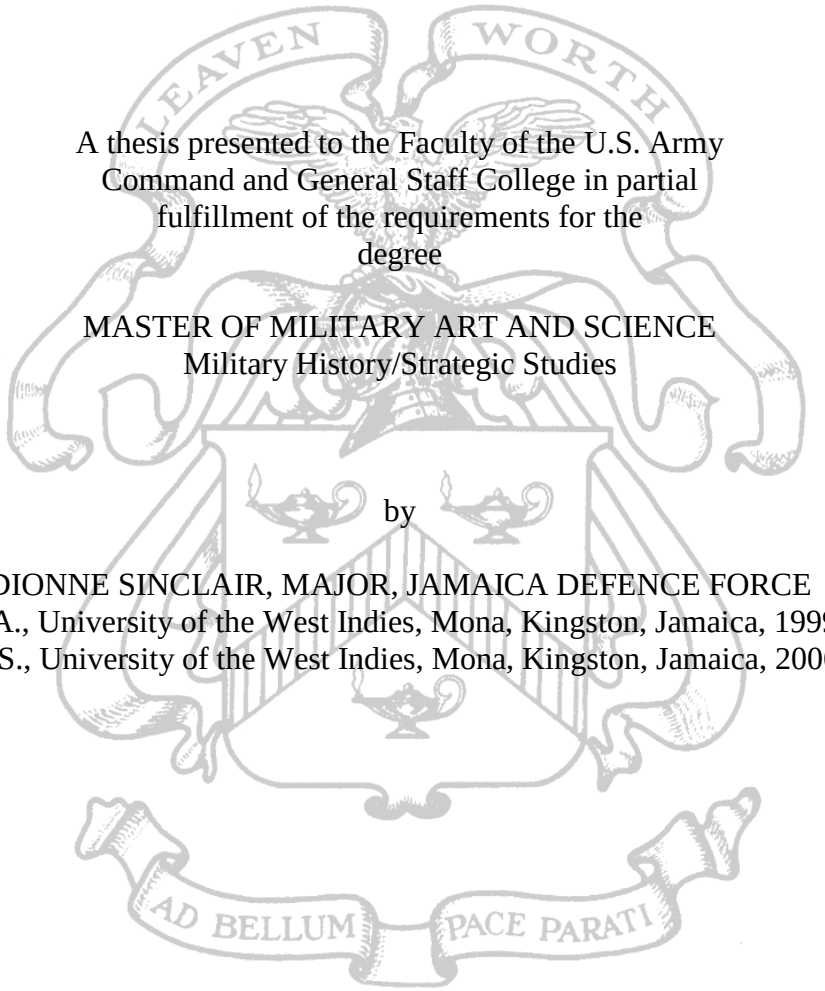
US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN FROM 1898 TO 1998 LESSONS FOR CARIBBEAN LEADERS



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by

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The thesis looks at the interventions of US forces in the Caribbean nations of Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Grenada between 1898 and 1998. It considers these interventions against the background of the relationships that Caribbean nations have historically shared with imperialist powers, looking specifically at US foreign policy towards the region for the period of the study. For each intervention, the causes, conduct and long term consequences are examined. The main question to be answered by the research is how Caribbean nations should now organize themselves to provide the response to national security issues which has traditionally been given by the US. In answering this question, the history of regional organizations is also considered.

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN FROM 1898 TO 1998 LESSONS FOR CARIBBEAN LEADERS, by Major Dionne N. Sinclair, 80 pages.

The thesis looks at the interventions of US forces in the Caribbean nations of Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Grenada between 1898 and 1998. It considers these interventions against the background of the relationships that Caribbean nations have historically shared with imperialist powers, looking specifically at US foreign policy towards the region for the period of the study. For each intervention, the causes, conduct and long term consequences are examined. The main question to be answered by the research is how Caribbean nations should now organize themselves to provide the response to national security issues which has traditionally been given by the US. In answering this question, the history of regional organizations is also considered.

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I dedicate this work to my daughter Abrielle – may the Caribbean become more secure as you grow.

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ACRONYMS

CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CARIFTA	Caribbean Free Trade Association
CBSI	United States Caribbean Basin Security Initiative
CCLEC	Caribbean Customs Law Enforcement Council
CDEMA	Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency
CDERA	Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency
CONSLE	Council for Security and Law Enforcement
GNI	Gross National Income
ICC CWC	International Cricket Council Cricket World Cup
IMPACS	CARICOM Implementation Agency for Crime and Security
JEWEL	New Joint Effort for Welfare Education and Liberation, a Marxist-oriented party in Grenada
JRCC	Joint Regional Communications Centre
OAS	Organization of American States
OECS	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PND	National Guard of the Dominican Republic
PRA	People's Revolutionary Army
RIFC	Regional Intelligence Fusion Centre
RIFC	Regional Intelligence Fusion Centre
RSS	Regional Security System
US CBI	United States Caribbean Basin Initiative

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

Introduction/Overview

By default rather than by stated policies, Caribbean security from 1898 to 1998 has been largely dependent on intervention and assistance from the United States. As the region advances into the 21st Century, it is pertinent to question whether this status quo should remain, or whether the Caribbean, as it matures, should be wholly responsible for the security of the member countries. This question cannot be answered without an understanding of Caribbean history, United States policies towards the Caribbean during the period under study, and interventions which took place in the region as a result of this foreign policy position. Chapters one, two, and three present the facts necessary to understand these subjects. An analysis of the findings is done in chapter four and the optimal solution for Caribbean security in the second decade of the 21st Century and onwards is presented in chapter five.

History of the Caribbean

There are several different definitions of the term Caribbean. In its broadest sense, the term has been used to refer to all the countries of the Americas which are south of Florida, and have a common colonial history. Another definition describes the region as the islands in the Caribbean Sea as well as the mainland countries of South and Central America which are washed by that sea. The word Caribbean is also used synonymously with West Indies to describe the archipelago which runs from the south of Florida to the mouth of the Orinoco River in Venezuela, and comprises the Greater and Lesser Antilles.

For the purposes of this study, only these archipelagic states in the Caribbean Sea, as shown in figure 1, will be considered. These states share geographical similarities as well as a comparable historical and political background.

Figure 1. Map of the Caribbean

Source: Worldatlas, Map of the Caribbean, http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/carib.htm (accessed 19 August 2011).

The Caribbean was the first stop in the European journey to colonize the Americas. As such, the experiences of the region epitomize European imperialism and colonialism.[1] In the words of history professor Richard Millett, "From the initial voyage of Columbus until the Cuban Revolution of 1959, international relations within the Caribbean were characterized by overwhelming dominance and manipulation by nations external to the region."[2]

It is accepted in historical circles that the region was discovered in the late 15th Century by Italian born explorer Christopher Columbus in his voyage to the Americas to find gold, spices and new trade routes between Europe and Asia on behalf of the Spanish

crown. However, this has been debated, with some Caribbean historians contending that the islands had a rich history before Christopher Columbus entered the region, and therefore were not “discovered” in the true sense of the word. While this is perhaps largely a scholarly debate, it gives insight into the issues of cultural identity which have helped to shape the security profile of the region.

Columbus did not find wealth in gold and spices on his first voyage, but he discovered islands which were purported to be part of Asia. To prevent conflict between Spain and Portugal, which was also exploring for new territories, the countries agreed to the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas which divided the Western Hemisphere between them and in so doing allocated the islands of the Caribbean to Spain. Following Columbus’ discovery, Spain made multiple explorations to the region in a quest to expand its empire and find new sources of trade and wealth. Colonists settled the islands, and native populations were enslaved to provide labor for the mining and agriculture economies which evolved.

The exposure of the native Indians to European diseases such as the bubonic plague, coupled with the inhumane treatment they received, heralded the start of their decimation. This loss of a labor force created the impetus for a new commercial venture in the form of the slave trade between the Caribbean and West Africa, which became part of a vibrant exchange of goods known as the Triangular Trans-Atlantic Trade, as shown in figure 2.

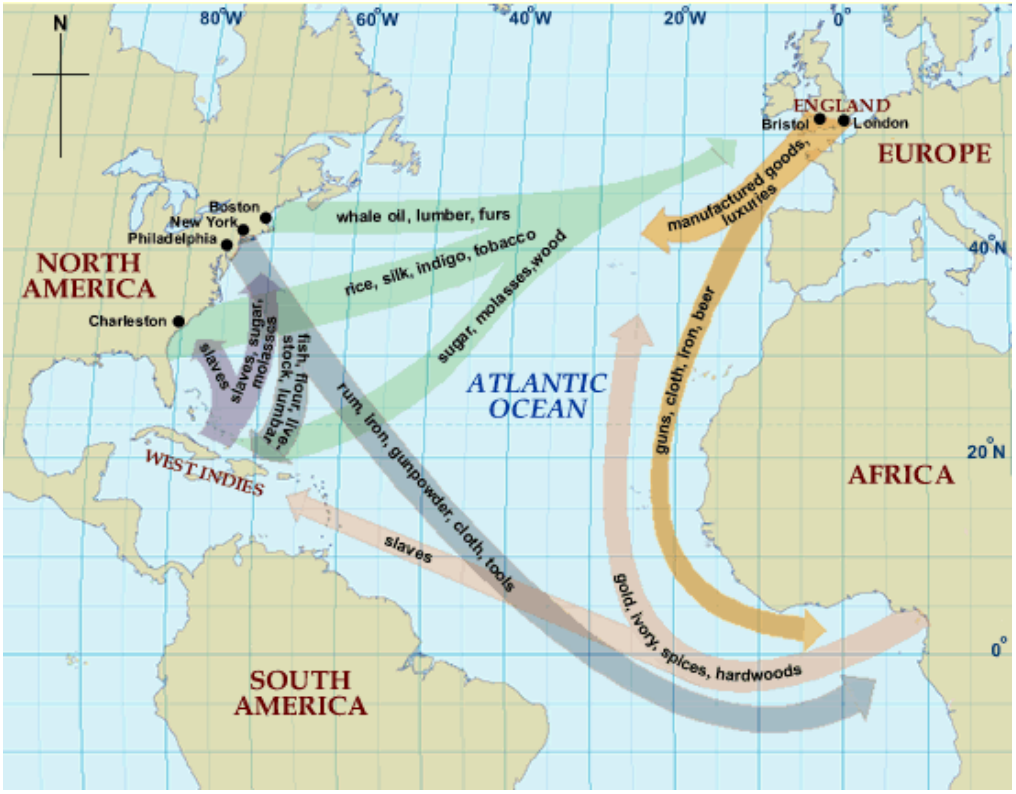

Figure 2. The Triangular Trade
Source: National Archives of the UK, The Triangular Trade, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/africa_caribbean/docs/trade_routes.htm (accessed 28 August 2011).

