

Upheaval in Haiti: The Criminal Threat to Canada

A BACKGROUND STUDY

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About the Project

In January 2004, Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (CISC) initiated Project SOOTHSAYER. The goal of the project was to develop a strategic early warning system (SEWS) for organized and serious crime in Canada. The project had three broad objectives: I) the development of a methodology suited to intelligence warning for law enforcement; II) the establishment of a reporting mechanism; and III) the development of dissemination and communications methods (i.e. a product line). SEWS focuses on emergent events and phenomena – be they local, national or international, demographic, economic or technological – that could potentially alter the organized and serious crime situation in Canada. CISC sought out the support of the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, which had a demonstrated expertise in warning for state failure, risk assessment and early warning. A central element of this venture was the development of the project's scanning component, known as the SENTINEL *Watch List*. This report, commissioned by CISC and produced by CIFP, is the essential background to the SENTINEL.

About the Author

Stewart Prest is a Masters candidate at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. He has been involved in the SENTINEL project since collaboration began between CIFP and CISC in January 2004, co-authoring several reports, along with the overall project concept paper. His own research interests include the role of effective analysis, risk assessment, and early warning in the prevention and management of conflict, both civil and international. He is also researching the effects of development aid and other types of intervention in weak state environments – those countries considered most vulnerable to conflict or failure – and the attendant need for international coordination throughout all stages of involvement in such states. He is currently working on a project that explores elements of multicausality found in democratic and liberal peace theory, particularly with respect to civil conflict. His work seeks to incorporate disparate factors – from the role of gender to the effects of transnational crime – within the more standard discussions of the democracy-trade-peace nexus. Stewart is the co-author of the Russian Criminogenic report also located on the CIFP site.

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Note: References to organised criminal activity associated with particular ethnic-based groups are not meant to suggest that all members of that specific ethnic group are involved in organised crime. These references allude to the illegal activities of particular criminal organisations that tend to self-identify with a particular ethnic origin.

I - EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1) Overview

Haiti is a troubled country, beset by a range of economic and social problems and plagued by recurrent conflict. As governmental authority and capacity continues to erode, the island nation has increasingly come under the domination of local gangs and militias, and international drug cartels.

Canada has long claimed to have a “special” relationship with Haiti; language, geography, economics, and political considerations have all played a role in the formation and evolution of that relationship. Canada has repeatedly taken a lead role in international efforts to intervene in the country, providing financial, military, and humanitarian support to the island on numerous occasions.

In many ways, Montréal is the fulcrum of the bilateral relationship, the point at which the two countries physically intersect. As the dominant Francophone metropolis in the Western

Hemisphere, Montréal has become home to a thriving, vibrant Haitian-Canadian community. With roots extending back more than half a century, Haitian-Canadians have become an integral part of the city.

Unfortunately, the last 20 years have seen the growth of several Haitian-Canadian-dominated street gangs in the Montréal area. Two gangs in particular – the Bo-Gars and the Crack Down Posse – have emerged as formidable and ruthless competitors in Montréal’s criminal marketplace. Should these two gangs develop more formal links to criminal groups operating in Haiti, the consequences for the Montréal would be significant.

This report attempts to ascertain the current extent of any criminal Haitian-Canadian nexus, evaluate its likely evolution, and assess its probable impact on Canada, with a particular emphasis on the Montréal region.

2) Conditions in Haiti: Key Indicators

Governance: Haiti is verging on ungovernable; conditions are ripe for a partial balkanisation of the country and criminalisation of governmental institutions. This situation is unlikely to improve without significant and prolonged international involvement in the country.

Economy: Chronic civil unrest and hurricane damage have left vast portions of the population without even minimal economic support; drug trafficking is virtually the only economic activity with growth potential in the short to medium term.

Conflict history: Though the current conflict renders increased export of criminal activity unlikely in the short term, the perennial instability of the country ensures a high degree of lawlessness and lack of coherent law enforcement over the medium to long term.

Society: Haiti is currently rated among the most corrupt countries in the world. Corruption taints all levels of government and all parts of the political spectrum. While most Haitians feel this is a serious problem, few believe that addressing it should be the government’s top policy priority. Most simply accept it as a fact of life.

Environment: Tropical storm Jeanne adversely interrupted virtually all economic activity in Haiti, including multinational criminal operations. Current chaos thus ensures that new exportable criminal activities are unlikely to emerge in the short term. The high level of environmental degradation ensures that future disruptions will be virtually inevitable.

Criminality: Haiti’s ongoing political unrest will likely create new criminal opportunities in the medium to long term. Moreover, Haiti’s importance as a trafficking nation has increased markedly in the last decade as Central American drug cartels seek alternate trafficking routes. Caribbean traffickers are increasingly involved not only in the transport but also the distribution of drugs in North America. Haitian groups involved in this process will likely look to connections in Canadian and American cities – particularly areas with large Haitian populations, such as Montréal – to assist in drug marketing and distribution.

3) Conditions in Canada: Key Indicators

Current crime trends: The Bo-Gars and Crack Down Posse, the two major Haitian-Canadian-based Street Gangs (HSGs) in Canada, are among the groups competing to fill the partial vacuum left by outlaw motorcycle gangs (OMGs) in the Montréal area. There is a strong potential for their increased involvement in drugs, prostitution, and other criminal enterprises. Further, both gangs have a demonstrated propensity for open violence, and may therefore pose particular hazards not only to surrounding populations, but possibly to law enforcement personnel as well.

4) Conclusions: Possible Haitian-Canadian Crime Links

Current Trends: Conditions in Haiti and Canada favour the continued growth of a formalised and structured nexus between criminal organisations in both countries in the medium to long term. Although there appear to be no formal links between criminal actors in Haiti and in Canada presently, individual HSG members have established criminal links with the island. In addition, the HSGs as a whole may also be cultivating informal inter-group links with counterparts in Haiti. Moreover, the continuous flows of people, money, and materiel between the two countries ensure such links will remain viable in the long term.

The most likely evidence of an emerging formal link between criminal groups in the two countries would be a sudden increase in the amount – and commensurate decrease in the price – of Latin American cocaine in the Montréal area. Such a development would indicate that a “short circuit” had developed, allowing the drugs to flow from the Caribbean

directly into Canada through an emerging Haitian-Canadian network.

Future Threats: One area of concern arises from the Canadian practice of deporting Haitian-born but Canadian-raised landed immigrants that have been convicted of a serious crime in Canada. Such deportees gain a working knowledge of official and criminal systems in both countries; members of this group that continue their involvement in criminal activity in Haiti become extremely well-equipped to facilitate further criminal linkages between the two countries.

Finally, it is possible that Haitians living in Canada may begin to use the country as a base from which to supply factions in Haiti with money and materiel, with the aim of regaining or maintaining control of the Caribbean nation. Such a development would likely involve relatively recent arrivals to Canada; it is unlikely that the street gangs in Montréal would become involved in such an enterprise.

II – HAITIAN INDICATORS

1) Summary

As the motivating force behind this assessment, the upheavals currently gripping Haiti must be clearly delineated before any conclusions can be drawn regarding their effects on criminality in Canada. There is little positive that can be said about the current conditions in Haiti. At the beginning of 2004, it was the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. In the intervening 11 months, it has seen a violent uprising, a controversial presidential resignation, and two bouts of catastrophic rains and flooding, each causing over 2000 deaths and leaving hundreds of thousands homeless. Its police force continues to be poorly equipped, demoralized, and tainted by corruption at all levels. Its military exists only on paper, while rogue militias and urban street gangs have become the sole source of power and authority in many regions of the country.

As a result of these calamitous conditions, Haiti today is in a state of near-complete disorder, verging on chaos in some areas. The trauma of repeated, massive flooding in the northwest has only exacerbated Haiti's already desperate political, economic, and security situation. Moreover, there is little reason for optimism in the near future. Haiti's police force is in complete disarray; the only forces capable of bringing some degree of order are the understaffed UN peacekeeping force, currently operating at just over half its mandated strength, and the loose patchwork of illegal but armed gangs and militias that have taken control of various parts of the island. The latter have demonstrated disturbing patterns of open violence and a lack of respect for the rule of law. Should they become entrenched even in limited areas of the country, Haiti will likely find itself hosting an increasing number international criminal enterprises as hemispheric cartels take advantage of the "zones of impunity" that result.

2) Conflict History

- Haiti is a deeply fractured society, with conflict occurring on multiple dimensions: local and national, political and military.
- Conflict is a recurrent problem, with few periods of peace in Haiti's 200-year history.
- Armed militias/gangs becoming increasingly important actors in Haitian political system, dominating entire regions.
- System remains very unstable, with no clear source of central authority. Partial domination of country by militia/gang forces likely.
- Former alliances unstable following departure of Aristide. Some pro-Aristide forces remain loyal, while others seek to align themselves with current leaders.

Violence, endemic disorder, and conflict have marked much of Haiti's 200-year history. There have been 34 changes of government since Haiti won its independence from France in 1804; most of these changes have been violent.¹ The current conflict pits supporters of the recently departed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide against segments of the business community, alienated supporters of the President, and former elements of Haiti's now-disbanded military apparatus. All of these groups have mobilised, albeit in different forms and for different objectives. Many former allies of Aristide are now members of the Democratic Convergence Party (CD), a merged group of 15 opposition parties.² Haiti's business elite, a traditional opponent of Aristide, is represented in the transitional government and through a variety of civil society organisations.³ Violent opponents of Aristide, those primarily responsible for his departure in February, include members of Haiti's former military and Front Révolutionnaire Armé pour le Progrès d'Haiti (FRAPH) paramilitary squads, as well as former police *chefs de section* - regional police chiefs associated with numerous human rights violations. Violent pro-Aristide supporters include remnants of the pro-Aristide militias known as the *chimères* that were accused of suppressing anti-Aristide factions prior to his departure, as well as armed pro-Aristide street gangs that continue to dominate slum areas surrounding the capital and other major cities in the country even after his departure.

