though the poor people are concentrating on fulfilling their survival needs, they too have an appetite for affiliation. This affiliation appetite draws them towards overspending on fashion in order to attract their mates. Not having sufficient resources to afford the items needed for basic survival (food, shelter, and clothing), security, and affiliation, they are forced to make difficult choices. A rational person would try to satisfy their basic needs first, but unfortunately a person exhibiting the 3-Is is irrational. After the irrational person is inundated with images of glamour which show glamorous people getting all they want, then the irrational people tend to think this glamorous look will open doors for them. In most instances, irrational people first expend their funds on their wants (such as glamour) instead of needs (survival items). The result of their careless prioritization is that they will not have enough resources to provide for their survival needs. To escape the poverty, they enlist in activities of crime and corruption.

Intervention is the next step towards defusing the mines. Depending on how long it takes the UN to intervene, there are two options: Early intervention (using Civil Action (CA), Psychological Operations (PSYOP), and Civil-Military Operations (CMO)) or late intervention. Early intervention entails an intervention when the state is weak but before it fails. Late intervention means conducting an intervention after the state has failed. The author proposes a model that covers how to conduct both early and late interventions.

If current trends continue, the Caribbean states will fail, and when they do, the corrective measure should entail coercive intervention and nation building. Colonel (retired) John Warden mentioned two variables in warfare: the physical and the psychological. He emphasized employing the military assets against the physical because the effects can be measured and

understood; however, he stayed away from the psychological because it is hard to predict and combat (treat). The author disagrees with this position. The intervention strategy should combat the physical and psychological factors in parallel. Because Warden's theory can be applied to the physical aspect of warfare, the paper will focus on the psychological.

In applying the psychological warfare we need to recall history and extract some lessons learned then apply them to modern warfare. From the standpoint of strategy, guerillas typically wage psychological warfare on the population. Historically, whenever guerillas conduct a revolution in a country, they usually kill the educated individuals. The guerillas do this to remove the influence that could sway the masses against them. This is the guerilla's technique in breaking the will of the people who resist the guerilla's system (acts). Without the support from the middle class and upper class, the masses must now depend on the guerillas to provide for the country's existence. Just how would the intervention force employ this psychological warfare during an intervention in the Caribbean? They could achieve this by simply removing the negative influence upon the masses.

The Caribbean is plagued with corruption in the leadership ranks that allows crime and drugs to fester throughout the islands. An intervention force must attack the psychological system in order to break the will of those forcing crime upon the masses. Initially, the intervention force would need to compile a list of the corrupt individuals (these include corrupt judges, politicians, military, security, and business people) in society whom are driving the crime machine. These individuals could be deemed the corrupt vital factors upon which the intervention force must wage a psychological war.

These vital factors could be categorized using the proposed **Hourglass Warfare Model** (HWM) which is similar in concept to Colonel Warden's Rings. Orville's HWM, figure 3

below, shows how to use force against corruption while simultaneously conducting nation building. The sand (fluid) in the hourglass represents the finite resource allocated toward the war effort. Overall, the HWM depicts resources transferring from coercion to nation building as the conflict progresses. Additionally, the UN and intervention forces retain the prerogative of tilting the hourglass in order to control the rate of transfer of resources from coercion to nation building.

As the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME) instruments of power are applied towards the mid-level politicians, security, and judiciary personnel we expect these mid-level leaders (shown at the top of the Hourglass Model as ring 1) to attrit. This attrition will leave a void in the country's leadership system that must be filled immediately through nation building efforts. The void is depicted at the bottom of the HWM as ring A. This first nation building effort requires the UN team to fill (replace the mid-level leaders) vacancies and train a shadow team of about three locals per position. The UN should allow local island personnel to shadow the UN-imposed leaders since these local leaders could take over as a transition team once the UN departs.