The resource potential and trading opportunities of the region made it attractive to other European nations, and by the 16th Century both privateers and national vessels from England, Holland, and France were conducting forays into the region. Merchant ships laden with supplies were robbed on numerous occasions, and islands not occupied by the Spanish were targeted by the privateers. As the military supremacy of the Spaniards declined in the Caribbean, the region became the scene of several battles between these European nations. This resulted in some islands of the region changing colonial ownership multiple times between the 15th and 19th Centuries.

The Genesis of United States Involvement in the Caribbean

The significance of the Caribbean islands to the United States has been both geographical and economic in origin. The reasons for this are apparent when one considers the region's physical location in relation to the United States and the other countries in the Western Hemisphere, as well as the economic history of Caribbean nations as a whole.

In the early 19th Century, when the so-called Manifest Destiny* of the United States became popular, it was widely believed that Cuba and other Caribbean nations which were in close proximity would be annexed as part of the United States. In fact, the Dominican Republic, which was frequently in conflict with neighboring Haiti, requested annexation[3] from the United States as a means of attaining security on several occasions, although some parties in both countries opposed this idea. In the mid-19th Century, there was an abundance of both propaganda and legitimate discourse about United States expansion into the Caribbean. These arguments were strengthened by filibusters† who organized expeditions into Cuba and other Caribbean countries and orchestrated attempts to free these islands from colonial rule.[4]

After European movement into the Caribbean, the region also gained importance as part of the sea route between the east and west coast of the United States. More

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*Manifest Destiny was a belief first promulgated by democratic journalist John L. O'Sullivan which predicted that the US would be a union of many republics, and that it was its destiny to expand across the continent and indeed the hemisphere.

†In the 19th Century the word "filibuster" described adventurers who organized and led, under private initiative, armed expeditions into countries with which the country from which they set out was at peace, often with the intent of capturing land for their home country.

significantly, it became integral to the revolutionary change in world travel which occurred after the construction of the Panama Canal. The canal connected the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and reduced sea voyages which had previously been thousands of miles to distances of less than a hundred miles. By the start of World War I, the United States had acquired bases in several Caribbean islands to facilitate its protection of the Canal, and established the Panama Canal Department as a geographic command of the Army. The operations of the Department were eventually taken over by the Caribbean Defense Command, which was established in 1941.

The direct relationship between the Caribbean and the United States, which had also been colonized by Europeans, commenced with trade between the islands and the various colonies of North America acting as imperial trading partners. For example, the exchange of goods between the Caribbean and the United States was a part of the triangular transatlantic slave trade. Further, commonalities in the colonial history of the Caribbean and North America meant that each region was affected by events in the other. Thus, the abolitionist campaign staged by Quaker groups in North America greatly influenced the end of the slave trade in the Caribbean.[5] Similarly, during the American revolution of the late 18th Century, Caribbean planters feared that their plantations would be disrupted by slave riots in the Northern territories.

Notwithstanding these similarities, the economic situation of the Caribbean was in contrast to that of the prosperous colonies to its North.[6] By the end of the 19th Century the United States had emerged as a regional power, while even the Caribbean nations which had attained political independence faced constraints that extended their economic dependence. The underlying reasons for this economic disparity are beyond the scope of

this paper. However, the economic superiority, and the military power which eventually accompanied the prosperity of the United States, set the stage for the relationship with the less affluent Caribbean nations.

According to historian Whitney Perkins,

> the relationship between the United States and the Caribbean countries that are subjects of this study [on United States interventions in the Caribbean] was essentially similar to other manifestations of western imperialism in that it was more the consequence of contrast in the stability and competence of government than the product of clear design.[7]

Unlike European imperialists, however, United States action in the Caribbean was aimed at "the creation of a sphere of influence"[8] rather than overt attempts to conquer the region, and was influenced by public opinion. The support required to precipitate United States intervention into the Caribbean was eventually garnered by "yellow journalism", a term which was adopted to describe sensational news reporting, particularly of events in Cuba.[9]

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[1]Dana Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Democracy in the Caribbean* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1964), 3.

[2]Richard Millett and W. Marvin Hill, *The Restless Caribbean–Changing Patterns of International Relations* (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1979), 3.

[3]Whitney T. Perkins, *Constraint of Empire–The United States and Caribbean Interventions* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 40.

[4]US Department of State, Office of the Historian, "Milestones 1830-1860: Territorial Expansion, Filibustering, and U.S. Interest in Central America and Cuba, 1849-1861," http://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/TerritorialExpansion (accessed 12 August 2011).

[5]Frank Moya Pons, *History of the Caribbean* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2007), 185.

[6]Patrick Karl O'Brien, *Atlas of World History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 125.

[7]Perkins, xiii.

[8]Anthony P. Maignot, *The United States and the Caribbean* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 25.

[9]US Department of State, *Milestones 1866-1898*.

CHAPTER 2

US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CARIBBEAN

Figure 3. Timeline of US Foreign Policies in the Caribbean
Source: Created by author.

United States foreign policy in the Caribbean is often included in its policy towards Latin America, which predominantly includes the countries of South and Central America and with which Caribbean states are sometimes treated as a single entity. For the purposes of this discussion, however, the only policies reviewed are those which have direct relevance to the Caribbean states under study.

The United States foreign policies which influenced its actions in the Caribbean from 1898 onwards did not originate in that era. According to sociology professor Anthony Maignot, the geopolitical interests of the United States originated in the rights of navigation and deposit as expressed by Thomas Jefferson in 1792 while he was Secretary of State. In this discourse, Jefferson emphasized the natural right of the new American state to acquire by purchase or force lands and river ways occupied by Spain,[1] including the right to take ownership of Cuba. Jefferson's perspective led to the January 1811 No-Transfer resolution, which highlighted United States geopolitical interests, being passed by the US Congress. The resolution was a precursor to the principle of Manifest Destiny mentioned earlier, and is closely related to the explicit policies that will be outlined below.

The United States policy towards the region was influenced by its own struggle for independence from colonial rule, as well as by the migration of many Caribbean nationals to the United States.

Monroe Doctrine (1823)

The Monroe Doctrine is viewed by many as the cornerstone of US foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere. In 1823, British Foreign Secretary George Canning suggested a joint British-US diplomatic initiative to keep other Europeans out of the New World. The United States did not wish to prolong its dependency on British military power, and so it did not undertake this initiative of formal cooperation with London. Instead, shortly thereafter, in his annual address to Congress, President James Monroe highlighted the fact that there was a difference between the political system of the United States and that of the European states. Because of this, he said, it was necessary to "declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."[2] While declaring that the United States would not intervene in any existing European colony or dependency, he added that the interposition of any European power into any independent state in the hemisphere would be viewed as "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."[3] In effect, President Monroe declared the Caribbean closed to further colonization.

The Monroe Doctrine signified a clear break between European imperialism and the New World.[4] As the United States amassed the economic and military power necessary for its enforcement it became one of the tenets of US foreign policy. It supported, among other actions, the incursion of US marines into Santo Domingo and

Haiti in 1904 and 1915 respectively. According to the Marine Corps Small Wars[‡] Manual of 1940,

> Most of the small wars of the United States have resulted from the obligation of the Government under the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and have been undertaken to suppress lawlessness or insurrection. Punitive expeditions may be resorted to in some instances, but campaigns of conquest are contrary to the policy of the Government of the United States.[5]

Teller Amendment (1898)

The Teller amendment had an economic motivation and has been described as the "sugar growers' amendment." Proposed by Colorado Republican senator Henry Teller, one of the intents of the amendment was to discourage further discussion on the annexation of Cuba, and the resulting threat to the United States beet sugar industry of the importation of tariff-free Cuban sugar.

It authorized President William McKinley to direct his naval and other military forces to take action as necessary against Spain to ensure that it relinquished authority and government in Cuba. Of significance however was the fourth resolution of the amendment which stated that "the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people."[6] Some observers argued that this amendment was violated when the United States occupied Cuba for four years after the Spanish left Cuba.

[‡]The manual defines a small war as "operations undertaken under executive authority, wherein military force is combined with diplomatic pressure in the internal or external affairs of another state whose government is unstable, inadequate, or unsatisfactory for the preservation of life and of such interests as are determined by the foreign policy of our Nation."

Platt Amendment (1903)

The Platt Amendment was a 1903 U.S. law provision that superseded the Teller Amendment, and led to a treaty signed between the United States and Cuba five years after the Spanish American War.[7] The amendment consisted of a set of articles drafted by Secretary of War Elihu Root which established guidelines for future United States–Cuban relations. The articles were necessary because the 1898 Teller amendment to the declaration of war against Spain had stated that the United States would not attempt to exercise sovereignty over Cuba. Several years after the war however, the United States still occupied Cuba, and was an integral part of its civic life. The Platt Amendment formalized the terms of this occupation, including the U.S. base at Guantanamo Bay, and prevented Cuba from giving another nation control over its affairs, thereby limiting the Cuban government's external diplomatic and economic relationships. This amendment also gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba for the sake of the preservation of Cuban independence. Under the terms of the Platt Amendment the United States intervened in Cuba in 1906, 1912, 1917, and 1920. The amendment was repealed in 1934 as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America.

Roosevelt Corollary (1904)

In the early 20th Century, the economic situation in the Americas led European governments to employ force as a means of debt collection. In response, President Theodore Roosevelt promulgated an extension to the Monroe Doctrine which acknowledged the need for a powerful nation to intervene in the affairs of another in order to rectify wrongs–in this case financial. In response to fears about a return to European dominance in the region, however, the corollary proclaimed the right of the

United States to “exercise an international police power,” thereby eliminating European cause for interventions in the region. By entrusting the United States with the responsibility to preserve order and protect life and property in the Western Hemisphere, the Roosevelt Corollary in a sense contradicted the non-interventionist policy of the very doctrine which it was said to be enforcing.

Dollar Diplomacy (1909–1913)

Dollar Diplomacy was somewhat different from the other US foreign policies described in this study in the sense that it was more a practice than a formal policy position. It was introduced by President Howard Taft, who served between 1909 and 1913. The aim of the policy was to ensure economic stability in the Caribbean and other regions while at the same time protecting and expanding US financial interests. Under the terms of the policy, Caribbean countries were encouraged to take loans from the United States rather than Europe, and financial assistance was used as a political tool.[8] This policy of economic assistance was emphasized by Secretary of State Philander Knox, and often mentioned in relation to the “backward republics in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal.”