The current conflict has gone through a number of phases, though violence has been virtually a continuous feature. In September 1991, 9 months after his initial election, Aristide was deposed in a military coup. In July 1994, following a series of UN-backed sanctions and other measures, the UN Security Council (UNSC) mandated a U.S. led Multinational Interim Force (MIF) to use "all necessary means" in restoring Haiti's democratically elected president.⁴

Immediately following his reinstatement, President Aristide disbanded the military. Many former officers went into exile in neighbouring Dominican Republic; others remained underground in Haiti. Violence between pro- and anti-Aristide factions continued even after Aristide – constitutionally barred from a second term in office – stepped down in favour of his former Prime Minister, René Preval.⁵

Political conflict erupted once again in 2000, following controversial elections that returned Aristide to office. Opposition became more widespread. It began to include alienated former

¹ Daniel Lak, "Problem of Haiti's gun culture," *BBC News*, 11 March 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3500290.stm>, (accessed 16 Oct 2004).

² Polity IV, "Country Report 2002: Haiti," 2002, <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/Hai1.htm>, (accessed 26 Nov 2004).

³ There is some controversy surrounding the Group of 184, arguably the most active civil society group in Haiti right now, particularly surrounding the source of its funding and the exact nature of its agenda. While the organization purports to be a broadly constituted association of civil society groups, its leadership and political statements indicate a connection with Haiti's business elite. For differing perspectives, see Groupe 184, "Groupe 184," 2004 <http://www.group184.org/>, (accessed 15 Nov 2004); or Tim Padgett, "Q&A: A Dangerous Vacuum Grows in Haiti," *Time.com*, 23 Feb 2004, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,593834,00.html>, (accessed 19 Nov 2004).

⁴ United Nations Security Council, "Resolution 940," 31 Jul 1994, available online: <http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N94/312/22/PDF/N9431222.pdf?OpenElement>, (accessed 21 Nov 2004).

⁵ Polity IV, "Country Report."

supporters of Aristide as well as groups representing Haiti's small but powerful business class. Much of the international community, led by the U.S., declared its dissatisfaction with the election. Following the 2000 elections, the U.S. became increasingly critical of Aristide and moved to cut off its bilateral direct foreign assistance to Haiti.

Violence and protests continued throughout the next three years, culminating in the events of February 2004. Armed groups, led by Guy Philippe and Louis-Jodel Chamblain, took control of several northern cities and began to march on Port-au-Prince. On 29 February, Aristide resigned and went into exile under controversial circumstances.

Low intensity conflict continues in the country today, with the Haitian National Police (PNH) and the UN Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) struggling to secure the country. Particular areas of concern include neighbourhoods of Port-au-Prince still dominated by armed Aristide loyalists. The militias responsible for Aristide's departure have also refused to demobilise and disarm; in many parts of the country they have occupied abandoned police stations and now constitute the only source of order and authority in the region. It is unclear if the interim government will seek to displace these militias with more legitimate forces, or if they are even capable of such action. Other options include attempting to come to a tacit understanding with the groups, allowing them to retain regions already under their control in return for their support of the new regime. Given the limited resources available to the government, the latter option may be the only viable policy. Thus, it is unlikely that a centralised and universally acknowledged authority will emerge in Haiti in the short to medium term.

3) Governance

- The judiciary is seen as corrupt, unreliable, and vulnerable to political and criminal influence.
- Armed militias have become the sole source of authority and order in certain regions, and are acting as *de facto* police forces.
- The role of pro-Aristide Fanmi Lavalas (FL) supporters is uncertain in new system, contributing to unrest.
- Police are under-resourced and perceived as widely corrupt; they are unable to stabilise society without assistance from outside actors.
- Media is subject to widespread intimidation and unable to report freely. Pro-Aristide media have been aggressively attacked since Aristide's departure.

Political Factors: Haiti's current political spectrum is fractured along numerous lines. The defining figure of Haiti's political life continues to be former President Aristide, however. It is still unknown whether members of the pro-Aristide Fanmi Lavalas (FL) political party will be able to participate in the elections currently scheduled for November 2005.⁶ However, it is increasingly clear that many government institutions are being used to target pro-Aristide elements, and the government has stated it will not let any Aristide supporters associated with violent protest participate in the election. Should such trends continue, and should FL candidates be barred from participating in elections, the legitimacy of any elected government may be questioned by a significant portion of the population, weakening the nascent government before it is even elected.

Police: The PNH is Haiti's only formal enforcement body.⁷ It is charged with maintaining order in the island nation. In the years following Aristide's 1994 reinstatement, the PNH received training from international Civilian Police (CIVPOL) units attached to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) and through bilateral arrangements with a number of donor nations, including Canada. Despite tremendous improvement following this training, the force nonetheless failed to achieve satisfactory levels of professionalism, effectiveness, and impartiality.⁸ This disappointing result was due to a number of factors, including a lack of sufficient funding; minimal support from the relatively poorly trained judicial branch and correctional services; an increasing dependence on, and subservience to, the country's political leadership; as well as the growth of a pervasive culture of corruption engendered by the illicit drug industry.

Initially numbering some 5000 officers, the force had shrunk to around 2000 by the summer of 2004.⁹ Given that the current population of Haiti is 7.6 million, it is unlikely that such a small force would be able to effectively provide for peace and security throughout the country, even were it at its original strength. Despite the training provided to PNH officers by UNMIH civilian police forces, the force developed a reputation as an increasingly politicised and corrupt organisation throughout the latter part of the Aristide/Preval era. The PNH was repeatedly accused of suppressing opponents of Aristide and the FL.¹⁰ Since the departure of Aristide, similar complaints have been repeatedly made regarding PNH suppression of supporters of Aristide and

⁶ United Nations Secretary General, "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti," 18 Nov 2004, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/643146.1.html>, accessed 22 Nov 2004; Graham Fraser, "PM's message to Haiti: Disarm, stop violence," *Toronto Star*, 15 Nov 2004, A8.

⁷ CIA, "The World Factbook: Haiti," 2004, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ha.html>, accessed 10 Oct 2004.

⁸ Michael Vigil, "DEA Congressional Testimony before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources," *Drug Enforcement Agency*, 12 April 2000, <http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/cngttest/ct041200.htm>, (accessed 10 Sep 2004). Note: No longer available online.

⁹ Amnesty International, "Haiti: Breaking the cycle of violence: A last chance for Haiti?" 21 Jun 2004, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR360382004>, (accessed 12 Sep 2004).

¹⁰ Amnesty International, "Abuse of human rights: political violence as the 200th anniversary of independence approaches," Oct 2003, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR360072003?open&of=ENG-HTI>, (accessed 12 Sep 2004).

the FL.¹¹ Taken collectively, such reports demonstrate the PNH's high level of subservience to the party in power, as opposed to any given political faction. The police support to the regime in power, regardless of the identity of the party in power or the legality of the support provided..

Finally, there are consistent reports that segments of the PNH are partially or totally under the influence of various cocaine smuggling cartels that operate in the Caribbean and use Haiti as a transshipment point. American officials in particular have repeatedly emphasised this endemic corruption as one of the principal factors undermining the bilateral relationship.¹² However, it is unclear how Aristide or his successors might effectively address the problem, given the extremely limited resources at their disposal.

Judiciary: The Haitian judiciary suffers from a variety of ailments. It has never been regarded as a particularly trustworthy institution. Like the PNH, the Haitian judiciary lacks independence from the country's political leadership. Further, it has repeatedly proven susceptible to influence from the various drug cartels operating in Haiti, as several high profile drug prosecution cases have demonstrated. One particularly egregious example is the case of Justice Josiard Agnant and Jean Salim Batrony. Agnant ordered Batrony released on questionable grounds even after a search of the accused's house revealed some 58 kilograms of cocaine on the premises. When the Haitian Ministry of Justice suspended Agnant with pay as punishment for the affair, Haitian judges organised a national work stoppage in protest.¹³

Unlike the PNH, Haiti's judiciary did not receive thorough training from multinational forces following Aristide's 1994 reinstatement. As a result, its work has been considered extremely suspect by many international observers. In recent months, the judiciary has arguably deteriorated even further. Flooding and violence have destroyed much of the remaining physical infrastructure of the judiciary; at least eight departmental courthouses were destroyed in 2004. Further, many judges refused to report for duty during the violence of early to mid 2004, and it is still unclear how many have since returned to work.¹⁴

Recent events indicate that such weaknesses will continue to plague the system under the new regime. The most important test case to date was that of Louis-Jodel Chamblain, former deputy commander of the paramilitary organisation FRAPH during the military junta rule in the early-1990s, and second-in-command of the largest of the insurgent groups responsible for the fall of President Aristide.¹⁵ Chamblain, along with former police captain Jackson Joanis, was convicted *in absentia* of the 1993 murder of democracy activist Antoine Izmary. The two surrendered themselves to Haitian authorities in April 2004, and as per Haitian law, were granted a retrial. In a move widely condemned by governments and international NGOs, Chamblain and Joanis were acquitted after a retrial that took place the night of August 16-17th. Much of the evidence used in their original conviction was declared lost in the violence of February 2004 and not submitted as a

¹¹ Associated Haïtian Press (AHP), "Thousands of Lavalas Family Supporters Take to the Streets to Denounce Political Persecution and Human Rights Violations as Well as the Presence of Foreign Forces," 4 Jul 04, trans. FBIS. Online database, (accessed 29 Jul 2004); Amnesty International, "Breaking the Cycle," 18.

¹² Lino Gutierrez, "State Dept. Policy statement: Haïti and Development Assistance," *US Department of State*, Remarks delivered to the Inter-American Dialogue Conference, Washington D.C., 22 May 2002, available online, www.state.gov/p/wha/rls/rm/10416.htm, accessed 12 Sep 2004; Vigil, "Congressional Testimony."

¹³ Jane Regan, "Haiti arrests top narcotics officer, suspends judge during crackdown," *Miami Herald*, 18 Feb 2003; National Coalition for Haïtian Rights, "Questioning Appointment of Judge who Released Alleged Drug Trafficker," 9 Jun 2004, <http://www.Haitipolicy.org/content/2417.htm>; (accessed 26 Nov 2004).

¹⁴ Amnesty International, "Breaking the Cycle," 5.

¹⁵ BBC News Online, "Complaints follow Haïti acquittal," 18 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3575734.stm>, (accessed 16 Oct 2004).