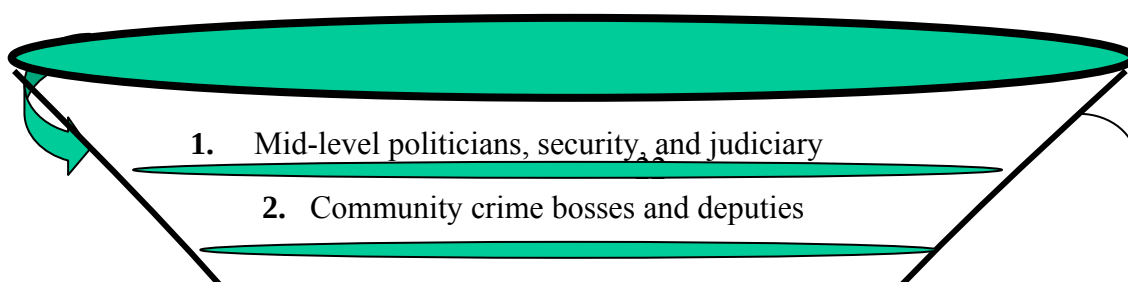
The HWM sequences the vital factors and relates the vital psychological factors to the nation building factors. Traditionally, the mid-level leaders transform leadership strategies into the operational art of embedding corruption throughout the island, and in so doing will become the most influential vital factors providing sanctuaries for crime in the society. Therefore, attacking and eradicating the mid-level leaders will remove the corrupt judges, politicians, and security personnel who were soft on crime. Their soft stance on crime enabled the hoodlums to escalate crime throughout the communities. The next psychological attack should be aimed at the community crime bosses and their deputies.

The community crime bosses and their deputies (occupy the second top-most coercion ring in the HWM, ring 2) transform crime strategies from the national-level crime bosses into the operational art of crime in the field, and in so doing are the most coercive of the vital factors for crime in society. Therefore, attacking and eradicating the community crime bosses and their deputies will remove the crude psychological influence on the hoodlums. This would help to break the hoodlums' will to propagate crime throughout the society. This also interdicts the operational leadership for their logistics.

The national-level crime bosses and cabinet-level leaders are usually well-protected and hard to find. Therefore, once their mid-level leaders (HWM ring 1) and community crime bosses and their deputies (HWM ring 2) are removed then these higher-level leaders would have to expose themselves in order to contact the lower echelon enforcers, such as the hoodlums (HWM ring 5) who are needed to proliferate the crime. This is why the HWM suggests targeting the national-level crime bosses and cabinet-level leaders only after the mid-level leaders are eradicated. Lastly, the hoodlums' will to fight will wane once the brains behind their operation and logistical support is eradicated.

The HWM identifies the Regime Leader (HWM ring 6) as the last vital factor the intervention forces should attack. With the corrupt cabinet, mid-level leaders and huge percentage of hoodlums removed, the Regime Leader will find very little protection and means to carry out crime against the people. Less protection for the leader means the intervention forces may get closer to the leader's hideout. As these coercion factors are implemented, the nation building factors are simultaneously being enforced.

Figure 3. Orville's Hourglass Warfare Model (HWM)



Looking at the liberation campaign during OPERATION Iraqi Freedom (OIF), one learns that as the masses are liberated they yearn for jobs and rapid improvement. The HWM encourages these societal expectations by binding coercion to nation building. For instance, reference figure 3, and trace the level of the “sand” as it sequentially goes below the levels of rings 1 through 6 and correspondingly rises above the levels A through F. In essence, the HWM will trace the connection between rings 1 and A; 2 and B; 3, and C; and so forth.

The connection between rings 1 and A was explained earlier, so it will just be summarized in this area to show the impacts of filling ring A. Using the coercion tool to remove the mid-level corrupt individuals left a mid-level leadership void that will be filled by competent UN personnel in ring A. Local individuals from the middle class sector will be selected to shadow the UN teams. This means the middle-class is getting employed and involved in their future of their country from early in the nation building process. This contributes to the psychological warfare since these middle-class individuals can help to convince the masses of the progress being made. They also provide the leadership to keep the country functioning so basic services such as food, shelter, utilities, transportation, schools, and banks are operating. These local leaders know the pulse of the people and the terrain and could serve as good intelligence sources for the events in ring B where it is essential for screening and hiring personnel and patrolling regions.