Good Neighbor Policy (1933)

The Good Neighbor Policy describes the position taken by the United States towards other countries in the Americas in the 1930s. The policy is most commonly associated with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in his inaugural address advanced a principle of interdependence between the United States and other nations in the Western Hemisphere. In this speech he stated that “In the field of world policy I would dedicate

this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."[9] With the declaration of this policy, President Roosevelt renounced the corollary to the Monroe Doctrine which had required the United States to "walk softly, but carry a big stick." He promulgated the principle of non-intervention and non-interference, resulting in the withdrawal of United States Marines from Haiti; the rescinding of a policy of intervention into Cuba; and the conclusion of reciprocal trade agreements with both countries.[10]

The origins of the Good Neighbor Policy are disputed, with other historians attributing it to President Herbert Hoover. Support for this theory comes from his release of the "Clark Memorandum" to the Monroe Doctrine in 1928. This memorandum highlighted the fact that the intent of the Doctrine was to protect countries of the Americas from European intervention, and was not intended to direct inter-American relations. This argument was also strengthened by Hoover's tour of Latin America, during which he pledged to reduce American political and military interference in Latin American affairs.[11]

Post World War II–The Era of Non-Intervention

United States foreign policy after World War II was influenced by the atmosphere of nonintervention that dominated the international system. Evidence of this exists in the international agreements that were signed between the United States and countries of the Western Hemisphere. These include the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

also known as the Rio Pact, which was signed in 1947.[§] The Rio Pact addressed the issue of hemispheric defense in the face of external threats from the position that a threat against one country in the Western Hemisphere represented a threat against all countries of the region. Of even more significance was the formation of the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1948 by countries of the Americas including Cuba, Haiti, and Dominican Republic and the United States. The mandate of the OAS was to achieve an order of peace and justice, to promote solidarity, to strengthen collaboration, and to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of the member states.[12] In so doing it defined a new era of national sovereignty and movement away from unilateral action. This was reflected in Articles 19 and 21 of the its Charter which stated that [13]

> No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic, and cultural elements.
>
> The territory of a State is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another State, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever. No territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion shall be recognized.

There was yet another change in the US policy towards the Caribbean during and after the Cold War. According to Crandall, the policy of this age was intended to guarantee an ad hoc mix of outcomes which were not always compatible. Achievement of the competing goals of stability, democracy, anticommunism and multilateralism caused

[§]The initial signatories to the Rio Pact were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haití, Honduras, México, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, Dominican Republic, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

a temporary suspension of the United States noninterventionist policy towards Cuba, Dominican Republic and Grenada as had been agreed upon in the OAS.[14]

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[1]Maignot, 14.

[2]National Archives, Message of President James Monroe at the commencement of the first session of the 18th Congress (The Monroe Doctrine), 2 December 1823; Presidential Messages of the 18th Congress, ca. 2 December 1823-ca. 3 March 1825; Record Group 46; Records of the United States Senate, 1789-1990, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=23 (accessed 6 July 2011).

[3]Ibid.

[4]US Department of State, *Milestones 1801-1829*.

[5]Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual* (Washington, DC, 1940), http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/swm/ch01.pdf (accessed 10 August 2011), 2.

[6]Library of Congress, Hispanic Division. "Teller and Platt Amendments–The World of 1898: The Spanish American War," http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/teller.html (accessed 10 August 2011).

[7]National Archives, "Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of Cuba Embodying the Provisions Defining Their Future Relations as Contained in the Act of Congress Approved 2 March 1901, signed 22 May 1903;" General Records of the United States Government, 1778-2006, RG 11, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=55 (accessed 10 August 2011).

[8]Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Dollar Diplomacy," http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/168262/Dollar-Diplomacy (accessed 29 August 2011).

[9]Franklin D Roosevelt, "Inaugural Address March 4, 1933," http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3280 (accessed 12 August 2011).

[10]James Brown Scott, "The Good Neighbor Policy," *The American Journal of International Law* 30, no. 2 (1936): 287-290.

[11]University of Virginia, "American President-Herbert Clark Hoover," http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/hoover/essays/biography/print (accessed 12 August 2011).

[12]Organization of American States, Department of International Law, "Charter of the Organization of American States," http://www.oas.org/dil/treaties_A-41_Charter_ of_the_Organization_of_American_States.htm (accessed 14 November 2011).

[13]Ibid.

[14]Russell Crandall, *Gunboat Democracy: US Interventions in the Dominican Republic, Grenada and Panama* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 3.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERVENTIONS

Figure 4. Timeline of US Military Interventions in the Caribbean.
Source: Created by author.

The direct interventions of United States forces into the Caribbean which started in the late 19th Century were in support of its national interests and in accordance with the foreign policies laid out in the previous chapter.[1] They also had an economic incentive, because many United States citizens were heavily invested in Caribbean commerce. Most notable of these investors was the United Fruit Company, which had both economic and political influence in Latin America and the Caribbean. This economic component led to the coining of the term "Banana Wars" to describe United States military action in the Caribbean. Opponents of the Marxist** view of United States intervention into the Caribbean also argue that the interventions were born out of the United States' altruistic interest in the economic stability of the Caribbean nations.

The primary force used by the United States for these interventions was the Marine Corps. Between 1902 and 1912 the strength of the USMC grew from 6800 to 9900 men. They were formed and deployed as dictated by the circumstances in companies of between 50 and 100 men, commanded by one or two officers. Battalions consisted of a minimum of two companies, and at least two battalions combined to form

**Marxists held a perspective of the US as imperialists.

each temporary regiment. These regiments were supported by artillery and machine guns from specialized tactical units.[2]

The interventions were guided at the onset by the Monroe Doctrine, which stipulated non-intervention into the countries of the western hemisphere by powers outside of the region. The premise behind the Monroe Doctrine was not only a show of dominance by the United States, but the maintenance of stable governance in the region. The intended effect of this was dual--to minimize the opportunities for external powers to intervene in the Caribbean countries and to protect the interests of American citizens in these countries. Notwithstanding, it has been posited that the possibility of United States interventions in the region intensified rather than minimized political contention and revolutions, becoming a pawn in domestic political games.[3]

The following paragraphs summarize United States military interventions on the islands of Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Grenada on various occasions between 1898 and 1994.

Cuba

Cuba, because of its strategic location, was of great interest to the United States before the first intervention into that country in 1898. In fact, in the Ostend Manifesto of 1852, US diplomats in Europe recommended that Cuba should be annexed–either forcibly or by purchase.[4] In 1890, Alfred T. Mahan, author of *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1600-1783,* advocated building bases in Cuba and other islands in order to protect US commerce, advice which influenced US foreign policy at the time.[5] The relationship between Cuba and the United States was also deepened by the mechanization

of the Cuban sugar industry by American engineers and investors after the Ten Years' War (1868-1878) and a resulting increase in commercial trade between both countries.

At the time of the first US intervention into Cuba, the country was still a Spanish colony. It was full of nationalist spirit however, enjoying the reduction in Spanish aristocracy and the abolition of slavery which resulted from the Ten Years' War. Despite widespread poverty, there was pride in the fact that its leaders were men of humble origin, and not members of the elite. On the other hand, its economy was in decline, and it had lost its place of prominence as the world's leading sugar producer. The productive capacity of its sugar plantations had been diminished by years of war, and the growth of the home-grown beet sugar industry in the United States had led to a reduction in demand for Cuban sugar. In addition, the country was heavily in debt. These conditions set the stage for the Cuban War of Independence.[6]

Intervention and Occupation 1898–1904

Several events in the United States also precipitated the first intervention into Cuba. The first of these was the formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party in New York in 1892 by Jose Marti, who used it as an instrument to mobilize Cuban exiles living in the United States. In April 1895, when Martí and Máximo Gómez Baez returned to Cuba to fight for independence, they received strong support from this Revolutionary Party. Their involvement highlighted the Cuban crisis to American political leaders, and garnered support for the revolution within the United States. In January 1898 US President William McKinley, in response to the concerns created by this crisis, came to an agreement with the Spanish government for a US battleship to be posted in Havana Harbor to protect the US citizens in Cuba. On 15 February, however, the *USS Maine*

exploded in Havana Harbor, a mere two weeks after it arrived there. Although Spain denied responsibility for the explosion and no blame was formally ascribed to it, there was significant outrage in the United States after the incident[7] and popular support for war intensified.

United States action in Cuba was also precipitated by other aspects of its foreign relations. These included its humanitarian interests, the geopolitical significance of Cuba, and the negative impact of the Cuban political situation on US commerce and trade. Consequently, the *USS Oregon* re-deployed to the Caribbean from California shortly after the destruction of the *USS Maine*. On 29 March 1898 the United States, without recognizing Cuba as independent, issued an ultimatum to Spain to withdraw from the island. Madrid refused to accept this ultimatum, prompting the US Congress to pass a resolution to intervene in Cuba with the intent of ending the War between Spain and the Cuban revolutionaries. Shortly after, on 19 April, Congress adopted the Joint Resolution for war with Spain, which included the Teller Amendment. The stage was set for the Spanish American War and the first US intervention into Cuba.[8]

On 10 June, after Santiago de Cuba had been blockaded by the US Navy and several skirmishes between the Navy and the Spanish had been fought, 600 US Marines landed at Guantanamo. This was followed by the arrival of over 6,000 soldiers in Daiquiri and Siboney, and another spate of hostilities between US and Spanish forces. Fighting continued until the end of July, when the United States captured Santiago and Spanish forces requested an armistice. The ceasefire between Spain and the United States was announced on 12 August 1898, and the Treaty of Paris, which signaled the formal end of hostilities, was signed on 10 December of the same year.

Despite the end of the war, the very quest for independence which had led to the intervention in Cuba was delayed, as the US did not accept the revolutionists as the new government. Rather, General Leonard Wood was appointed military governor of the country. His cabinet consisted of several Cuban officials with whom he implemented radical reform in several aspects of Cuban life. The new Cuban constitution, which included a section defining the relationship between the United States and Cuba, was ratified in 1901. It was followed by the Platt Amendment, which caused significant concern to Cubans who felt that the conditional independence stipulated in the amendment was not better than what they had experienced with Spain.[9] On the basis of the new constitution, Don Tomas Estrada Palma was installed as the first president of the Republic of Cuba in May 1902, and the US-led military government demitted office. United States troops then ended four years of Cuban occupation.

Intervention of 1906

In 1906 the political situation in Cuba remained delicate, with both the Liberal opposition party and the Moderate party which had become affiliated with President Palma seeking US intervention as a means of attaining their political goals.[10] By July 1906 there was a rebel revolt against the government. Palma had at his disposal an artillery force of approximately 600 men, in addition to the 3000 members of the dispersed Guardia Rural (paramilitary police) established by Leonard Wood in 1898 which had responsibility for law and order in Cuba.[11] With his forces unable to combat the 8000 rebels which were threatening Havana, the president asked US President Theodore Roosevelt through Consul-General Steinhart to send vessels to Cuba to quell

the rebellion. President Roosevelt initially refused, allegedly because he desired political independence for Cuba, and was not interested in a guerilla war for itself.