Amnesty International Press Release "Haïti: Chamblain and Joanis overnight trials are an insult to justice", 16 August 2004, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR360532004?open&of=ENG-HTI>, (accessed 20 Oct 2004).

result. Further, only one witness appeared to testify, and he claimed to know nothing of the case.¹⁶

The trial of Chamblain and Joanis demonstrates a continuation of political interference and tolerance of legal impunity in the Haitian judiciary. Their fate provides a strong contrast to the treatment of former Aristide allies, who have been prosecuted to – and often arguably beyond – the fullest extent of the law. Former Prime Minister Yvon Neptune remains in prison, accused of orchestrating a massacre in St. Marc; his trial has been postponed indefinitely pending the appointment of a new judge to hear the case.¹⁷ Gerard Jean-Juste, a catholic priest and vocal supporter of Aristide, remains in custody facing charges of plotting against the security of the state.¹⁸ Former Deputy Amamus Mayette and three Fanmi Lavalas political attaches remain in prison on charges of political incitement and murder. Yves Feuille, former President of the Senate; Gérard Gilles, former Senator; and Rudy Hérivaux, former Deputy are all in prison, accused of masterminding violent protests that occurred on 30 September 2004. In addition, former Interior Minister Jocelerme Privert and political activist Annette Auguste (known as So Ann or Sister Ann) have both been imprisoned without formal charge for more than six months.¹⁹ Finally, interim Prime Minister Latortue has stated that his government is seeking to issue a warrant for Jean-Bertrand Aristide himself on charges of corruption.²⁰ Though the warrant will be largely symbolic so long as Aristide remains in exile, it is nonetheless likely to further polarize the country.

Unofficial Groups – Militias and Street Gangs: Much of Haiti is currently under the *de facto* control of the various militia groups that mobilised in February 2004. In many towns and cities, such groups have occupied the local police station and declared themselves to be the sole source of authority for the region. There is some evidence that such groups are being accepted as such, if only for lack of a better alternative. On several occasions, for instance, judicial authorities issuing arrest warrants have entrusted them to the local militia for enforcement, arguing that they constituted the only source of authority capable of serving the warrant.²¹ In another incident, a local mayor was forced to acknowledge the militia's authority in her city after the armed men chased out the local police and occupied the police station.²²

It should be emphasised that these militias do not represent a single, effectively co-ordinated national organisation. Membership is fluid, with local alliances often forming between rebel forces, former landowners, and in some cases even Fanmi Lavalas members.²³ Such alliances appear to form as a matter of convenience rather than according to any national political agenda, created in the hope of maintaining control over local territory. In some parts of the country, the militias are perceived as being more effective and fair than the PNH they replaced, and are embraced by the local population as a result.²⁴

Other armed groups of note include the pro-Aristide street gangs currently in control of slum neighbourhoods surrounding major cities throughout Haiti, including the traditional Aristide strongholds of Bel-Air and Cité Soleil on the outskirts of Port-au-Prince. Since violence erupted in Port-au-Prince on 30 September, PNH units, supported in some cases by MINUSTAH forces, have attempted to assert transitional government authority in these areas; such efforts have met

¹⁶ BBC News, "Complaints."

¹⁷ UNSG, "Report," 3.

¹⁸ Amy Bracken, "Interim Haitian Prime Minister says warrant planned for Aristide," *Associated Press (AP)*, 12 Nov 2004; UNSG, "Report," 3.

¹⁹ UNSG, "Report," 4.

²⁰ Simon Watts, "Haiti to issue Aristide warrant," *BBC News*, 13 Nov 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4008651.stm>, (accessed 27 Nov 2004).

²¹ Amnesty International, *Breaking the cycle*, 5-6.

²² Kevin Sullivan, "Ex-Troops Fill Haiti's Security Vacuum," *The Washington Post*, 15 Oct 2004 A16.

²³ Amnesty International, *Breaking the Cycle*, 25.

²⁴ Sullivan, "Ex-Troops Fill Haiti's Security Vacuum."

with only limited success to date.²⁵ Beyond these slum areas, remnants of the pro-Aristide *chimères* continue to pose problems for peace and order in the country.²⁶

In addition, though it does not constitute an organised group, the large number of convicted and incarcerated criminals who escaped prison shortly before the February 2004 uprising are also worthy of concern.²⁷ Some have since joined the insurgents, while others have pursued campaigns of revenge against former victims, as well as the police and justice officials who were involved in the criminals' initial conviction.²⁸

Media: Haiti has long struggled to maintain a free and vocal press. Journalists throughout the country are routinely subjected to threats and violence. In 2003 alone, at least 27 journalists were allegedly attacked. In 2000 and 2001, two journalists were murdered as a direct result of their work.²⁹ The intimidation has not disappeared since February 2004; it has simply shifted in focus.³⁰ In recent months, it has been directed primarily at pro-Aristide journalists and media. Many pro-Aristide media outlets have simply stopped broadcasting as a result.³¹ Such pervasive media intimidation adds to the culture of impunity that exists in Haiti. It is both symptomatic of and contributing to the ability of armed groups to subvert and in some cases openly defy the rule of law.

²⁵ UN News Centre, "UN Security Council Condemns Haiti Violence," 14 October 2004, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=12237&Cr=Haiti&Cr1=&Kw1=Haiti&Kw2=&Kw3=>, (accessed 16 October 2004); AP, "Haiti police raid slum stronghold," *The Seattle Times*, 16 Oct. 2004; Stephen Gibbs, "UN troops hurt in Haiti violence," *BBC News Online*, 11 Oct 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3732578.stm>, (accessed 16 Oct 2004).

²⁶ BBC News Online, "US urges end to Haiti bloodshed," 13 Oct 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3738292.stm>, accessed 16 October 2004.

²⁷ Dominique Levanti, "Four dead, 20 injured as Aristide rivals torch police station in Haiti," *Agence France Presse*, 6 Feb 2004.

²⁸ Amnesty International, "Breaking the cycle," 26.

²⁹ Amnesty International, "Breaking the cycle," 22-23.

³⁰ United Press International (UPI), "Media still under attack, says CPJ [Committee to Protect Journalists]," 29 July 2004.

³¹ Amnesty International, "Breaking the cycle," 22.

4) Economy

- The Haitian economy has shrunk drastically over the last 20 years.
- Many are unable to meet even subsistence needs; malnutrition is widespread.
- Great reliance on diaspora remittances for subsistence incomes.
- Local criminal organisations also suffer from a lack of resources. Major Haitian-based criminal activity sponsored by international drug cartels.
- Informal economy accounts for the majority of economic activity in the country.
- Lack of revenue has starved government of the resources necessary to maintain vital institutions and infrastructure.
- Market is unable to operate in areas lacking basic infrastructure, particularly in the northwest of the island.

GDP, GDP per Capita, and GDP Growth Rate: Since independence, Haiti has had a troubled economy. Even by Haitian standards however, its recent experiences have been particularly traumatic. According to the World Bank, Haiti's GNP shrank by an annual average of 5.2% in the period 1985-1995.³² This decline clearly has had a devastating effect on the population. 55% of Haitians now survive on less than US\$1 per day, while 76% of the population lives on less than US\$2.³³ 50% of Haitians are considered undernourished by UNDP standards and life expectancy has fallen steadily throughout the previous two decades, to 51.8 years in 2002.³⁴

Aside from the effects on the population, Haiti's low GDP also has implications for government capacity in the country. The effects are manifold. First, the country has an extremely small and decreasing tax base, diminishing the government's ability to fulfil its primary functions in society. In particular, it is unable to invest resources in crime prevention and prosecution.³⁵ As a result, the country becomes comparatively more attractive to international criminal organisations. Second, the low average income of civil servants heightens government vulnerability to graft and corruption, further increasing Haiti's attractiveness as a criminal haven.

A final, albeit countervailing, effect of Haiti's weak economy is also related to relative state incapacity. Without resources to invest in state infrastructure, the Haitian government in effect limits the sophistication and scale of criminal enterprise that the country can support and export. Its transportation and communication networks inhibit licit and illicit activity alike. Well-funded criminal organisations can often organise "work-arounds" for such problems, but such groups are unlikely to be Haitian in origin. As a result, it seems likely that Haiti will remain under the sway of international criminal cartels, rather than spawning dominant domestic organisations.

Inflation, Dollarisation, and the Shadow Economy: Haiti has suffered chronic inflation throughout the entire post-Duvalier era, with levels averaging 19.1% per year over the entire period.³⁶ Such inflationary pressures have a dual effect. First, they further exacerbate the already critical economic situation of the Haiti's population, further reducing its purchasing power parity (PPP) compared to other countries in the region. This is particularly lethal for Haiti's rural and urban poor, who exist at a subsistence level. Even a minor reduction in their PPP drastically

³² World Bank, "Haïti, the Challenges of Poverty Reduction," August 1998, <http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/External/lac/lac.nsf/3af04372e7f23ef6852567d6006b38a3/8479e9126e3537f0852567ea000fa239?OpenDocument>, (accessed 21 Nov 2004).

³³ United Nations Development Program (UNDP), "Rapport National sur les Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement (2004): Une vision commune du développement humain durable," 2004, <http://mirror.undp.org/Haiti/OMD/>, (accessed 21 Nov 2004).

³⁴ Steve Schifferes, "Haïti: An economic basket-case," *BBC News Online*, 1 Mar 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/3522155.stm>, accessed 16 October 2004; CIA "The World Factbook: Haïti."

³⁵ For a similar argument relating to issues of conflict and insurgency in a country, see James Fearon and David Laitin "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97, no. 1 (2003): 88.

³⁶ World Development Indicators, World Bank, quoted in Country Indicators of Foreign Policy (CIFP), *Online Country Indicators Database*, 2004, <http://www.carleton.ca/cifp/>, (accessed 14 Oct 2004).

reduces their ability to meet even their most basic needs. With so much of the population in danger of falling below the subsistence level of income, the possibility of unrest increases dramatically, as Haitians reach a point where they quite literally have nothing to lose.³⁷

Second, the continuing inflation further encourages the growth of a grey economy. Some estimates suggest that up to 70% of Haitian households depend on the informal economy for their livelihood.³⁸ In rural areas, that economy may take the form of barter, but in urban regions it will likely encourage a further dollarisation of the Haitian economy, as residents become increasingly unwilling to use the Haitian gourd. This grey economy will inevitably fuel the growth of a black market, further entrenching illegal activities such as drug trafficking. Such economic conditions actually make the drug trade more fiscally stable than other types of industry, as most transactions take place in American dollars.³⁹

FDI, Foreign Aid and Net Trade Levels⁴⁰: In addition to its other macroeconomic problems, Haiti suffers from an extreme and chronic lack of liquidity. Its levels of foreign direct investment (FDI) and foreign aid improved somewhat in the latter half of the 1990's, but collapsed again in the wake of Aristide's 2000 re-election and the resulting American decision to suspend all bilateral aid. At the same time, net foreign direct investment virtually went to nil. Throughout the period, Haiti maintained, and still maintains, a severe trade deficit. The net result is a lack of capital for new economic investment and a lack of legitimate economic opportunities for Haitians throughout the country.