The connection between rings 2 and B exists since the community crime bosses and their deputies would strangle any nation building efforts in their communities. They could tax the UN forces with high overhead costs of doing work in the area. They would also view the UN as encroaching on their turf and removing the community’s dependence on crime bosses. If the

community crime bosses are still in control, then the people in the community will be hesitant in volunteering for the nation-building jobs. This is why the sand must exhaust ring 2 before it can fill ring B. The community crime bosses must be out of the way before the nation-building jobs can be successful. Also, with the community crime bosses out of the way it brings the intervention forces closer to eradicating the national-level crime bosses.

A major hurdle is achieved once the national-level crime bosses in ring 3 are negated. As the sand leaves ring 3 it fills ring C. At this juncture, the intervention forces could scale back the military operations in the garrison community since the hoodlums just lost their logistical and inspirational support from the national-level crime bosses. Even the young impressionable children in these garrison communities will see their former heroes fall from grace. With the military pullback in these areas it enables the police force to oversee and provide community help, which reduces the stigma of the community being occupied by foreigners. Ring 4 is the easiest ring for the sand to traverse.

The cabinet-level leaders are usually more rational than the crime-bosses. Their power is diminished without the crime and corruption network in place. As their influence diminishes it allows new local leaders to be more visible in ring D. This is the point where the masses start to see the new country emerging. This is also the point where more local talent will come forward to join the rebuilding efforts of their country, because they now see the old regime as powerless. Once the Cabinet folds, the Regime Leader will leave the island or go in hiding. This leaves the hoodlums, in ring 5, with two choices: conform to societal norms and help rebuild the nation or use their diminished resources to make a final stand in defiance.

Rings 5 and E are the most critical stage of the model for defining the end state and the probability for success. This is because not all the hoodlums will be executed or arrested. Some

will ask to be rehabilitated and given jobs. Because some of them will have a history of crime against society and may suddenly renounce hooliganism, it leaves the new leaders with the decision to forgive them or bring them to justice. As the new leaders make each decision, it will affect the actions of subsequent hoodlums whom seek to shed hoodlumism for reentry into mainstream society. After traversing rings 5 and E it is refreshing to know that rings 6 and F are the easiest to accomplish.

The HWM is sequential in getting to ring 6 and F; however, the Regime Leader could have given up much earlier and left the office vacant. If this were to happen, then the UN would fill this position and set a tentative period for holding elections until the HWM gets to rings 5 and E and the ground truth for the end state is known. The HWM showed the relation between the vital psychological factors and the nation building factors. As the nation building efforts proceed it provides employment for the masses, thereby invigorating the economy. With the crime bosses and corrupt leaders out of the way and hoodlums arrested or retrained, the populous will be able to fully focus on rebuilding the country and enabling a true and successful democracy.

Why the US Should Help to Defuse the Mines?

Rhetorically, when your neighbor's dog leaves a surprise in your driveway and they have already left for their two-week vacation, guess who cleans up the mess? The proximity of the U.S. to the Caribbean, tradition, and the U.S. vision of spreading freedom and democracy around the world compel the U.S. to defuse these mines. This becomes more compelling if one looks at life with the minefields. Will the Caribbean become failed states? Yes, if not helped within the next 10 years. There is precedent for helping, since the U.S. 2002 National Security Strategy (NSS) proposed that the U.S. use foreign aid to help promote freedom around the world.⁴³ Providing financial relief to these desperate people will offset some of the financial hardship in Korb's claim, which stated, terrorists come from countries that suffer from political, economic corruption, and underdevelopment.⁴⁴ The Caribbean countries qualify as such. If terrorist cells take root in the Caribbean region, then the U.S. security would be gravely threatened. This is not a far-fetched scenario, since the Caribbean region is poor enough to germinate some terrorist seeds. In the early 1960s during the Cuban Missile Crisis the U.S. felt its security interest threatened. One could view a staging ground for terrorist in the Caribbean in a similar light. If these mines are not defused then the Caribbean states will fail. Having seen the outcome of life with the Caribbean minefields intact, it is worth looking at life if positive U.S. involvement occurs to remove the minefields.