Eventually, after the resignation of President Palma on 28 September 1906, President Roosevelt decided that the United States should occupy Cuba, quell the insurrection and rebuild the country's democratic political systems.[12] This led to US Secretary of War William Taft becoming the provisional governor of Cuba under the terms of the Platt Amendment. In this instance however, leadership of the country was for all intents and purposes guided by the Cuban constitution.

Under the leadership of Mr. Taft, the 1st and 2nd Marine Regiments landed in Cuba on 6 October 1906,[††] deploying over seven thousand marines to restore order, peace and public confidence. On 13 October Taft handed over to Charles Edward Magoon, who headed an advisory law commission which prepared new laws for Cuba. More than a year later, in April 1908 the Armed Forces of Cuba was formed as a separate entity from the Guardia Rural. This was followed in May and November by regional and national elections respectively held on the basis of the new laws which resulted in victory for the liberal party. In January 1909 Governor Magoon handed over leadership to the new government, and by April that same year the US troops in the Army of Cuban Pacification ended their intervention in Cuba. The legacy of the intervention was a demoralized Cuban state, and a new army whose attitude towards the population did not inspire confidence.

[††]The US troops which intervened in Cuba formed the Army of Cuban Intervention, which was later renamed the Army of Cuban Pacification.

Intervention in 1912

After the withdrawal of troops from Cuba in 1909, the US position towards the country was that there would be no further interventions unless the Cuban government displayed a level of incapacity which made this necessary. In keeping with this, Magoon adopted an advisory role to the Gomez government until 1912, when it was determined that the fiscal policies of the Cuban government warranted more of a supervisory role. US marines were deployed to the country in response to a revolt of black Cubans against a new law, but US Secretary of State Philander C. Knox emphasized that the deployment was not intervention, but action taken to protect the interests of US citizens in Cuba. It was on this occasion that the US territory at Guantanamo was extended.

Bay of Pigs Invasion1961

With the declaration of President Franklin D Roosevelt's good neighbor policy in 1933, there was a change in US policy towards Cuba, and there were no further interventions for more than two decades. US posture towards the region changed in the 1950s, when the presidency of revolutionary Fulgencio Batista was threatened by Fidel Castro. The US policy of non-intervention meant initially that no overt action was taken to either maintain the leadership of Batista or thwart the mission of Castro. By 1958 however, US displeasure with the fraudulent Batista regime led to a withdrawal of support for the government, which resulted in the discontinuation of supplies of weapons and equipment to the Cuban Army. This withdrawal of support for Batista's government gave the advantage to the revolutionaries, and Fidel Castro became president in January 1959. By 1960, after discussions between the Castro Government and the US State

Department failed to change Castro's socialist intent, the United States began a process of terminating economic relationships with Cuba.

The non-interventionist policy of the United States meant that no overt action by US troops was being considered as a means of ending Castro's dictatorship in Cuba. Instead, the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower decided to use the CIA to plan and fund an invasion into Cuba by Cuban nationals. This program was continued by President John F. Kennedy, who authorized the invasion in February 1961. The Bay of Pigs Invasion, as it was called, was to be supported by air cover from US pilots, but the ground troops were to consist exclusively of Cuban exiles resident in the United States. In April 1961, the CIA trained, equipped and transported force invaded the Playa Giron beach on the Bay of Pigs in Southern Cuba. The operation started as planned, but failed to achieve its objective as a consequence of errors in timing which left the invading force without the expected air support from US forces.

Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

While the Cuban missile crisis was not an actual military intervention into Cuba, it is worthy of mention as the closest the world has ever come to experiencing a nuclear war. The crisis occurred in October 1962 after US surveillance detected the construction of soviet medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic nuclear missiles in Cuba. The missiles afforded the Soviet Union a platform within range of the United States which would allow them to launch an attack if necessary, and gave the Cubans a critical weapon. For thirteen days the United States imposed a blockade against Cuba, and the world waited with concern as the governments of United States and the Soviet Union negotiated. The crisis was averted with an agreement that the Soviet Union would remove

its nuclear missiles from Cuba in return for a promise by the United States not to invade the country, and also to remove its own missiles from Turkey.[13]

Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic was the subject of several interventions by Haiti in the 19th Century. The resulting instability led various leaders of that country to seek assistance from several foreign powers, including the US, during that period. The relationship between the US and Dominican Republic was strengthened during the tenure of President Ulises Heureaux, who served several terms in office between 1882 and 1889. He was reportedly engaged in discussions to make Dominican Republic a US protectorate at the time of his assassination in 1899.[14] Like other leaders before him, he had also engaged in discussions to sell the strategically located Samaná Bay to the US to both raise revenue and deepen the relationship between both countries. Also during Heureaux's time in office, the San Domingo Improvement Company, which was American owned, took over from the Dutch company Westendorp as banker to the Dominican Republic. The relationship between Heureaux, whose presidency did not receive any acclaim, and the Improvement Company which was supported by the US Minister in the Dominican Republic, later contributed to anti US sentiments in the country.

Economic Based Intervention and Occupation 1916

On several occasions in the first decade of the 20th Century the presence of US Navy ships off the coast of the Dominican Republic helped to deter revolt and serve as protection for American lives and property. The decade was also one of economic

intervention in the Dominican Republic as mounting debts to both the US and European governments eventually led to US involvement in the management of the country's economic affairs. In 1905, under the terms of the Monroe Doctrine, the US negotiated a *modus vivendi*[‡‡] which empowered an American to collect all the revenue from Dominican customhouses and disburse the receipts as appropriate. This treaty was replaced in 1907 by a new convention ratified by the US Senate and Dominican Congress which stipulated among other conditions that the Dominican government would not increase its public debt without the consent of the US. As economic conditions in the country deteriorated, an increase in Dominican indebtedness was interpreted by the US as a violation of the conditions of the convention. This established the right of the US to provide an American organized and commanded constabulary, and led to the intervention into the Dominican Republic by US Marines in May 1916.

The 1916 intervention was precipitated by an increase in rebel activity which threatened to destabilize the country. As early as January 1916, US forces landed at various ports in the republic. However, conditions in the country continued to deteriorate, and the possibility of insurgent elements gaining control over the government increased. On 31 October a conference of navy and state officials advised President Woodrow Wilson that the only solution to the unsettled conditions in Dominican Republic was the declaration of martial law and the occupation of Santo Domingo.[15]

[‡‡]A modus vivendi is an agreement where there is a difference of opinion from the agreeing parties, who resolve this difference by agreeing to disagree. In this instance, the US did not wish to intervene in the affairs of the Dominican Republic, but was forced to collect the revenue from its customhouses so that its creditors could be paid.

President Wilson gave his approval, and on 29 November 1916 Naval Captain Harry S. Knapp, who was commander of the US forces in Dominican waters, issued a proclamation to the effect that the Dominican Republic had violated the terms of 1907 convention and therefore was under US military administration and in a state of occupation. A marine contingent of about eighteen hundred men, supported by the local *Guardia Republicana,* traversed the country disarming insurgents and restoring or maintaining public order. The guerilla forces they encountered were vastly different from the Cuban rebel forces of the early 20th Century which have been described as lacking in military prowess and were armed only with antiquated weapons. In contrast, over 5,000 firearms and 14,000 edged weapons were reported to have been collected during the first year of martial law in the Dominican Republic.[16]

The marines utilized all the resources which were available, including an aviation squadron which was deployed in 1919,[17] trucks employed as armored cars, and all twelve Ford vehicles available at the local Ford dealership near the port of Monte Cristi.[18]

The material benefits of the occupation were readily apparent; however it was hampered by the excesses of some of the occupying troops, the absence of an explanation of the occupation, and the failure of the military government to employ locals in legislative and administrative capacities. This led to open protests against the occupying forces, and calls for them to evacuate. Notwithstanding these objections, the occupation lasted for eight years. During this time, the average quality of the US officers in the Dominican Republic improved as the best of them returned from World War I. A higher cadre of diplomats also became available, with the result that in 1924 there was a stable democratically elected government, the economic situation of the country had improved,

and the National Guard (PND), which had replaced the military force dissolved by the US Army, had become fully professional.[19] In the view of the US government, the invasion had been successful.

A mere six years later however, the country was again plunged into political disarray. In 1927, Rafael Trujillo who had only nine years of service was named Chief of the PND. Two years later when the PND was reorganized as the National Army, he was promoted to Brigadier General and given command, as well as made the head of the Secret Police. Simultaneously, President Vasquez, who was considered his benefactor, had through constitutional amendments extended his tenure as leader from four to six years, and was seeking reelection for a second term. Trujillo supported a movement against Vasquez's authoritarian leadership, forcing him to resign. He then became a president in an election that was uncontested and considered to be rigged, and which marked the start of a totalitarian, repressive regime.[20]

Election Intervention 1965

Some observers allege that the 1961 assassination of President Trujillo was authorized by President John F. Kennedy, and occurred with the assistance of members of the US Central Intelligence Agency.[21] However, the US invasion of Dominican Republic in 1965 was the first such overt action in the Caribbean in almost three decades. It violated the Charter of the OAS, to which both the Dominican Republic and the US had acceded in 1948. President Lyndon Johnson stated, however, that the United States had to act militarily in the Dominican Republic as a means of self-defense because Americans there (and not the US itself) had been threatened,[22] justifying the violation of the Charter. An even more compelling reason for the intervention although not always

explicitly stated, was the containment of communism, and the prevention of "another Cuba" in the Caribbean.[23]

US forces landed in the Dominican Republic on 28 April 1965 after the second military coup in two years, and violent divisions between members of the military. The initial contingent of 450 marines had a mission to protect US citizens and to evacuate US and other foreign nationals who were believed to be in danger. They were joined on 30 April by over 23,000 more US troops, with several thousand others on standby in coastal waters and in the US.[24] After the troops landed in Dominican Republic, General Earl Wheeler was given command of the forces and instructed to ensure that the Dominican Republic did not become communist. In addition, attempts were made to draft members of the OAS into action, thereby removing the appearance that the US was acting unilaterally in contravention of the Rio Pact.

Grenada

Grenada is the smallest and most southerly of the Windward Islands in the Caribbean, measuring approximately 311 square kilometers. It gained its independence from Britain in 1974, but was an economic dependency of Britain during the time of the invasion in 1983. It was led then by Prime Minister Eric Gairy who, although democratically elected, was considered highly authoritarian.[25]

Operation Urgent Fury 1983

In 1979, radicals led by Maurice Bishop overthrew Prime Minister Gairy's government. Prime Minister Bishop's government, backed by the power of the New Joint Effort for Welfare Education and Liberation (JEWEL) movement, was Marxist, and

quickly developed ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Grenada received small arms and weapons from Cuba and other communist states, as well as small arms and armored vehicles from the Soviet Union. The value of the aid was estimated at approximately $33 million, with the Soviet arms being enough to equip a force of 10,000 personnel.[26] This occurred in an era of increasing concern about the spread of communism in Latin America.