Industry: Haiti's industry has gradually decayed since the early 1990's. The modest light-manufacturing sector that provided some work in the country has now almost completely collapsed.⁴¹ There is a small textile and sewing industry in the country, though its fate currently rests on the outcome of a bill to waive import duties that is currently before the US House of Representatives. With the end of the current congressional session quickly approaching, the fate of the bill is very much in doubt.⁴² In addition to such time constraints, the perennial protectionist forces in Congress and the recent creation of a Central American Free Trade Agreement also threaten its passage. Without the passage of such a bill, it is unlikely that the industry will be able to develop at all.

Haiti's other traditional exports are largely agricultural, including cash crops such as sugarcane, coffee and mangoes.⁴³ These continue to suffer due to international agriculture tariffs, as well as increased competition from new market players such as Vietnam.⁴⁴ There are few other sources of economic growth within the country; as a result, Haitians may increasingly turn to other sources of income, including illicit activities such as drug trafficking.

Institution and Infrastructure Breakdown: With Haiti's infrastructure virtually paralysed throughout the country, informal economic structures have emerged to allow people to meet their basic needs. Unfortunately, in areas particularly hard hit by tropical storm and flooding during the summer, the absolute shortage of food and other vital supplies led to a breakdown of even

³⁷ Such analysis draws to some degree on an adaptation of prospect theory, the subjective framing by economic actors first posited by Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky in "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk," *Econometrica*, 47, no. 2 (1979).

³⁸ ICFTU, "ICFTU online: Spotlight on the 'informal sector' in Haïti," 10 Jun 2002, <http://www.union-network.org/uniindep.nsf/0/265cc9fbb227cc1ac1256bd40046dce8?OpenDocument>, (accessed 24 Nov 2004).

³⁹ For more on the process of dollarisation and its effect on crime, see Julia Novitskaia and Stewart Prest, "Criminogenic Early Warning and Indicator Survey: Russia 1991-1997," *Country Indicators Foreign Policy Project*, 2004, <http://www.carleton.ca/cifp/docs/russia-crim.pdf>, (accessed 15 Oct 2004).

⁴⁰ World Development Indicators, World Bank, quoted in CIFP, *Country Indicators Database*.

⁴¹ Schifferes, "Basket-case."

⁴² New York Times Editorial, "Letting Haïti Down," 2 Nov 2004, A26.

⁴³ CIA, "The World Factbook: Haïti."

⁴⁴ See for instance, International Coffee Organisation, "Coffee Trade Statistics," <http://www.ico.org/frameset/traset.htm>, (accessed 15 Oct 2004).

informal market structures. This has resulted in increased levels of violence as armed gangs and urban poor struggle to seize by force what they cannot obtain through other means.⁴⁵

As the floodwaters recede, these violent structures of distribution are likely to remain in place unless international forces succeed in displacing them, with street gangs continuing to plunder resources for their own purposes. For instance, Gonaïves, the city hardest hit by tropical storm Jeanne, experienced an extreme breakdown in civil order during the height of the crisis.⁴⁶ In some cases, UN troops were forced to rely on local street gangs in order to maintain order at distribution points.⁴⁷ It will be particularly difficult to recreate legitimate institutions in such areas.

⁴⁵ CBC News Online, "Violence Erupts in Haïti as Survivors Fight for Food and Water," 23 Sep 2004, <http://www.cbc.ca/story/world/national/2004/09/23/Haiti040922.html>, (accessed 15 Nov 2004).

⁴⁶ UNSG, "Report," 2.

⁴⁷ Carol J. Williams, "Haïti storm toll may reach 2000; UN troops fire shots into air to disperse hungry flood survivors," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 Sept 2004; UNSG, "Report," 2.

5) Human Development

- Aside from human development issues discussed in the above section, there are several other non-economic human development issues pertaining to crime and criminality in Haiti.
- Effects of AIDS are becoming increasingly catastrophic in the country, with nearly 10% of the population projected to be infected by 2015.
- Haitian society is deeply divided along economic, geographic, ethnic, linguistic, and gender lines.

Societal Divisions, Discrimination, and Inequality: In addition to Haiti's many poverty-driven problems there are also issues related to the extreme inequality that exists in the country. Haiti has an extremely small upper class that nonetheless dominates much of the country's assets. The top 1% of the population reportedly controls roughly 50% of Haiti's total wealth.⁴⁸ This upper class tends to distinguish itself from the majority of the Haitian population along both ethnic and linguistic lines. While the majority in Haiti speaks Creole, the upper class speaks French. Like many Central and South American societies, there exists a latent racism as well, with lighter skin colour tending to confer higher societal status.⁴⁹ Moreover, many of Haiti's business leaders are not actually Haitian, instead holding citizenship in the United States, Canada, and other developed nations.

There is a small middle class located in Haiti's urban centres, consisting of professionals, including lawyers, doctors, and some small business owners. These groups have not been well represented in government however, and are generally not in a position to significantly influence events in the country.

Health – HIV/AIDS: Haiti has the hemisphere's highest incidence of HIV/AIDS, with some 5.6% of the population currently infected.⁵⁰ Population estimates for the country now explicitly take into account the effects of the disease.⁵¹ Some estimates suggest the rate of infection will climb as high as 10% by 2015.⁵² The disease thus continues to be another destabilising factor, striking down many Haitians in their most productive years.

⁴⁸ Schifferes, "Basket-case."

⁴⁹ Schifferes, "Basket-case."

⁵⁰ CIA "The World Factbook: Haïti."

⁵¹ CIA "The World Factbook: Haïti."

⁵² UNDP, "Une vision commune;" Hannah Hennessy, "'Welcome' UN troop boost in Haïti," BBC News Online, 26 Nov 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4044549.stm>, (accessed 26 Nov 2004).

6) Demographics

- Haitian population density is among the highest in the world.
- Median age in Haiti is 18.1; youth bulge remains a major issue.
- Rapid urbanisation is occurring without any supporting infrastructure in place; slums and shantytowns are growing rapidly as a result.
- Majority of the population still resides in rural areas, and is thus dependent on subsistence farming techniques.
- Emigration continues, though it is becoming increasingly difficult for Haitians to find welcoming destination countries. Thus, emigration no longer a reliable population growth “safety valve.”

Population Density: Haiti’s population density gives some indication of the intractable nature of its problems. As of 2001, its population density was 295 people/km²; this compares with an already extremely high 176 people/km² for the Dominican Republic and 239 people/km² for Jamaica.⁵³ Such high levels of population density contribute to the continuing environmental devastation of the island, as well as the extreme difficulty in reducing the level of poverty throughout the country. For the vast majority of Haitians, the only legitimate source of support is extremely unreliable subsistence farming. With the high levels of deforestation throughout the country, these subsistence farmers are extremely vulnerable to flooding, washout, and famine.

Urban Population and Growth Rate⁵⁴: In addition to the sheer density of people, the distribution of the population adds to the complexity of Haiti’s difficulties. Unlike most Caribbean nations, Haiti is still predominantly rural, with only 36% of the population living in an urban setting. This compares with 67% for the Dominican Republic, and 57% for Jamaica. As a result, Haiti faces a unique quandary, having to deal with problems associated with a predominantly rural population as well as the difficulties associated with rapid urbanisation. Over the last decade, rates of urbanisation have averaged nearly 4% per year. As a result, slum areas around major centres have grown dramatically, and have become virtually unpoliceable areas of instability, violence, and poverty. As life becomes increasingly untenable in the rural areas, rates of urbanisation will likely continue, further aggravating these problems.

Youth Bulge: Haiti’s youth bulge, the proportion of the population under the age of 15, is a particular cause for concern. 39.4% of the Haitian population fell into this category in 2002.⁵⁵ While down from previous years, the number is still far above the regional average. Such large groups of unskilled workers are difficult to integrate into even functional economies, and Haiti’s unemployment rate is already around 50%. The country does not have enough work for the existing population, let alone the younger generation. This bodes particularly ill for Haitian stability, as young, unemployed or underemployed males are by far the demographic most likely to engage in criminal activity, terrorism, and insurgency actions; it is precisely this demographic that is growing in Haiti.

Emigration: Though estimates are difficult to make due to the lack of reliable statistics, it is clear that emigration has been a constant phenomenon in Haiti for nearly half a century. The initial exodus began in 1957, with the installation of Papa ‘Doc’ Duvalier as dictator. Throughout both Duvalier regimes, Haiti experienced sustained emigration as hundreds of thousands fled the island over the course of three decades. The most common destinations were the surrounding Caribbean islands, including Jamaica, the Bahamas, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, as well as the United States, Canada, and France.

Though initially sanctioned and even welcomed by receiving nations such as the Bahamas, many nations implemented much stricter immigration policies as the flow of immigrants and refugees continued, thereby reducing the number of Haitians who could legally emigrate each year. Countries such as the United States became very proactive in detaining and deporting illegal Haitian immigrants.

⁵³ World Development Indicators, World Bank, quoted in CIFP, *Country Indicators Database*.

⁵⁴ World Development Indicators, World Bank, quoted in CIFP, *Country Indicators Database*.

⁵⁵ World Development Indicators, World Bank, quoted in CIFP, *Country Indicators Database*.

Despite the new restrictions, Haiti now has a significant diaspora community in many countries throughout the Caribbean basin as well as in the US and Canada. In many cases, Haitian neighbourhoods underwent a process of ghettoization in their adopted countries. In Canada, for instance, the vast majority of Haitians have settled in several neighbourhoods in Montréal. The process of integration is a slow one and most Haitians still maintain a sense of community within the new nation, though their connections with Haiti are often weak.

Society

- Corruption perceived as pervasive throughout Haitian society, afflicting all sectors of government, as well as the private sector.
- Haiti ranked the world’s most corrupt nation in Transparency International’s 2004 index.