Life Without the Minefields in the Caribbean

It is worth taking a glimpse at life without the minefields in the Caribbean. A Caribbean that is void of minefields would put some distance between the U.S. and a staging ground for terrorists and crime. It would also show some quick U.S. successes in the U.S. drive to improve the world. The Caribbean serves as a bridging culture for the U.S. understanding of other cultures. The Caribbean has a very diverse population of people from all over the world that over the years had to live together in close proximity to each other. The U.S. could benefit from understanding the group dynamics in the Caribbean setting, thereby putting the US in an excellent position to understanding other cultures.

It is reasonable for one to ask what the Caribbean has to offer if the minefields are removed. The Caribbean has good climate and beaches, excellent scholars and athletes, fertile soil for agriculture, and people with strong work ethic and good moral values. The Caribbean population is predominantly English speaking and there is less transportation cost in getting to the region. Sir Arthur Lewis, St. Lucia-born Nobel Prize winning economist, proposed industrialization by invitation (light manufacturing with cheap energy). The Caribbean could provide the same technological strengths that India offers. The Caribbean region is home to 35 million residents and each year it hosts over 8 million tourists from North America and Europe.⁴⁵ Interestingly, in 1997, over half the hotels in Barbados and Jamaica were in foreign hands.⁴⁶ Many of these hotel owners were Americans; therefore, a stable Caribbean will help American revenue. The hospitable climate and fertility of the Caribbean soil should provide the impetus to grow organically grown specialty foods in the region, as the world moves towards a healthier lifestyle. The Caribbean athletes are quite competitive with the U.S. athletes. The recent medal

count in the World Championship Track and Field showed that were it not for the U.S. athletes, the Caribbean athletes would have dominated the field. Already, U.S. professional sports feature talented Caribbean athletes. If conditions in the Caribbean were better, then the American appetite for entertainment would be better fed with more Caribbean athletes. Without a doubt, if the minefields are removed then the human talent, strategic location, and physical resources in the region would be appropriately exploited and provide home for many, thereby making the world a better place.

Conclusion

This paper showed that poverty, crime, and corruption exist in the Caribbean. It also showed that the U.K., U.S., Canada, and local Caribbean leaders had significant roles in planting and nurturing these mines. Today, the ills to the region are currently being nurtured by the corrupt and inept leaders in the Caribbean. The corruptness and ineptness of these leaders isolates the masses from their dream of decent opportunities. These leaders represent the modern oppressors whom mentally and physically enslave the people in crime. Unfortunately for the U.S., the Caribbean is right in their backyard and it serves U.S. interests if the Caribbean region has good democracy, leadership, and freedom. In the near-term, the U.S. will have to subtly use the Hourglass Warfare Model to intervene in the Caribbean in order to get the region on a path for success because prosperity in the Caribbean region will keep the terrorists away. A successful, democratic Caribbean that promotes democracy and freedom can only help the U.S. pursuits at the UN. There is precedent for helping since the 2002 NSS proposed that the U.S. use foreign aid to help promote freedom around the world. Also, Korb stated that terrorists come from countries that suffer from political, economic corruption, and underdevelopment. Advancing freedom and prosperity in the rest of the world requires use of U.S. informational power to show positive images of people enjoying freedom and prosperity—showing images of a free and prosperous Caribbean would help in this area.

Additionally, the paper presented a glimpse of life in the Caribbean with and without the minefields. Defusing the Caribbean minefields would give the U.S. access to a region with hospitable climate, good beaches, excellent scholars and athletes, fertile soil for agriculture, and people with a strong work ethic and good moral values--a watershed of potential at the U.S.

doorstep. The Caribbean states are failing and are analogous to horses about to leave the barn because the door is open. It is better to first close the door to prevent these states from failing rather than to first catch the furthest horses. The world should not wait for the Caribbean states to fail before intervening.

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