In 1981, two years after Bishop took power, President Ronald Reagan was elected to office in the US. His administration was determined to roll back communist gains in the Western Hemisphere, and therefore declared a zero-tolerance policy towards communist expansion in the region.[27] The US position was in keeping with the "Domino Theory" articulated by President Eisenhower in 1954. According to this theory, unchecked communism in any country would have a domino effect on neighboring countries, thus facilitating the spread of communist ideologies. Grenada, as "an extension of the Soviet/Cuban axis into the Western Hemisphere,"[28] was therefore seen as a threat to US security.

This perceived threat gained credibility in October 1983 when elements of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) arrested and executed Prime Minister Bishop and several members of his cabinet. Despite disagreement among Caribbean leaders on how to resolve the crisis without violating principles of non-interference and non-intervention in a Grenada's internal affairs,[29] the OECS states, with Jamaica and Barbados, invited the US to intervene in restoring order. With 300 soldiers from six Caribbean countries forming part of the force which landed in Grenada on 25 October 1983,[30] this marked the

first time that a US intervention was invited into the Caribbean, and supported by regional armed forces.

The invasion was conducted by US Marine and ranger forces who seized control of the country's two airports and arrested several Cuban and Soviet personnel. Almost 700 US and foreign nationals, mainly medical students, were evacuated from Grenada. It has the distinction of being the shortest US intervention in the Caribbean.

Haiti

Haiti, the first black republic in the world, was the first state in the Western hemisphere in which slavery was abolished and the second in which independence from colonial rule was declared. Years of slave rebellion preceded Haitian independence on 1 January 1804, which was followed by more violence, turmoil, mismanagement of national resources and multiple presidential coups and assassinations.[31] Because of pro-slavery sentiment in the US, however, it was not recognized in that country as an independent nation until the end of the US Civil War.

At the start of the Twentieth Century, Haiti was financially devastated, as its plantation economy had declined with the death of its colonists during the war for independence. Many of the leaders were uneducated, and government policies were greatly influenced by personal inclinations and the racial tensions which existed between the elite mulattoes and the blacks who formed the majority of the population.[32] Despite the resulting instability in the island, Haiti was of great significance to the US because of its proximity to the Panama Canal. In addition, both France and Germany had strong interests in the republic, and it had been speculated that Germany was interested in establishing either a naval base or coaling station in Haiti, in conflict with US interests.

German merchants had also been accused of funding a number of the many political revolutions which occurred in the early 20th Century.[33]

Intervention and Occupation 1915

The US intervention in 1915 marked the start of one of the bloodiest small wars in its history.[34] Prior to this intervention, violent instability in Haiti had prompted the use of "gunboat diplomacy" by the US Navy on several occasions to preempt interference by European powers in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. This show of power went further on 28 July 1915, however, after the assassination of President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam when US Marines landed in Haiti on the authorization of President Woodrow Wilson. The Haitian military at the time was undertrained, undisciplined, underpaid and unmotivated. They were in direct contrast to the insurgent forces, who by many accounts, were funded by foreign forces.

As with other Caribbean interventions, their stated mission was to protect US citizens and secure US financial interests. According to the official report of hearings before the Select Committee of the US Senate which inquired into the occupation and administration of the territories of the Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, however, no US citizen or property had been harmed in any of Haiti's revolts prior to the intervention of 1915.

The marines landed with some opposition from a group of Haitians who started a guerrilla campaign to resist the US presence. Shortly after, on August 24, the Gendarmerie agreement between the US and Haiti laid the foundation for the establishment of the Gendarmerie d' Haiti, which replaced the former Haitian army.

Relations with Haiti continued with the bilateral treaty of November 29, which made Haiti a US protectorate.

In 1918, Charlemagne Massena Peralte led Haitian rebels in a renewed campaign of armed resistance against the presence of US troops in Haiti. Many of these rebels were killed over the next two years in air and ground attacks. Washington reviewed the intervention in 1929 after 20 Haitian rebels were killed in Les Cayes by US forces. A President's Commission on Conditions in Haiti chaired by W. Cameron Forbes was convened, and it recommended the withdrawal of US troops by 1936. In 1933 Haiti resumed its status as a sovereign nation, and in August 1934 the US troops withdrew.

Operation Uphold Democracy 1994

The US departure from Haiti in 1934 did not leave a legacy of stable democracy. In fact, the election of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990 was a break in the trend of dictators and military coups that marked the leadership of Haiti for the decades which followed. This new found democracy would not last, as a mere year later in September 1991 President Aristide was overthrown in Haiti's 32nd coup led by army Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras, who forced Aristide into exile in Venezuela.

In response to the coup, and to the human rights abuses which were subsequently committed against the populace, the United Nations (UN) imposed an embargo against Haiti on 23 October 1991. Similarly, the Organization of American States and the US introduced sanctions on oil and trade to force the return of President Aristide and constitutional government. International support for the deposed president was initially unanimous, except from the Vatican, which supported the junta that had removed him from power.

The embargo had its most damaging effects on the Haitian poor. It resulted in a refugee crisis as thousands of them ventured across Haiti's eastern border or took to the seas to escape the poverty and violence in their native land. After several attempts at negotiation between the UN, Aristide, and the leadership of the Junta, agreement was reached with the "Governor's Island Accord" in June 1993. Under the terms of this accord, the sanctions against Haiti were to be lifted, Aristide would return to Haiti on 30 October 1993, and members of the army who participated in the coup would be pardoned. In preparation, Aristide named Robert Malval as his prime minister and the UN assembled a peace keeping force.

The lead element of the peacekeeping force comprised of US and Canadian soldiers travelling on the USS *Harlan County*, was set to land in Haiti on 11 October 1993. They arrived at Port-au-Prince, but were unable to disembark because of demonstrations by FRAPH,[§§] the paramilitary arm of the Cedras government which was accused of committing the greatest atrocities. Over the next year, the instability in Haiti escalated. Discussions with the junta government failed to reach a satisfactory conclusion and their violent tenure continued with rapes joining murder as tools of political retribution.[35]

International support for Aristide wavered, and the US was accused of being ambivalent in its position towards Haiti. The trade and oil embargo was restored, this time with the US navy policing Haitian coastal waters to ensure compliance. Newly elected President Belaguer of the Dominican Republic also agreed to clamp down on the trade of embargoed items across its border with Haiti. By June 1994 the US and Canada

[§§]FRAPH – Front for Advancement and Progress of Haiti.

had banned all commercial flights to Haiti, and restricted remittances to a maximum of fifty dollars per month. In response the junta government, with Emile Jonassaint as its new de-facto president, expelled UN human rights observers from Haiti.

Jonassaint's action set the stage for the passing of UN resolution 940 which authorized the US to intervene in Haiti on behalf of the UN. As 15,000 US troops prepared to intervene in Haiti, US President Bill Clinton authorized former President Jimmy Carter to negotiate with the junta for a peaceful resolution of the situation. Compromise was reached on 18 September, and the planned forceful entry became the permissive entry of Operation Uphold Democracy on 19 September. President Aristide was restored to power, and the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) assumed the lead for operations on 31 March 1995.

The UN mission in Haiti ended in June 1996, with the intervention being credited for aiding the return to constitutional rule, helping to maintain stability and security, and restoring basic services and infrastructure in the country. Despite these accomplishments, Haiti remains the most impoverished and insecure island in the Caribbean.

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CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS (LESSONS FOR CARIBBEAN LEADERS)

The “facts” of history are completely dependent on the bias of the historian. In light of this, and with the abundance of sources to both support and criticize the US interventions in the Caribbean region as being destructive, how does one objectively determine whether these interventions were lawful and necessary? How can the lessons from these US interventions be both relevant and useful to Caribbean security in the 21st Century?

In order to answer the questions posed above, a detailed analysis of the facts of the interventions is required. The following section therefore highlights and analyzes those facts that will help Caribbean governments of the 21st Century to determine the mechanism that will best avert, or terminate, significant instability in the region, regardless of its origin. (Instability in this sense refers not only to political disturbances, but to social unrest, natural disaster or any other situation where the use of military force may be deemed a potential solution.) Consideration will be given to the physical and operational environment in the region during the period of intervention which influenced the actions taken by the US forces, the outcomes which resulted, and considers whether these outcomes were effective in enhancing Caribbean security. The analysis will also seek to establish similarities and differences which exist between the environment in the period under study and the 21st Century, and use these as a baseline for recommending a strategy for attaining Caribbean security in the future.

The Intervention Environment

Political

The countries of the Caribbean were at varying levels of maturity in their status as independent nations when interventions by the US occurred. Haiti, as the first to gain independence, was almost a Century old, while the Dominican Republic was just over half a Century. US intervention contributed to Cuba's independence from Spain, while Grenada's intervention occurred less than a decade after its colonial days ended. For all except Grenada, however, the political instability and internal disorder which was in existence at the time of the interventions had been occurring for decades. Perhaps as a legacy of their struggles for independence, the islands were all victims of repressive regimes and dictatorial leadership. Without democratic institutions of the form that are prevalent in the Caribbean today, the rebellions became the sole avenue of expression for those who were unhappy with their political administration.