Corruption: Corruption pervades Haitian society like few others on earth. In the 2004 corruption index released by Transparency International, Haiti ranked 145th out of a total of 145 countries, tied with Bangladesh for dead last. This result represents the culmination of Haiti’s downward slide through the rankings. In 2003, it was 131st of 133; in 2002, its first year in the rankings, Haiti was a comparatively positive 89th of 102.⁵⁶

Within the country itself, survey results confirm this negative trend. A large majority of Haitians perceive corruption to have increased in the last few years. Further, most believe the problem to be endemic throughout the public sector, with no institution perceived as being beyond corruption’s taint. There is some variation in the perceived level of corruption among the various government agencies, however. According to a survey performed by La Fondation Heritage Haitian (LFHH) at the end of 2003, Haitians perceive the PNH, employees of the Direction Général des Imports (DGI – Haiti’s taxation agency), traffic police officers, customs officers, and all levels of the judiciary as being particularly corrupt. Interestingly, the office of the President – at that time still occupied by Jean-Bertrand Aristide – was perceived as being the least corrupt among the institutions identified in the survey.⁵⁷

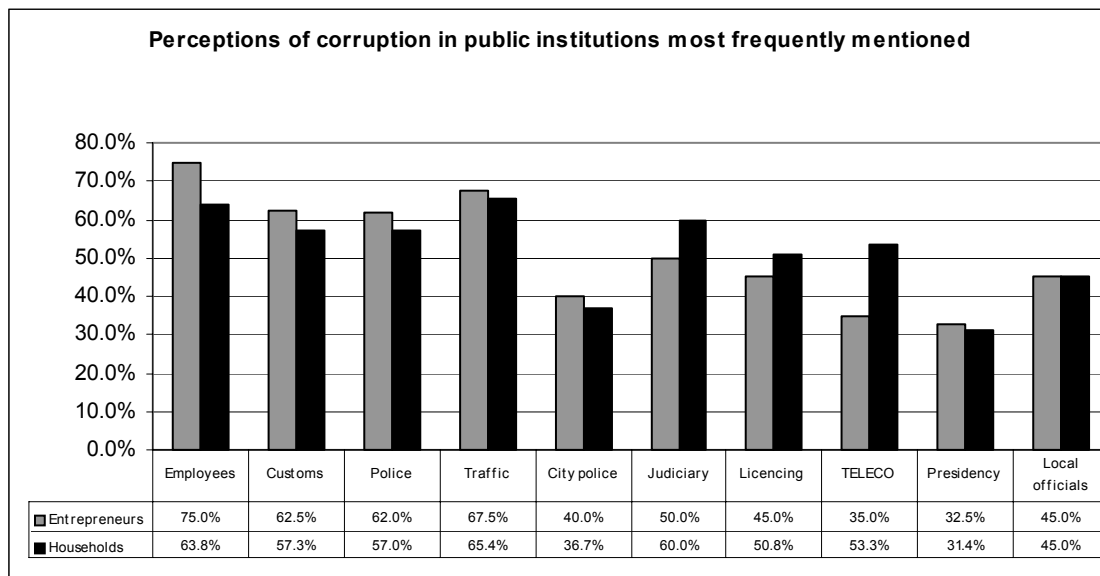


Figure 1 - Source, LFHH

The results compiled by LFHH indicate that the perceived causes of this corruption are both numerous and varied. The most commonly cited causes tend involve a toxic combination of economic factors, flawed institutions, the lure of “easy money,” and a lack of political will to address the problem. As a result, any effort to reduce corruption in Haiti must be extremely broad in its approach. Limited attempts will be unlikely to have a significant effect on the problem and will likely also fail to reassure the population.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Transparency International, “Corruption Perceptions Index,” 2002, 2003, 2004, <http://www.transparency.org/surveys/index.html>, (accessed 25 Oct 2004).

⁵⁷ LFHH, “Enquete sur l’Intégrité: L’Etat des lieu de la corruption en Haïti (2003),” *Le Centre pou l’Ethique et l’Intégrité Publique et Privée*, Apr 2004, 16.

⁵⁸ LFHH, “Enquete sur l’Intégrité,” 2.

Environment

- Haiti is in the path of regular tropical storms and hurricanes.
- Lack of basic infrastructure seriously hampers rescue and relief efforts.
- Widespread deforestation intensifies flooding and other effects of heavy rainfall, multiplying the destructive impact of each storm.

Aside from its political troubles, Haiti's recent past has also been dominated by recurring natural disasters. This past summer saw the island rocked by heavy rains and flooding, and subsequently by the full force of tropical storm Jeanne. The storm killed more than 2500 Haitians and left hundreds of thousands without food, shelter, or basic sanitation. The northwest corner of the island was particularly hard hit, with the city of Gonaïves almost totally submerged following the tropical storm. Haiti's geographical location, which places it squarely in the path of regular and violent tropical storms, and the extreme degradation of Haiti's environment, particularly its level of deforestation, combine to ensure that such storms will be a recurring phenomenon in Haiti.

In 2000, the island nation had 880km² of forest, covering some 3.2% of the total land area. The remaining forest was disappearing at a rate of over 5% per year. Initially, much of it was removed to make space for sugarcane and to harvest stands of mahogany wood for furniture. Whatever remained was removed by the population to make charcoal for fuel.⁵⁹ In comparison, the Dominican Republic, Haiti's neighbour on the island of Hispaniola, had some 28400km² of forest in 2000, covering 28.4% of its total landmass.⁶⁰ The high rate of deforestation in Haiti is a direct result of the levels of poverty in the country.⁶¹

This uncontrolled deforestation has largely destroyed the land's ability to absorb even moderate levels of rainfall. Thus, whereas other nations may not be unduly disturbed by a given storm, Haiti is likely to be deeply affected. When intense phenomena such as tropical storm Jeanne hit the country, the result is inevitably tragic. Haiti's extremely limited infrastructure ensures that in the event of such a natural disaster order quickly breaks down in the affected areas. Populations are largely left to fend for themselves; the only support available is that provided by the international community.⁶² Under such conditions, gangs will inevitably form as some see an opportunity for profit, while others search for a source of protection. Violence will be the result.

Like every other economic activity in Haiti, the illicit drug industry is currently suffering under the environmental and social upheaval. Moreover, the heightened international presence in Haiti may also act as a deterrent on trafficking activities, as international officials are likely to be less vulnerable to influence than the relatively vulnerable local officials. Drug cartels employ a plethora of trafficking routes, and are likely to shift some traffic away from Haiti in the short term in an effort to limit unnecessary exposure to an unpredictable and possibly inhospitable environment.⁶³ This is likely to be only a temporary phenomenon, however. As virtually every organisation in the country is tainted by connections to illegal activity of some description, drug traffickers will return to the island regardless of who emerges triumphant from the current disorder. Barring an unforeseen and quantum development in Haiti's police and judicial capabilities, the country will continue to be an active transshipment point for drugs bound for North America.

⁵⁹ Sonia Verma, "Aid in Haiti a 'logistical nightmare'" *Toronto Star* 25 Sept 2004.

⁶⁰ World Development Indicators, World Bank, quoted in CIFP, *Country Indicators Database*.

⁶¹ Verma, "Aid in Haïti."

⁶² OCHA, "Tropical Storm Jeanne continues to pound Haïti," 27 Sep 2004, <http://ochaonline.un.org/DocView.asp?DocID=1945>, (accessed 15 Oct 2004); Canadian Red Cross, "2004 Hurricane Relief – Haïti," 27 Sep 2004, <http://www.redcross.ca/article.asp?id=010612&tid=001>, (accessed 1 Oct 2004); Oxfam, "Haïti," 2004, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/where_we_work/Haïti/, (accessed 15 Nov 2004).

⁶³ Lak, "Problem of Haïti's Gun Culture."

7) International Involvement

- Sustained and well funded international involvement is a precondition of any tangible improvement in Haiti.
- Major international actors have committed some resources, but level and length of these commitments remain unclear.
- OAS is providing electoral assistance
- US DEA continues involvement in reducing Haitian vulnerability to international drug cartels.
- CARICOM expressed dismay at the circumstances surrounding Aristide's departure, and remains suspicious of both the interim administration and outside involvement in the region.

Given its myriad problems and extremely limited capacity, Haiti does not have the capability to improve without committed, long-term assistance from the international community. Thus, much of Haiti's future depends on the relative strength of various international actors involved in the country.

UN: MINUSTAH is the UN's current representative mission to Haiti. The mission's stated goals are extremely broad and ambitious; unfortunately, national commitments to the mission have not yet proven sufficient to bring MINUSTAH to its mandated strength. Currently, the force is operating with 3769 troops and 963 civilian police, while UNSC resolution 1542 authorised a force of up to 6700 troops and 1622 civilian police.⁶⁴ Until the force reaches its potential strength, it will likely be able to do little more than stabilise the current situation; even that is proving to be a formidable challenge. Should nations honour their current commitments to the mission, an additional 2000 troops will arrive by the end of the year. Even then, however, it will be difficult for MINUSTAH to progress beyond mere stabilisation and begin the long and difficult task of nation-building.⁶⁵ In a best-case scenario, it will be years before UN efforts result in stable and durable structural change in Haiti.

OAS: The Organisation of American States (OAS) has had a Special Mission for Strengthening Democracy in Haiti since 2002. In light of the events of February 2004, the Permanent Council of the OAS revisited and substantially amended the mandate of the mission, focusing on a variety of measures designed to strengthen and retrench democracy and the rule of law in Haiti.⁶⁶ The OAS is committed to work closely with MINUSTAH, but is not committing security forces on its own. Thus among other things, its work will be contingent on MINUSTAH's ability to maintain and enhance the overall security situation in Haiti. With its focus on governance and institution-building, the work of the Special Mission has the potential to dramatically improve the situation in Haiti in the long term. However, as with the UN mission, it remains an open question whether the mission will receive sufficient resources for the task, and whether it will remain long enough to see the work through.

CARICOM: Unlike the OAS, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) was initially extremely unwilling to work with the interim government of Gerard Latortue. As a result, Haiti was temporarily suspended from the Community shortly after Latortue assumed power. Moreover, CARICOM believed that the U.S., France and Canada had acted improperly in assisting in the departure and replacement of President Aristide; the community had been seeking to implement a compromise plan at the moment of Aristide's abrupt departure.⁶⁷ For a time, CARICOM's stance threatened the international legitimacy of Latortue's interim government. Since then however, CARICOM has mollified its stance somewhat, ending Haiti's suspension and

⁶⁴ UN, "MINUSTAH," 2004, <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minustah/>, (accessed 26 Nov 2004).