The inexperience of the leaders in the islands could have provided justification for the political assistance provided by the US after the rebellions. However, in many instances, the US officers who assumed leadership after the violence had been quelled were equally inexperienced in matters of governance. Further, their leadership was undermined by their misunderstanding and underestimation of those whom they led. After the Spanish American War, for example, US General John R.Brooke who was the first military commander of Cuba excluded Cubans from the public employment they had fought to obtain, maintained elements of the Spanish aristocracy they had fought against, and conducted humiliating public whippings of local personnel who did not conform to the law.[1] The underestimation of the populace also caused the US to favor leaders with

dictatorial tendencies, because American officials believed that the citizens "were not politically educated to accept democracy as it existed in the US."[2] In the words of historian David Schmitz

> From the end of World War I to the 1960s, American policy makers supported authoritarian regimes that promised stability, anticommunism and economic trade and investment opportunities for the United States. Although this policy violated the stated ideals of the United States, American leaders believed it served the national interest. The justifications used in support of the policy were remarkably similar throughout the decades. Non-Western European people were seen as incapable of handling the difficult demands of democratic rule. Their natural inferiority, American officials believed, made them susceptible to radical ideas and solutions to their persistent problems and, therefore, in need of a strong leader who would maintain order and implement the economic policies necessary for their nations to mature. . . . In addition these dictators protected foreign investments, provided a favorable atmosphere for American trade.[3]

Military

The military establishments of Caribbean states were not well developed at the start of the 20th Century. As part of their colonial history, the islands were accustomed to being dependent on their "mother" countries for protection from external aggressors. In addition, the threat from external hostile forces was almost non-existent, and was further minimized by the natural protection afforded by the sea. The composition and capabilities of the standing forces differed from one country to the other, but none was of comparable size to the US forces that were usually deployed in the region. Prior to the interventions and retraining by US troops, the local forces were all more constabulary in nature than military. In most instances, they lacked the expertise to counteract the rebel movements, usually originating from a guerilla force, which led to revolt and unrest. Even in the instances where the military force was well trained, they did not have the ability to conduct combined arms warfare as the US troops did, and were deficient in weapons and equipment. For example, none of the Caribbean islands owned a naval force, while the

US Navy, without landing troops, served as a deterrent force in the region on many occasions. A similar resource disparity was evidenced in the fact that when US forces began experimenting with air support in the region, local forces did not even own motor vehicles.

As part of its intervention efforts, the US practice was to disband and reorganize the local forces, and to then reconstitute and retrain them into paramilitary style national guards. These national guards not only had the ability to counter guerilla forces, but gained the unfortunate reputation as becoming "instruments of repression" of one dictator after another.[4]

Economic

The Caribbean nations were all plantation economies which had experienced an economic boom in the earlier years of colonization. By the start of the 20th Century however, these economies, for various reasons, were in decline. One reason for this decline is that the countries were victims of corruption and political mismanagement of national resources, and were therefore not economically independent. Another explanation is offered by the theory of plantation economy which has been used to describe the economic conditions of the region from colonization to modern times. According to this theory, countries of the Caribbean have been subordinated and dependent first on their colonial rulers, and then on the US, who had become the Caribbean's biggest trading partner by the early 1900s. The advent of war in Europe, competition from substitute resources such as beet sugar, and the absence of economic protection by colonial rulers after independence contributed to the economic demise of the islands. The Caribbean was also characterized by a lack of economic diversification

and dependence on single crop agrarian economy which negatively impacted the ability of countries to be financially resilient as market conditions changed.

Supporters of the US interventions into the Caribbean argue that it was necessary for the United States to intervene into these countries to avert the crises caused by the enormous debt owed by these impoverished countries. At the end of World War I, Britain was in debt, and even without the Monroe Doctrine could not economically assist the Caribbean. One may also deduce that the high level of investment by the US firms into the economies of the countries where interventions occurred, and the fact that trade with the US represented a significant percentage of the national economies, also played a factor. In addition, the countries were all of strategic economic importance because of their proximity to the Panama Canal and the trade route between North America and the rest of the world.

Social

The populations of the Caribbean nations were comprised in the majority by descendants of former slaves who were largely uneducated, both for cultural reasons and for lack of opportunity. Other ethnic groups included those of European descent who were born locally, and the mulattoes, who were of mixed parentage. Significant racial tensions existed between members of these groups, especially because the distribution of wealth favored those in the minority. These racial tensions in turn fuelled unrest.

Except in Grenada, which was not granted independence from Britain until 1974, struggles for independence had left volatile populations which had a penchant for violent rebellion. The leadership of the countries reflected this wider population, also being

characterized by illiteracy and inclined towards the achievement of political goals through violently abusive means.

Conduct of interventions

US involvement in the region utilized all the elements of national power, albeit in varying combinations before, during and after each intervention. The military interventions were always preceded by diplomatic involvement, although it is debatable whether the diplomacy was a show of heavy handedness by the US or an opportunity for the countries to resolve their issues via non-violent means. For the most part, the interventions occurred after violent incidents raised legitimate concerns about internal stability and about the safety of US citizens in the islands. In the case of Dominican Republic, US intervention occurred when the government's financial impropriety had become so severe that intervention by one power or another was inevitable, if not imminent.

In all instances political stability was stated as the ultimate goal and, except in the case of the Spanish American War, the US forces were employed against guerrilla forces rather than conventional armies. Outside of rebels in Grenada, who had been funded and equipped by Cuba and the Soviet Union, local forces were no match for US troops. These intervention forces were usually a brigade- sized element from various combat arms and they possessed the best equipment and technology that was available. Although the regiments and other subunits were assembled specifically for each intervention, the members were highly trained, particularly in marksmanship, on which there was strong emphasis at the start of the 20th Century.

The interventions usually concluded with reorganization/retraining and rebuilding of the local armed forces into some type of National Guard. Emphasis was placed on making these troops professional, and there was evidence that these initiatives were successful. While the US troops occupied each island, most of the leadership of these guard forces consisted of US officers (even when, as is the case with Dominican Republic, these US officers were enlisted ranks who had been temporarily appointed as commissioned officers in the guard units because many of their commanders had been deployed to other theatres.) After the departure of the US troops, however, these forces were accused of abusing their power. Dictatorial leaders such as Trujillo, who received accelerated promotion from the US forces who trained the National Guard in the Dominican Republic, later led his country in decades of repressive dictatorship.

Consequence of interventions

The history of US interventions in the Caribbean suggests that from the US perspective, the actions taken were as much in the interests of the Caribbean nations as they were self-serving for the US government which ordered the interventions and its citizens which were invested in the Caribbean. This position is supported by the fact that although there was not always an explicit request for intervention, in every instance the US forces were welcomed by at least one sector of society. Additionally, at the end of each intervention the local political situation showed signs of improvement, even if that improvement was only temporary. The resource constraints and other conditions which limited the countries under study led to the conclusion that on the surface, the US method of intervening in countries which were obviously troubled cannot be faulted. However, these interventions opened the US to criticism and left a legacy of resentment which is

still pervasive in the region today. At the most basic level, some of the reasons the interventions remain controversial include the fact that there appeared to be a lack of understanding of the people and their needs, a condescending attitude towards locals and the often cruel and inhumane treatment meted out by US troops in these countries.

With more far reaching consequences, the interventions also represented a lack of autonomy and a dependence which contradicted the very sovereignty and independence which Caribbean nations had been striving to achieve. Although in most if not all instances the Caribbean nations did not have the resources to independently attain stability after disorder erupted, the manner of the undertakings by the US and the demands which were placed on the national governments in return for assistance left ample room for criticisms of the US. Whitney Perkins offers one reason for this, positing that

> An attempt by a dominant power to promote genuine self-government is bound to strain credulity, whether simply because of cynical awareness of the potency of self-interest or because its intrinsic difficulty makes success unlikely. It is a paradox of power that it can rarely muster the strength to relieve itself of burdens of commitment and dilemmas of choice. The significance of the American commitment to self-government is not negated, however, by the inconsistency, insufficiency, or inappropriateness of the methods used and the admixture of other motivations that sometimes prevailed, nor by the paucity of favorable results.[5]

It is likely that the interventions would have been considered more favorably if US officials had been less excessively involved in the political life of the countries in which they intervened militarily, to the extent that they endorsed and supported dictatorial leaders on several occasions. Further, strict guidance, supervision and empowerment of a local government to handle its domestic affairs, rather than invasion followed by extended occupation could not have been faulted.

Should Caribbean Dependence on US Intervention Continue?

Of all the criticisms of the US interventions in the Caribbean, the most troubling is the legacy of dependency which individual nations have on the US. The countries of the region have matured politically, but economic development has been slow. The military forces, where they exist, are professional and equal in ability to their counterparts in more developed countries, but are constrained by the severe lack of resources. As first responders for humanitarian crises and internal conflicts, the inadequate budgetary allocations to these forces greatly inhibit their ability to perform. Consequently, there is heavy reliance on the US and other countries for military aid, although the relationships between the US and the Caribbean militaries are now more indicative of partnerships than of the servile interactions that existed during the years of intervention.

Notwithstanding these advances, the relationships are still steeped in inequality, nurtured to a large extent by the neediness of Caribbean nations. According to the late Eric Williams, former Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, imperialism has left the Caribbean with a legacy of dependence and fragmentation, coupled with a lack of self-confidence and self-reliance.[6] It is therefore understandable that some Caribbean nationals and their leaders maintain the sentiment that the US has a vested interest in the region and therefore should be relied on, at least financially, for non-routine military responses in the region. Consequently, while individual Caribbean countries have strong partnerships with the US, not enough emphasis has been placed on developing the relationship between the US and the Caribbean region as a single entity. Of even greater concern is the fact that the capacity of the region to act independently in attaining its

security objectives is severely underdeveloped. With the regional quest for independence almost two centuries old, in the face of continued criticism about US actions in the region, and given the advances made by Caribbean countries, the Caribbean should assume primary responsibility for regional security. With greater self-reliance the region will have more control over its internal security affairs as the old adage, "he who pays the piper calls the tune" suggests.

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[1]Lester D. Langley, *The United States and the Caribbean 1900-1970* (Athens, GA; The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 18.

[2]Alan McPherson, *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles The United States and Latin America Since 1945* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2006), 63.

[3]David F. Schmitz, *Thank God They're on Our Side: The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1921-1965* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 304.

[4]Herbert, 29.

[5]Perkins, ix.

[6]Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The history of the Caribbean 1492 – 1969* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1970), 502.

CHAPTER 5

A CARIBBEAN SECURITY SOLUTION

From the facts of the preceding chapters, one can conclude that although Caribbean states have on several occasions experienced such serious internal crises that external interventions were required to restore normalcy, the conduct of the US in these interventions was not always admirable. It does not follow, however, that the Caribbean should instantly divorce itself from external assistance. Rather, the question is not whether the nations of the Caribbean should continue to rely on the US –or any nation outside the region—for its security, but how the region will achieve its security objectives in the 21st Century and beyond.

History provides a useful reminder of what actions have previously been taken in this regard, and suggests pitfalls which should be avoided. However, the experiences of the past cannot be used as a blueprint for current security challenges, as the environment and the ways of achieving security has changed considerably over the course of the last Century. Between the early and mid-20th Century, the new states of the Caribbean faced challenges arising from political instability, totalitarian leadership and economic mismanagement. However the profile of the region for the 21st Century is somewhat different.

To propose a solution for current security concerns therefore, the following section examines the current Caribbean security environment. The assessment of the environment is used to determine what capabilities are required, which of those requirements are already in place, and the systems or structures which need to be implemented or improved to facilitate the attainment of Caribbean security. The

assessment presupposes that with the interconnectedness of the world in the 21st Century, and the small size and limited resources of Caribbean countries, the only viable regional solution will be one that uses these resources collectively.

The specific objectives of the regional security collaboration should be determined by components on the recommended entity. However, the goal of any Caribbean security initiative is the increased national security of member countries, and of the region as a whole. This includes defense from external threats, control of borders and territorial waters, effective emergency management mechanisms, deterrence of crime and violence, and a reduction in the illicit movement of arms, narcotics and persons. The attainment of regional security should also result in an improved sense of well-being and security among the citizens of each island.

The solution which will be presented will focus on the capabilities of military forces or their equivalent. It is, however, understood that cooperation and collaboration at a strategic level are imperative for operational and tactical success, and that there are some elements of regional security, such as disaster management, which will be led by agencies other than the military. The USMC *Small Wars Manual* provides a reasonable explanation for this by stating that

> The application of purely military measures may not, by itself restore peace and orderly government because the fundamental causes of the condition of unrest may be economic, political, or social. These conditions may have originated years ago and in many cases have been permitted to develop freely without any attempt to apply corrective measures. An acute situation finally develops when conditions have reached a stage that is beyond control of the civil authorities and it is too late for diplomatic adjustment. The solution of such problems being basically a political adjustment, the military measures to be applied must be of secondary importance and should be applied only to such extent as to permit the continuation of peaceful corrective measures.

> The initial problem is to restore peace. There may be many economic and social factors involved, pertaining to the administrative, executive, and judicial functions of the government. These are completely beyond military power as such unless some form of military government is included in the campaign plan. Peace and industry cannot be restored permanently without appropriate provisions for the economic welfare of the people. Moreover, productive industry cannot be fully restored until there is peace. Consequently, the remedy is found in emphasizing the corrective measures to be taken in order to permit the orderly return to normal conditions.[1]

The assumption is therefore made that the requisite level of diplomatic cooperation and political support will be in place to ensure the success of the initiatives determined below.

The Current Security Environment

There are a wide range of threats to Caribbean security in the 21st Century. In comparison to the years of intervention, the leaders and the general population are better educated and the political systems are more stable. However, the region is threatened by natural and environmental disasters, high rates of crime and violence, illegal narcotics trafficking, terrorism (against the region, or originating in the region against other countries), illegal migration and failing states. The vulnerability of the islands to these and other threats is increased by limitations in the economic development of the islands.

The economic deficiencies are seen in the 2010 GNI per capita data for the Caribbean which showed that the median per capita Gross National Income (GNI) was approximately US$4,800. At the extreme ends of this dataset were Haiti with a GNI of $660, and the Bahamas with $20,610.[2] The poverty of the islands offers one explanation for the high levels of corruption with which they are plagued,[***] as poverty is believed to

[***]Barbados with a score of 7.8, and Dominica with 5.2 are the only Caribbean nations with a score greater than 4 on Transparency International's Corruption Perception

increase corruption, and vice versa.[3] Corruption in turn reduces the effectiveness of security measures. The economic situation of Caribbean states also reduces their capacity to implement the mechanisms needed to increase security, including adequate border controls and protection of its citizens from natural disasters.

Between 1 June and 30 November each year, Caribbean residents live in fear of the destructive power which can accompany the Atlantic hurricane season. With sizes ranging from 35 acres (Young Islands in the Grenadines) to 42, 803 square miles (Cuba), any Caribbean island can be completely devastated by a single hurricane, necessitating outside aid. The same is true of earthquakes and volcanoes. The region is also susceptible to environmental threats, whether from the oil refineries in the southern Caribbean, or from the movement of toxic waste from more developed countries through the Caribbean Sea. These natural and environmental disasters do not however compare to the issues of crime and violence in the region.

According to a 2008 report by the World Bank, "high rates of crime and violence in the Caribbean are undermining growth, threatening human welfare, and impeding social development."[4] In many Caribbean states there is a lack of respect for the rule of law, and a subculture of violence. For example, the "lotto scam," which is run by one of the biggest criminal networks originating in Jamaica, is projected to raise $300 million in illicit gains in 2011, mainly from US citizens. This scam is noteworthy not only because of its international impact, but because high levels of associated violence have contributed significantly to increased murder rates in Western Jamaica.

Index for 2010. From http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results (accessed 22 November 2011).

Crime and violence are also largely related to illegal trafficking in narcotics. The Caribbean, positioned between the drug producing nations of South America and their North American market, is an integral part of the transshipment route for cocaine and heroin. The movement of the drugs is facilitated by miles of unmanned coastline and inadequate border controls, and is accompanied by increased use of violent weapons as those involved in the trade seek to protect their bounty. An even newer phenomenon is the "gun for drugs" trade,[5] primarily between Jamaica and Haiti, where Jamaicans receive illegal weapons in return for locally produced marijuana sent via fishing boats to Haiti for onward movement to the US.

Illegal narcotics itself is one of the primary reasons for collaboration between US and the Caribbean. Caribbean security practitioners are concerned that this problem of illegal narcotics within the Caribbean will intensify within as more emphasis is placed on controlling drugs in Mexico. If efforts to control drugs and violence in that country are fruitless, criminals in the Caribbean will become emboldened. On the other hand, successful control mechanisms in Mexico will require drug dealers to find alternate routes, and it is anticipated that drug operations in the Caribbean, which is under less scrutiny, will be increased.

Haiti's threat to the region is not limited to its involvement in illegal narcotics. As the poorest, least developed country in the Western Hemisphere, it is vulnerable as a failing state which poses a threat to its neighbors, as described in the *Economist* of January 2010. According to the article, "The Earthquake in Haiti - Hell on Earth" the security of the region and the United States is compromised by Haiti's contribution to

illegal migration and the illegal narcotics trade.[6] Haiti has not had a military since 2004, when it was disbanded by President Artistide.

History of Integration in the Caribbean

In order to define the optimal solution for increasing Caribbean security, consideration has to be given to those institutions which were or are currently in existence. Doing so will highlight some pitfalls to be avoided, and the gaps which exist between the security needs and the mechanisms in place to meet those needs.

The Caribbean has been historically characterized by limited integration and coordination among countries of the region. Notwithstanding, all Caribbean countries belong to the Organization of American States (OAS), and eventually became signatories to the Inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance, or the Rio Pact, which was established in 1947 among Latin American States. This is the only regional organization to which Cuba currently belongs.[†††] These institutions are narrow in their scope however, and focus mainly on security threats from one nation to another, rather than on a broader definition of national security. In addition, the United States is dominant in the OAS, which suggests that Caribbean countries would not truly be independent of external assistance if their leaders decided that OAS

Within the Caribbean, the short lived West Indies Federation of 1958 was the first attempt at formal regional unity. Its mandate was to ensure political union among

[†††]Since the completion of this work the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez hosted a two-day, 33-nation conference from 4 December 2011, welcoming nations from Brazil to Jamaica in what he hopes will be a grand alliance to counter US influence. From BBC News 3 December 2011, "New regional bloc established at Caracas conference," http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-16021120.

member states (Grenada is the only one of those in this study which belonged to the Federation) and a federal government was established to govern the states. The federation eventually failed in 1962 for reasons including differences of opinion between Caribbean leaders (territorial governments) on the policies of the federation as well as reluctance by these territorial governments to cede power to the Federal government.[7]

In 1965 Caribbean leaders formed the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) to encourage balanced development of the Region. In 1973 this organization was replaced by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) with the signing of the Treaty of Chaguaramas, Trinidad. The primary aims of CARICOM relate to issues of economic policy, and development, and there were no specific provisions in the initial Treaty or in its first revision in 2001 for regional security. Regional security cooperation improved in 1991 with the formation of the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency (now the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency [CDEMA]) among CARICOM countries and a few external nations. In 2001, a new focus on regional security led to the formation of a regional task force on crime and security. The task force presented recommendations regarding crime and security, illicit trafficking, terrorism, information and intelligence sharing, and cooperation between regional security forces.[8]

Based on the recommendations of the task force, the CARICOM Implementation Agency for Crime and Security (IMPACS) was created in 2005. Subsequently, in 2006, the CARICOM Council of Ministers responsible for National Security and Law Enforcement was established. IMPACS was designed to administer a collective response to the Crime and Security priorities of Member States. It is accountable to the CARICOM Ministerial Council for Security and Law Enforcement (CONSLE). In preparation for the

International Cricket Council Cricket World Cup (ICC CWC) 2007, the Regional Intelligence Fusion Centre (RIFC) and the Joint Regional Communications Centre (JRCC) were formed as sub agencies of IMPACS. The accomplishments of these agencies led to the CARICOM heads of government endorsing a proposal for them to become permanent. IMPACS, RIFC and JRCC "are specifically geared towards strategic research, program and project implementation, evaluation, analysis and mobilization of resources to support the collective fight against serious crime and to counter other security threats in the Region."[9] IMPACS has been the object of scrutiny in recent months, with allegations of financial mismanagement and impropriety leading to the replacement of its director. While these allegations are still being investigated, it has been revealed that the financial affairs of the agency were run autonomously, without audit for the last four years.[10]

The Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI), established in 2010, is the latest institution aimed at improving regional security. As a partnership between the US, CARICOM states and the Dominican Republic, the CBSI will facilitate collaboration to reduce illicit trafficking, increase public security and promote social justice. As a result of the partnership with the US, it has the advantage of a wider resource base than those agencies whose membership is purely Caribbean.

The Regional Security System is the only operational level Caribbean organization that was established specifically to address regional security issues. Formed in 1982, its membership is limited to countries of the eastern Caribbean. Its mission is to "To ensure the stability and well-being of Member States through mutual cooperation, in

order to maximize regional security in preserving the social and economic development of our people."[11]

Despite limitations relating to formal regional institutions, the bonds between the islands have been strengthened through several decades of joint training and exercises, and the resulting relationships which have developed between members of the armed forces, many of whom are at a the leadership level in their forces and are able to influence policy. Initially, these training exchanges took place outside of the region, with several countries benefitting from opportunities in the UK, Canada and the US. Since the 1990s, however, there has been greater emphasis on regional training. The first designated regional training institution[‡‡‡] was the Caribbean Junior Command and Staff School (formerly Jamaica Junior Command and Staff School). Established in Jamaica with Canadian assistance, the school has been training junior officers from regional security forces since 1994. It was followed in 2007 by the Jamaica Military Aviation School, which is also expected to become a regional training institution.

On the operational side, while a permanent Caribbean security entity does not exist, regional forces have been fielded for Operation Urgent Fury in Grenada in 1983, on a larger scale for Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti in 1994, and involving all Caribbean states for the ICC CWC 2007. Leadership for the battalion in the second instance rotated among senior officers of various CARICOM militaries, but funding was provided first by the US and then by the United Nations. IMPACS was the agency with responsibility for the security strategy for the ICC CWC 2007, and was funded by

[‡‡‡]Several countries have invited other Caribbean nationals to attend their local courses – not designated as regional

contributions from CARICOM countries. Regional security cooperation is also supported through The Caribbean Customs Law Enforcement Council (CCLEC), and the Association of Caribbean Commissioners of Police.