⁶⁵ Hennessy, "'Welcome' UN troop boost in Haiti."

⁶⁶ OAS, "Work Plan Proposal for the Period Between July 2004 and June 2005 of the OAS Special Mission for Strengthening Democracy in Haiti," 29 July 2004, http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3918_04corr1eng.pdf, (accessed 10 Nov 2004).

⁶⁷ CARICOM, "Statement issued by CARICOM Heads of Government at the Conclusion of an Emergency Session on the Situation in Haiti," 3 March 2004, <http://www.caricom.org>, (accessed 26 Nov 2004).

contributing to the relief efforts that followed the devastation of tropical storm Jeanne.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, CARICOM continues to entertain reservations regarding the interim government, and will likely remain suspicious of Western intentions in the wake of the “Haitian debacle.”

Bilateral Donors (Canada, US, France): The United States, Canada, and France all claim a special relationship with Haiti and have historically taken a greater interest in the island than other members of the wider international community. Following Aristide’s departure, the three provided troops to the initial stabilisation force authorised by the Security Council. Since the arrival of MINUSTAH, all three have decreased their role substantially, however. Canada continues to be involved in certain democracy-building exercises, providing electoral expertise and civilian police officers; unlike the US, Canada never severed its bilateral aid to the country during the latter part of Aristide’s time in office. The United States has pledged to renew direct aid to the country, as has France.

Police – DEA: Arguably, the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) is as important in communicating US policy to Haiti as the State Department is. Increasingly during the latter years of Aristide’s administration, the key concerns for US policy makers with respect to Haiti were corruption and drug-trafficking. As a result, the DEA was given a broad mandate to engage Haitian police forces, and to attempt to improve Haiti’s own drug enforcement efforts. The State Department, for its part, consistently expressed disappointment with Haiti’s efforts to combat drug trafficking and corruption. Undoubtedly, the US will evaluate any new Haitian administration according to its willingness to work with the DEA and to seriously engage in anti-drug and anti-corruption efforts.

Police – RCMP: The RCMP, through its work training the PNH and assignments to UN CIVPOL units, has amassed a broad base of field experience with respect to Haiti, its institutions, and its problems. This institutional knowledge is an important resource and should be harnessed should Haitian-Canadian crime become a more serious issue.

Drug Cartels: The other major group of international actors in Haiti consists of the Latin American drug cartels that use the country as a transshipment route between source countries such as Colombia, and target markets in the US, Canada, and Europe. These groups are extremely sophisticated, well funded and well organised, employing a variety of trafficking methods and routes. The resources commanded by such groups allow them to operate quite freely through much of Haiti, working with the tacit or in some cases even the open support of local authorities.

Such groups decreased their presence in the country somewhat after February 2004, as continuing turmoil and a growing international presence made the country unreliable as a transshipment route.⁶⁹ Given the pervasiveness of corruption in Haitian society however, this “criminal flight” from Haiti is certainly only a temporary phenomenon. As violence subsides, either as a result of the increased international presence or as a result of local militias consolidating control over various regions of the country, the flexible nature of trafficking routes will allow the drug activity to quickly return to Haiti.

⁶⁸ CARICOM, “Statement from the Caribbean Community Secretariat to the Interim Administration of Haiti in the Wake of Severe Damage and Death as a Result of Tropical Storm Jeanne,” 21 Sep 2004, <http://www.caricom.org>, (accessed 10 Oct 2004).

⁶⁹ Lak, “Haïti’s Gun Culture.”

8) Criminality

- Criminal activity can be roughly divided into three mutually-reinforcing types: political violence and impunity, graft and corruption, and international trafficking.
- Haiti became a transshipment point for North America-bound drugs, particularly cocaine, during Duvalier regime; 7-10% of cocaine in North America currently passes through the country.⁷⁰
- General availability of small arms also destabilises the country.
- Importance as trafficking point increasing as drug cartels seek alternate routes and franchise out transport and distribution rights to criminal groups throughout Caribbean, including Haitians.
- Ongoing political unrest likely to create new criminal opportunities in the medium to long term.
- Should drug traffic increase further, the Haitian link to Montréal makes the city a natural target for market expansion.

Haiti is currently plagued by a plethora of groups operating extra-legally. Analytically, these groups may be divided into two groups: one group pursuing political ends, the other focusing strictly on gain through criminal activity. In reality however, such a division is often arbitrary; the money produced through illicit drug-trafficking likely funds many of the violent, extra-legal political groups, either directly or indirectly. As a result of this narco-politicisation, Haiti's political and criminal crises will require a broad-reaching and comprehensive solution. Its role as drug transshipment point will only end when its political stability is assured, and its political stability will remain in doubt as long as Haiti remains a key drug corridor.

Political Violence and Impunity: As discussed above, militias, insurgents, urban street gangs, pro-Aristide *chimères*, former paramilitary officers, and disbanded military forces currently dominate much of Haiti's political discourse. These armed groups control large parts of the country, with individual towns and small cities dominated by whichever local group possesses the most weapons. All such groups routinely resort to violence in pursuit in their ends. Though recent trends indicate pro-Aristide forces now bear the brunt of politically motivated attacks, human rights groups such as Amnesty International continue to document violence perpetrated against all sides. Haitian Police and UN will likely be unable to end the patterns of legal impunity and violent retaliation and retribution in the short to medium term, thus ensuring that peace and stability continue to evade the Haitian population.

Small Arms: Though exact numbers are impossible to obtain, numerous studies suggest that small arms are a significant destabilising factor in Haiti. Estimates vary wildly, with some studies suggesting that civilians may own as many as 170,000 small firearms.⁷¹ More conservative estimates suggest that there are approximately 25,000 small arms currently in circulation in the Haitian population. Regardless of the number, it is clear that previous efforts at mass disarmament have proven largely ineffective, and the prevalence of small arms has become a major destabilising factor for the country. Since the nation possesses no military, Haiti must rely on its police force to provide security and order. With a population of nearly 8 million and a police force now numbering less than 2000 (down from an original strength of 5000 at its founding in 1996), the presence of groups possessing even limited numbers of small arms can seriously destabilise cities, regions, or even the entire country.⁷²

This is in effect what occurred in February 2004, as a relatively small number of lightly armed militant rebels were able to instigate the crisis that ultimately culminated in the departure of

⁷⁰ Vigil, "DEA Congressional Testimony," Gutierrez, "State Dept. Policy statement: Haïti." The DEA estimates place the proportion of US bound cocaine passing through the Caribbean at 27%, a large portion of which passes through Haïti. See DEA, "Drug Intelligence Brief: The Drug Trade in the Caribbean, A Threat Assessment," Sep 2003, <http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/intel/03014/03014.html>, (accessed 27 Nov 2004).

⁷¹ Robert Muggah, "Securing Haiti's Transition," *Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper 14*, <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/OPs/OP14HaitiGBandF.pdf>, (accessed 5 April 2005)

⁷² Amnesty International, "Haïti: Breaking the cycle."

Aristide.⁷³ Since that time, armed gangs and militias have been able to establish control over many areas of the country, and there is quite simply no force in the country currently capable of displacing them. Any attempt to stabilise and normalise Haiti must find a way to effectively disarm these militia groups, while simultaneously providing for a centralised and reliable force capable of maintaining order throughout the country.⁷⁴

Drug Trafficking: Figures quoted by US officials suggest that some 7-10% of the cocaine that reaches the US market flows through Haiti.⁷⁵ There are any number of factors contributing to Haiti's appeal as a transshipment point: its location in the heart of the Caribbean; its proximity to both Central America and Florida; its porous border with the Dominican Republic; its poorly defended maritime regions; its many unmonitored landing strips; its culture of corruption; its poorly functioning judicial institutions; and its lack of credible law enforcement capability.⁷⁶ Such high levels of cocaine traffic have had numerous adverse effects on the country. Internally, the amounts of money involved dwarf virtually every other economic activity in Haiti. Traffickers command the resources to overwhelm any of Haiti's institutions, buying police officers, judges, and politicians alike. Externally, Haiti's role as a drug transshipment point has become a major irritant in its relationship with the United States; arguably, it has become the defining feature of bilateral relationship, with negative consequences for the United States and disastrous results for Haiti.

More generally, accusations of drug-related corruption also continue to follow Haitians on all sides of the political spectrum and at all levels of government, from police, to judicial officers, to rebel leaders, to political and business leaders.⁷⁷ Some accusations end in conviction; many do not. Even when left unsubstantiated or proven untrue however, such accusations destabilise the country and enhance local and international perceptions that the entire governmental system is unworthy of trust.

The Evolution of the Drug Trade: After seizing control of the cocaine trade from U.S. based organisations in the 1970's, Colombian drug traffickers controlled virtually every aspect of the trade, from production to transport to distribution. During the late 1980's and early 1990's however, American law enforcement efforts forced major cartels such as the Cali and Medellin crime groups to find more circumspect transportation routes and relinquish direct control of some aspects of the trade. In an effort to minimize exposure to international prosecution, drug barons began franchising out transportation and distribution rights to crime groups in Mexico, the Caribbean, and the continent. These groups quickly became powerful criminal organisations in their own right, with some Mexican groups challenging the older cartels for control of the entire

⁷³ Rachel Stohl, "Haïti's Big Threat: Small Arms," *Christian Science Monitor*, 23 Mar 2004, available online at *Center for Defense Information*, <http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?DocumentID=2141>, (accessed 16 Oct 2004).

⁷⁴ OCHA, "Haïti: Socio-Political Crisis OCHA Situation Report No. 10," 24 Apr 2004, <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/0/d518fe92595e1f12c1256e8000617244?OpenDocument>, (accessed 28 Nov 2004); Lak, "Haïti's gun culture."

⁷⁵ Vigil, "DEA Congressional Testimony," Gutierrez, "State Dept. Policy statement: Haïti," DEA, "Drug Intelligence Brief: The Drug Trade in the Caribbean, A Threat Assessment."