The Way Forward

As established before, the effects of globalization and transnational organized crime mean that individual Caribbean states are unable to achieve their security goals without acting in concert with regional neighbors. While each state has clearly defined national security goals and strategies, focus on the collective security of the region needs to be strengthened. The integrated Caribbean security response should have a strategic component that will provide oversight and assume responsibility for tasking and enforcing as required, an operational component that will act as required to alleviate a threat to the region, and an external component representing partnership with countries or organizations outside of the Caribbean region. Justification for these recommendations is provided below.

Define the Caribbean Security Region

There are several unique groups to which the islands of the Caribbean belong. Some groups contain countries external to the Caribbean as defined in chapter one, while other groupings exclude some of the islands. The first step in planning a collective security response is to have consensus which countries are members of the collective security entity. As the starting point of this research, CARICOM is used as the focal point for Caribbean security efforts. However, this excludes Cuba and the Dominican Republic, and includes some South American countries. Caribbean leaders will have to decide

which country should be part of formal efforts to secure the region. Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, as the two largest islands, are integral to these efforts.

Permanent Oversight Secretariat on Regional Security

Guidance on an integrated solution can be taken from the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Organization of American States (OAS),[§§§] to which many Caribbean states belong. These organizations, in particular the OSCE, advance the principle of strategic collaboration and full engagement of political leadership as the first step in a multi-faceted approach to security. In accordance with this example, the first recommendations is for a permanent oversight secretariat on regional security, which will have one or several enforcing/tasking authorities for the various security threats which the region may encounter. It is critical for the success of the responsible organization that its size and membership preclude language or cultural barriers and disparities of size or income that could affect its efficient functioning. The OAS, while a useful regional organization, is not recommended as this oversight body because of it was designed for a different era with different threats, and because the strong influence of the US in the OAS would not allow the Caribbean nations the autonomy which is desired.

However, from the study of existing organizations presented above, CARICOM, through IMPACS and its sub agencies has the basic mechanisms required for regional

[§§§]The OAS and the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency (CDERA), with the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development have already partnered in the establishment of Caribbean Disaster Mitigation Project and are working together on the Caribbean Hazard Mitigation Capacity Building Program (from Organization of American States, “Caribbean Hazard Mitigation Projects”, http://www.oas.org/cdmp/hazsites.htm (accessed 22 November 2011).

security cooperation. Consideration should be given to reenergizing and strengthening IMPCACS to undertake this oversight/enforcing role as agreed upon by Caribbean leaders. A critical component of this process would be ensuring the full accountability of staff employed at this agency to CARICOM through CONSLE.

An Operational Framework for Regional Responses

It would not be efficient for the Caribbean to prepare a force simply to respond to regional security incidents. Therefore, existing forces have to take on additional roles and responsibilities in order to contribute to the overall security solution. In order for this to be done, IMPACS or another designated strategic entity must develop a framework for operations. This framework should answer questions regarding the composition of the force and the capabilities required, identify which countries already have these capabilities available, and show where existing forces need to be expanded or trained in order to overcome capability gaps. From this analysis of capabilities, lead responsibilities can be specifically assigned to each island on the basis of their unique capabilities and resources.

The framework should also determine sources of funding, stating whether the regional entity will be financed from a collective pool or with individual countries being assigned specific responsibilities (the danger of this second approach would be in the failure of one country to finance a critical assigned need because of internal financial constraints). Where it is determined that financing will be done collectively, a decision should be taken on how individual islands contribute to the collective architecture - whether by size, population, economic ability or another combination. Once the capabilities of the force have been established, and the gaps identified one can determine

the extent of assistance required from outside of the region, and how this assistance will be obtained.

Development of Training and Doctrine

After the structure of the force has been agreed upon, the next step should be to establish its modus operandi. This will require the appointment of interim leadership which can collaborate to develop doctrine and make operational plans. The development of doctrine would provide standardization across the various forces of the region, and would be used as the basis for developing training plans and schedules, and contingency plans for security responses. Specific actions required in this regard would include the revision of regional training curricula such as the Caribbean Junior Command and Staff School to ensure that the school trains according to regional requirements. Another action would be to review those national training organizations which train for capabilities that are needed by other islands to see how they could be expanded to meet the needs of the region. There should also be scheduled training for various elements of the force, conducted at prescribed intervals and utilizing either mobile training teams or fixed locations. For example, a training team for infantrymen could travel through each island conducting the same training, while air traffic controllers, who are fewer in number and require specific training equipment, could travel to one specific location for training.

Once doctrine has been established, and training is being conducted, Caribbean nations can then participate in joint exercises designed to reinforce theoretical training, and develop collaborative capabilities. These exercises should be conducted at set intervals, and should utilize scenarios which represent the likely security threats to the region. They should be supported by a standards team to ensure compliance with training

and doctrine, and involve external partners where these relationships have been established.

Establish External Partnerships

After the strategic regional oversight body has been established, and the development of the operational force is in progress, the external partnership necessary for regional security can be engaged. The external relationships are necessary for several reasons. First, where the threats to security originate in a natural or environmental disaster, the ability of the region to respond adequately to its own crisis may be diminished. A pre-existing arrangement with a nation or group of nations outside the region will ensure the fastest, most seamless response available. At the very least, the US, which has several thousand citizens in the Caribbean, would be involved in evacuating its citizens from any Caribbean island in which they were at risk from the prevailing national security situation. Second, there are several threats to the region, such as illegal narcotics, terrorism, and illegal migration, which will have equal impact on the US or other countries outside. The responsibility for responding to these threats will overlap and force interdependence.

Finally, the resource constraints of the region cannot be ignored. It is highly unlikely that a Caribbean regional security system, especially in its infancy, will possess all the capabilities required to respond to all the threats the region is likely to encounter. The external partner could therefore assist with providing specialized response expertise that a Caribbean force would not possess, and may not need to develop because of the limited demand in the region. For example, a response to an oil spill would require capabilities that would not be available in the region, but which the US would possess

because of its own experiences. A pre-existing arrangement on how to mitigate the consequences of an oil spill would ensure quick mobilization of resources if the need should arise. Logistical support from traditional benefactors in North America and Europe or from China is another way in which external partnerships could assist in regional security. For example, none of the forces in the region have the capacity to move a battalion of troops in a single lift. Rather than prescribing the exact details of this external partnership, the partnership should help where there are capability gaps in the regional force, or where the scope of the threats being faced go beyond regional security. The recommendations contained in this study concerning external partnerships are perhaps anachronistic, as the newly established US CBSI is ideal for maintaining the US Caribbean partnership.

Increased Operational Collaboration and Intelligence Sharing

The establishment of a regional response force in the manner described above will require time. However, there can be immediate returns on regional collaboration efforts if existing national forces work together in current security endeavors. An easy way of facilitating this is through the sharing of data and information regarding threats such as illegal narcotics trafficking. For example, a database of known drug barons could be shared among regional police forces, and intelligence concerning the movement of drugs through the region could be shared with all coast guards, and not just the destination country. Intelligence sharing can ensure greater collaboration and increase the responsiveness of local forces, thus decreasing the level of response required from the regional entity at time of crisis. This will eventually require the installation of permanent information technology infrastructure and the utilization of permanent intelligence

sharing and information systems network to facilitate real time collaboration in support of regional efforts. The existing Regional Intelligence Fusion Centre could be given the additional manpower and resources to facilitate this collaboration. In addition a culture of partnership should be encouraged among domestic intelligence agencies, which are traditionally very protective of their information.

Public Education Campaign

The final recommendation for the unified Caribbean security solution is an information campaign. Increasing public awareness of the actions being taken to improve regional security will increase the confidence of good citizens, and may serve as a deterrent to criminal activities. Successes in security collaboration may also encourage cooperation in other aspects of regional life and increase investment in the region, thereby increasing the economic capacity of the islands to provide this collective security response.

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[1]Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual* (Washington, DC, 1940), http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/swm/ch01.pdf (accessed 12 September 2011), 15-16.

[2]The World Bank, Latin America and the Caribbean Data Profile

[3]Michael Johnston, "Poverty and Corruption," http://www.forbes.com /2009/01/22/corruption- poverty- development-biz-corruption09-cx_mj_ 0122johnston.html (accessed 23 November 2011).

[4]The World Bank, *Crime, Violence and Development: Trends, costs and Policy Options in the Caribbean*, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTHAITI/Resources/ Crimeandviolenceinthecaribbeanfullreport.pdf (accessed 18 November 2011).

[5]Nick Davis, "Haiti and Jamaica's Deadly Trade," *BBC News*, 25 October 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7684983.stm (accessed 12 November 2011).

[6]Banyan, “The Earthquake in Haiti - Hell on Earth,” *The Economist*, 14 January 2010, http://www.economist.com /node/15271171 (accessed 14 November 2011).

[7]CARICOM Secretariat, “The West Indies Federation,” http://www.caricom.org/jsp/community/west_indies_federation.jsp?menu=community (accessed 13 November 2011).

[8]“CARICOM Regional Task Force on Crime and Security,” http://www.caricom.org/jsp/community/regional_issues/crime_and_security.jsp?menu=community (accessed 12 November 2011).

[9]CARICOM IMPACS, “What is the CARICOM Implementation Agency for Crime and Security?” http://caricomimpacs.org/impacs/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=105 (accessed 15 November 2011).

[10]CARICOM, “CONSLE agrees to Special Purpose Audit for IMPACS,” http://www.caricom.org/jsp/pressreleases/press_releases_2011/pres206_11.jsp (accessed 23 November 2011).

[11]Regional Security System, “Mission Statement,” http://www.rss.org.bb/ (accessed 12 November 2011).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

From the era of the Monroe Doctrine to the present commitment to regional security, the US has had an interest in the Caribbean. The interventions into the region although primarily in support of that interest, were not all bad. Rather, it could easily be argued that in some respects, these interventions were necessary. The legacy however, has been overshadowed by way these interventions were conducted, and the fact that they were often extended into occupations.

Caribbean countries have stabilized and developed significantly since the start of the 20th Century, and should therefore assume more responsibility for regional security. However the current security environment requires an integrated response. This collective response is especially necessary given the limitations imposed by the size of the islands and their resource shortfalls. With globalization and transnational organized crimes, however, external collaboration is also an integral part of the Caribbean security solution.

CARICOM IMPACS and US CBSI provide the right foundations for a regional security response. They should however be further developed, the details of the regional operational force finalized, and ongoing training conducted.

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