⁷⁶ Nick Caistor, "Haïti's drug money scourge," *BBC News*, 19 Mar 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3524444.stm>, (accessed 20 Oct 2004). Haiti currently possesses no Navy or Air Force. While the country does have a Coast Guard, its training, equipment, and operational range are all extremely limited. See CIA World Factbook, "Haïti," and J. Milford, "DEA Congressional Testimony before the House International Relations Committee regarding Haïti," *Drug Enforcement Agency*, 9 December 1997.

⁷⁷ Associated Haïtian Press (AHP) "Haïti: Electoral Council Member's Past Connection to Drug Trafficking Alleged," trans. FBIS, 27 July 2004; United Press International (UPI) "Drug trafficker gets 11 years in Haïti," 20 July 2004; Signal FM Radio, "Haïtian ex-soldiers arrest two policemen carrying drugs," BBC Monitoring Service 1 September 2004; NPR, "Haïti's role in drug trafficking," 11 Mar. 2004; BBC Monitoring, "Highlights of Signal FM Radio News," 20 Jul. 04; AP, "Ex-Haïtian police director added to drug indictment of former high-ranking officials," 29 Aug. 04; Voice of America (VOA), "American Airlines Official in Haïti Indicted on Drug Smuggling Charges," 16 October 2004.

trade.⁷⁸ The net result was increased competition, the emergence of new trafficking routes, and an increase in the total amount of drugs smuggled through the Caribbean into North America

The Dominican Model: Among those profiting from the shift are traffickers in the Caribbean. With Central American cartels anxious to minimize their exposure to U.S. arrest and prosecution, Caribbean groups, particularly those in the Dominican Republic, have picked up some of the slack and significantly enhanced their role in the trade. Long used as transport crews by the old cartels, criminal groups in the Dominican Republic have begun to take control of drug distribution as well, using connections in American cities along the East Coast to market the drugs. Though often done at a wholesale level, in regions with large Dominican populations, Caribbeans' control can extend to the level of street vendors. Using connections in those cities, the groups not only smuggle contraband, but bring it directly to market, increasing their wealth, power, and prestige markedly as a result.⁷⁹

There is no reason why Haitian smugglers cannot do the same thing. It would be a small leap for Haitian criminal groups, already deeply immersed in the drug trade and cooperating closely with criminal groups in the Dominican Republic, to begin using their own contacts within Canada and the U.S. to market Central American drugs, particularly cocaine. Montréal is arguably the heart of the Haitian diaspora on the continent and would be a natural target for such efforts. This would undoubtedly be the most significant result of any emergent Haiti-Canada criminal nexus, resulting in a quantum increase in the level of cocaine availability in the metropolitan Montréal area as well as surrounding regions.

⁷⁸ J. Milford, "DEA Congressional Testimony."

⁷⁹ J. Milford, "DEA Congressional Testimony."

III – CANADIAN INDICATORS

1) Summary

The greater Montréal area is the hub of the Haitian diaspora in Canada. Numbering in the hundreds of thousands, Haitian Canadians form an important and indelible part of the culture of the entire Montréal region. Unfortunately, these Haitian communities have given rise to two of the city's major street gangs, the Bo-Gars and the Crack Down Posse (CDP). Both groups are "Made in Canada" phenomena that trace their origins to several high schools during the 1980's; historically, they have little or no connection to criminal groups in Haiti. The two groups grew steadily throughout the 1990's, and have recently begun to expand their influence into other areas of Quebec, as well as the Eastern regions of Ontario.

With the recent tremors in the balance of power of the Montréal underworld caused by successful police actions against the Hells Angels and other Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs (OMG), the Bo-Gars and the CDP have begun to compete for an increased share of Montréal's criminal marketplace. Given the groups' demonstrated propensity for open violence in pursuit of their ends, a bloody inter-gang turf battle becomes a distinct possibility as they compete with various other criminal groups for rights to territory previously dominated by the Hells Angels. Such gang warfare would pose a danger not only to bystanders caught in the crossfire, but to enforcement personnel as well.

2) Demographics

- The Haitian-Canadian community is centred in the greater Montréal region; this area produced several Haitian-Canadian-dominated street gangs in the 1980's.
- Haitian-Canadian gang presence is beginning to emerge in Ottawa-Gatineau; may also emerge in other nearby metropolitan areas and surrounding regions.
- Though Haitian-Canadian gangs were not originally linked to organised crime in Haiti, such links have since come into being.
- The constant movement of populations between Montréal and Haiti ensures such links will remain viable in the future.

With nearly 90% of Canada's Haitian immigrants arriving since 1981 settling in the Montréal area, the region has long been the heart of the Haitian-Canadian community. The 10000 Haitians who immigrated in the period 1991-96 also represented the fastest growing immigrant community in the Montréal region.⁸⁰ The most recent census indicates that the number of new Haitian immigrants has dropped somewhat from previous years, though Haitian-Canadians continue to number in the tens of thousands in the Montréal area.⁸¹ The reasons for this Haitian-Montréal nexus are clear. As the largest Francophone metropolis in the western hemisphere, Montréal is a natural destination for the largely French and Creole-speaking Haitians. Further, recent immigrants tend to settle in regions close to established ethnic communities, and Canada's immigration system itself ensures that those immigrating in the "family" class are settled in the same region as their sponsoring relatives.⁸² Thus, regions that already have a sizeable community of a given ethnicity will tend to receive steadily increasing immigrants from that same ethnic community. These factors combined to ensure that Montréal's Haitian community continued to grow throughout the 1980's and 90's.

Though not immediately clear from Citizen and Immigration Canada (CIC) documents, it is likely that immigrants arriving from Haiti speaking French are not from poorest segments of Haitian society, who generally speak Creole. They likely represent more highly educated and urban segments of the Haitian population, a part of the continuing brain drain that afflicts the country. Many who have the resources to escape the violence do so. Despite their more educated background however, Haitians may still be marginalised once in Canada. Regardless of education or background, first generation immigrants typically find themselves disadvantaged relative to the broader Canadian population.⁸³ As a result, arriving immigrants tend to congregate in specific neighbourhoods or ghettos, and form a strong sense of community *vis-à-vis* broader Canadian society.

Unfortunately, one consequence of the sustained Haitian immigration to Montréal is that the city now finds itself host to several major Haitian-Canadian-based criminal organisations. In the mid-1980's several street gangs emerged in the various Haitian-dominated communities in the Montréal area.⁸⁴ These street gangs were a made-in-Canada phenomenon, emerging out of the nascent criminal activities of a number of Haitian-Canadian secondary school students. The groups found common identity in their ethnicity, and members believed that the gangs provided them with a sense of security and power over their difficult surroundings. Currently, the two

⁸⁰ Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), "Recent Immigrants in the Montréal Metropolitan Area: A Comparative Portrait Based on the 1996 Census," May 2000, 8.

⁸¹ CIC, "Facts and Figures 2002: Immigration Overview," 2003, 18.

⁸² For a detailed account of Canadian immigration regulations, see CIC, "Immigrate to Canada," 2003, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/index.html>, (accessed 10 Nov 2004).

⁸³ See CIC, "Facts and Figures 2002" for a detailed breakdown of immigrants' income in first, second and third generations.

⁸⁴ Entre la rue et l'école, "Sur les gangs," http://perso.b2b2c.ca/rueecole/sur_les_gangs.htm, accessed 16 Oct 2004. Immigration and Refugee Board, "Reasons and Decision Between the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and Jean-Yves Brutus," 19 Dec 2002; Entre la rue et l'école, "Sur les gangs."

dominant Haitian-Canadian Street Gangs (HSG) are the Bo-Gars and the Crack Down Posse (CDP).

Aside from Montréal, other notable destinations for Haitian immigrants to Canada include Toronto, and to a lesser extent, Québec City.⁸⁵ Neither city displays significant evidence of HSG activity, however. Conversely, Ottawa-Gatineau, a relatively minor destination for Haitian-Canadians, has experienced increasing HSG activity. There are growing reports of violent crime in Gatineau involving alleged HSG members.⁸⁶ Though they may have been isolated incidents, one must nonetheless expect that as HSGs continue to grow and enhance their organisational structure and revenue base, they will increasingly look for opportunities to expand their influence beyond the borders of the Greater Montréal Area.

⁸⁵ CIC, "Recent Immigrants in the Québec Metropolitan Area: A Comparative Portrait Based on the 1996 Census," May 2000, 8; CIC "Facts and Figures 2002."

⁸⁶ Fabrice de Pierrebourg et Jérôme Dussault, "Les gangs de rue à Laval," *Journal de Montréal*, 2 Oct 2003, available online: <http://www2.canoe.com/infos/societe/archives/2003/10/20031002-075310.html>, (accessed 25 Nov 2004).

Criminal Context: History and Trends

- HSGs in Montréal are a locally emergent phenomenon with no deep history or connections related to criminal structures in Haiti.
- HGSs are competing for former OMG business following the slight shift in the balance of power in the Montréal underworld.
- HSGs have a demonstrated propensity for open violence and are likely to use violence in pursuit of their ends
- Likelihood of inter-gang turf battles will increase as various groups claim rights to territory previously dominated by the Hells Angels

Relative Decline of Montréal OMGs: Gang warfare, combined with a series of successful police operations, has resulted in a shift in the balance of power in the Montréal underworld. The Montréal Nomads chapter of the Hells Angels has disbanded, while the South chapter is currently frozen. Many of the province's most prominent Hells Angels members are either in prison, or in court facing numerous serious charges.⁸⁷ With the principal outlaw motorcycle gangs (OMGs) thus affected, other criminal organisations now have the opportunity to seize a larger share of the criminal marketplace.

Origin and Evolution of HSGs in Montréal: Like most street gangs, the HSGs in Montréal are a locally emergent phenomenon. The groups trace their origins to the 1980's, when they grew out of small-scale criminal activities perpetrated by specific groups of high school students.⁸⁸ Initially, their activities consisted primarily of petty theft, break and enter, and "taxage" – an extreme form of bullying involving the extortion of money and goods from fellow students.⁸⁹ The groups were relatively disorganised and were as concerned with group respect as with material gain through criminal activity. Such priorities resulted in a number of violent inter-group rivalries, but only limited criminal infrastructures.

Consistent with their local origins and their concern with street credibility and respect, HSGs tend to be extremely conscious and protective of what they perceive as their turf. For example, the Bo-Gars continue to be commonly associated with Montréal Nord and Rivière-des-Prairies, while the Crack Down Posse (CDP) tends to operate in St. Michel, particularly near the Pie IX metro station.⁹⁰ Violation of another gang's turf often leads to violent and bloody confrontations.⁹¹

As the core HSG membership grew and matured, the groups graduated to more potent and more violent types of criminal activity, including assault, home invasion, marijuana and other drug trafficking, prostitution, document fraud, and murder. Bélanger, the earliest HSG, split into a number of successor groups. As allegiances broke and reformed, two major groups – the Bo-Gars and the CDP – emerged as the primary HSGs in Montréal.⁹² Throughout the 1990's, the groups continued to display only limited levels of organisation, sometimes acting as stringers for the dominant OMGs. In addition to these main groups, a large number of allied gangs also emerged, with estimates suggesting that between 30 and 50 street gangs were operating at any given time in Montréal.⁹³

⁸⁷ CISC "2004 Annual Report on Organised Crime in Canada," 2004, <http://www.cisc.gc.ca/AnnualReport2004/Cisc2004/annualreport2004.html> (accessed 10 Oct 2004).

⁸⁸ Immigration and Refugee Board, "Reasons and Decision," Annan Boodram, "Haitians in Montréal Mobilising for Empowerment," *Caribbean Voice*, <http://www.caribvoice.org/Features/Haitians.html>, (accessed 18 Nov 2004).

⁸⁹ Entre la rue et l'école, "Sur les gangs."

⁹⁰ Immigration and Refugee Board, "Reasons and Decision," Mélanie Brisson, "Le fléau des gangs de rue," *Canoe.com*, 1 August 2004.

<http://www2.canoe.com/infos/dossiers/archives/2004/01/20040108-093729.html>, (accessed 18 Oct 2004).

⁹¹ Brisson, "Le fléau des gangs de rue."

⁹² Brisson, "Le fléau des gangs de rue."

⁹³ Other affiliated gangs include the Syndicate, the Ruff Riders, the Blacks, the Backers, The Bad Servant boys, the Natural Posse, and many others. These offshoots tend to be less stable than the Bo-Gars and CDP, with old gangs disappearing and new ones forming regularly.

Following successful operations against the Nomads and South chapters of the Hells Angels, Montréal Police Services began to increase efforts against street gang activity in Montréal. This work bore some fruit in June 2002 as Operation “Journal” culminated in the arrest of Chenier Dupuy, the purported leader of the Bo-Gars, along with eight of his associates.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, a recent spate of reprisal killings demonstrated that both the Bo-Gars and the CDP continue to be potent forces on Montréal streets, possessing the ability and the willingness to employ extreme violence in pursuit of their ends.⁹⁵

Current HSG Activities: With the weakening of the Hells Angels, a partial power vacuum has developed on the streets of Montréal.⁹⁶ Accordingly, HSGs are among the groups competing for a greater share of the criminal marketplace. The prizes are lucrative, and the HSGs have demonstrated themselves to be ruthless competitors.

Despite their preoccupation with turf and intra-group solidarity, the opportunities presented by the weakening of the Hells Angels have encouraged HSGs to relax the requirements of group membership and to expand their regions of influence. Both developments have deep implications for the groups’ capabilities as well as the likelihood of increased inter-gang conflict. First, though membership in the Bo-Gars and CDP is ostensibly limited to those of Haitian origin, the expanding nature of their business is making it increasingly difficult to maintain strict enforcement of “ethnic purity” within their ranks.⁹⁷ As they expand, the groups are being forced to cooperate with other, non-Haitian elements of society. The implications of these changes will be mixed. A more open membership will enable HSGs to harness a greater range of skill sets, arguably making the groups more potent as criminal organisations. Conversely, more open membership practices will also make the groups more susceptible to infiltration, investigation, and ultimately prosecution by police forces.

Second, as the groups expand their physical regions of influence, the likelihood of inter-gang turf battles will increase as various groups claim rights to territory previously dominated by the Hells Angels. Given street gangs’ proclivity for violence, these battles will often be quite bloody, putting both bystanders and enforcement personnel at risk.

⁹⁴ SPVM, “Le SPVM procède à l’arrestation du chef des “Bo-Gars,” Chénier Dupuy, et de son “noyau dur,” SPVM press release, 13 Jun 2002, http://spscum.qc.ca/fr/nouv_pub/pre2pubf.asp?commu=245, (accessed 16 Oct 2004).

⁹⁵ P.A. Sevigny, “Red light red hot; Gang war gun battle,” *Hour.ca*, <http://www.hour.ca/news/news.aspx?ilDArticle=3846>, (accessed 26 Nov 2004).

⁹⁶ CISC “2004 Annual Report.” 17.

⁹⁷ This sentiment is reflected in comments by Commander René Allard as quoted in Annan Boodram, “Haïtiens in Montréal Mobilising for Empowerment,” *Caribbean Voice*, <http://www.caribvoice.org/Features/Haïtiens.html>, (accessed 18 Nov 2004).

IV – CONCLUSION: POSSIBLE HAITIAN-CANADIAN CRIMINAL LINKS

Current Trends: Direct open source evidence of a connection between Canadian HSGs and criminal organisations in Haiti is quite limited, though not non-existent. Moreover, conditions in Haiti and Canada favour the continued growth of a formalised and structured nexus between criminal organisations in the two countries over the medium to long term. Though there are no formal links currently apparent between criminal actors in Haiti and in Canada, individual HSG members have established criminal links with the island; evidence also suggests that the HSGs as a whole may also be cultivating informal inter-group links with counterparts in Haiti. Moreover, the continuous flows of people, money, and materiel between the two countries ensure such links will remain viable in the long term.

A formalised and sophisticated criminal nexus between criminal organisations in Haiti and HSGs in Canada could have significant impact on criminal activity in Canada. It would give HSGs a competitive advantage over rival groups, and provide Caribbean trafficking networks with a new point of entry to the Canadian market. Possible consequences include an increased flow of drugs to Canadian streets, a shift in the balance of power in the Montréal underworld in favour of HSGs, and the growth of HSG activity in jurisdictions beyond Montréal.

Future Threats: The most likely evidence of an emerging formal link between criminal groups in the two countries would be a sudden increase in the amount – and commensurate decrease in the price – of Latin American cocaine in the Montréal area. Such a development would be indicative of a developing “short circuit,” allowing the drugs to flow from the Caribbean directly into Canada through an emerging Haitian-Canadian network.

One further area of particular concern arises from the Canadian practice of deporting Haitian-born but Canadian-raised landed immigrants that have been convicted of a serious crime in Canada. There are documented cases of Haitians being deported from Canada as a result of criminal convictions here. There are also cases of Haitians being denied entry to or being subsequently deported from Canada as a result of criminal activity or human rights violations committed in Haiti. Such reports may simply be isolated incidents, and do not necessarily represent a clear trend; however, estimates suggest that Canada has convicted and deported at least 100 Haitians in the last decade, and there are no estimates available regarding the number that have successfully re-entered Canada. Such deportees gain a working knowledge of official and criminal systems in both countries; should they continue their involvement in criminal activity in Haiti, they would be extremely well-equipped to facilitate any criminal linkage between the two countries.

Finally, it is possible that Haitians living in Canada may begin to use the country as a base from which to supply political factions in Haiti with money and materiel as part of an effort to regain or maintain control of the Caribbean nation. Such a development would likely involve relatively recent arrivals to Canada; it is unlikely that the street gangs in Montréal would become involved in such an enterprise.

Given the presence of such favourable structural conditions and such limited direct information, the possibility of an emerging Haitian-Canadian criminal nexus certainly warrants further study. In particular, any attempt to isolate such a growing link must uncover any illegal flow of money, materiel, and/or individuals between the two countries. The following section identifies a number of the more pressing avenues of investigation, along with possible sources of information.

V – AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are still many unknowns regarding the level of interaction between criminal groups in Haiti and Canada. The following is a partial list of potentially useful knowable unknowns, along with possible sources of information.

- 1) An analysis of Haitian immigration statistics, breaking down totals according to immigration category (i.e. family, economic, refugee, etc.), time of arrival, and region of settlement in Canada. Possible sources: CIC, STATSCAN.
- 2) Data on deportations from Canada to Haiti as a result of criminal behaviour, as well as information regarding persons denied entry to Canada due to connections to organised crime in Canada or Haiti. Possible sources: IRB, CIC, RCMP, PNH, CISC.
- 3) Information regarding bank transactions and other flows of money between Canada and Haiti, including through third countries. Possible sources: FINTRAC, FBI, Interpol.
- 4) Data regarding flows of illicit materiel between the two countries, especially illicit drugs seized or sold in Canada. CBSA, RCMP, FBI, DEA, Surête du Québec, SPVM.
- 5) Presence of specific individuals connected with Haitian political factions or criminal organisations in Canada. Possible sources: CIC, RCMP, news reports.
- 6) Extent of disruption to cocaine transshipment through Haiti due to political and environmental turmoil. Possible sources: DEA, US Interagency Assessment of Cocaine Movement (IACM).
- 7) Further information regarding the identity, structure and *modus operandi* of Haiti-based organised crime groups. DEA, RCMP, UN CIVPOL, Haitian Bureau de la Lutte Contre le Trafic des Stupefiants (BLTS), PNH.

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APPENDIX – ACRONYMS

AHP	Associated Haitian Press
AI	Amnesty International
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AP	Associated Press
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BLTS	Bureau de la Lutte Contre le Trafic des Stupefiants (Haiti)
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Association
CD	Convergence Democratique
CDP	Crack Down Posse
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CIFP	Country Indicators of Foreign Policy
CISC	Criminal Intelligence Service Canada
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
DEA	Drug Enforcement Agency (US)
DGI	Direction Général des Imports (Haiti)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FL	Fanmi Lavalas
FRAPH	Front Révolutionnaire Armé pour le Progrès d'Haiti
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV	Human Immune Virus
HSG	Haitian-Canadian Street Gangs
ICO	International Coffee Organisation
IRB	Immigration Review Board (Canada)
LFHH	La Fondation Heritage Haitian
MIF	Multinational Interim Force
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti
NPR	National Public Radio (US)
OAS	Organisation of American States
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OMG	Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs
PNH	Police National Haitian
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SPVM	Service de police de la Ville de Montréal
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
UPI	United Press International
VOA	Voice of America (US)