

A NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY FRAMEWORK FOR
THE REPUBLIC OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Strategic Studies

by

RONALD N JEFFREY, LT COL, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO DEFENCE FORCE
M.S., The University of the West Indies, Mona, 2008

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2012-02

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				<i>Form Approved</i> OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 14-12-2012		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) FEB 2012 – DEC 2012	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE A National Security Strategy Framework for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Ronald N. Jeffrey, Lt Col, Trinidad And Tobago Defence Force				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT The focus of this study is to develop a framework for a National Security Strategy for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The research first examined the theories and methods of approach that affect the developmental process of a national security strategy, and then how these theories are utilized by two developed countries, the US and UK, to develop and implement their strategies. Next the study scrutinized the strategies of Jamaica and the Republic of the Philippines, to determine if the theories and frames of reference utilized by the US and UK to develop and implement their national security strategies are applicable to these two Small Island Developing States similar to Trinidad and Tobago. Finally, the research reviewed two previous efforts of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a national security strategy. It then compared their methodology to those of the two developed countries and Small Island Developing states to determine the cause of the non- implementation of these previous efforts. The study concluded that the US and UK utilized the accepted theories and approach to develop and implement their National Security Strategies. Further, that Jamaica and the Philippines duplicated this methodology and approach to develop and implement their own strategies. Finally, that the theories and approach can be applied to Trinidad and Tobago, and thus the research recommended a framework for the development of a National Security Strategy for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS National Security Strategy Framework, Republic of Trinidad and Tobago					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
			(U)	99	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: Lt Col Ronald N. Jeffrey

Thesis Title: A National Security Strategy Framework for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

Approved by:

_____, Thesis Committee Chair
Richard T. Anderson, M.S.

_____, Member
Edward J. Robarge, Ph.D.

_____, Member
Jeffrey G. Van Wey, M.S.

Accepted this 14th day of December 2012 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

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

ABSTRACT

A NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY FRAMEWORK FOR THE REPUBLIC OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, by Lt Col Ronald N. Jeffrey, 99 pages.

The focus of this study is to develop a framework for a National Security Strategy for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The research first examined the theories and methods of approach that affect the developmental process of a national security strategy, and then how these theories are utilized by two developed countries, the US and UK, to develop and implement their strategies. Next the study scrutinized the strategies of Jamaica and the Republic of the Philippines, to determine if the theories and frames of reference utilized by the US and UK to develop and implement their national security strategies are applicable to these two Small Island Developing States similar to Trinidad and Tobago. Finally, the research reviewed two previous efforts of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a national security strategy. It then compared their methodology to those of the two developed countries and Small Island Developing states to determine the cause of the non- implementation of these previous efforts.

The study concluded that the US and UK utilized the accepted theories and approach to develop and implement their National Security Strategies. Further, that Jamaica and the Philippines duplicated this methodology and approach to develop and implement their own strategies. Finally, that the theories and approach can be applied to Trinidad and Tobago, and thus the research recommended a framework for the development of a National Security Strategy for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research is a practical representation of my dedication and commitment to the development of Trinidad and Tobago. First, I give thanks to all mighty God through his son and my Savior Jesus Christ, who made this opportunity possible. Next, I thank my thesis chair Mr. Richard Anderson and my committee members Dr. Edward J. Robarge and Mr. Jeffrey Van Wey for their patience, advice and support throughout this endeavor.

I am also thankful to Dr. Robert Baumann and Dr. Constance Lowe for their vitality and dedication, which enhanced my interest to attempt this research. Simultaneously, I thank Mrs. Venita Krueger, whose enthusiasm and editing expertise made it possible to cross the finish line.

To my mom and dad, Juliet and Robert Jeffrey, my in-laws, Stephanie Marcano, Kaye and Stein Trotman, my sincerest thanks. You all have been a source of valuable support throughout.

Finally, I am forever thankful for the advice and emotional support of my wife Verdelle Jeffrey as well as my sons Jamal and Justin Jeffrey. Their devotion and support has assisted me in completing this program.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
ACRONYMS.....	viii
ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Background.....	1
Profile of Trinidad and Tobago	2
Geography	2
Government.....	2
Economy	3
Economic Development.....	4
Domestic and International Issues	7
Defining the Problem.....	8
Primary Research Question	10
Secondary Research Questions	10
Assumptions.....	10
Limitations	10
Delimitation	11
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	13
Restated Purpose.....	13
Purpose of a National Security Strategy	14
Determinants of National Interests	18
Who Defines National Interest	20
The Individual Level	20
The State Level	23
The System Level	24
National Security Strategy Process.....	25
Rational Actor Model	28
Organizational Process Model	28
Bureaucratic Politics Model.....	29
Summary	30

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	36
Research Process.....	36
Research Design and Data Collection Method	39
Data Analysis	40
Summary	40
CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	42
Restated Purpose	42
National Security Strategy of the United States	45
National Security Strategy of Great Britain.....	48
National Security Strategy of Jamaica.....	51
National Security Policy of the Republic of the Philippines	53
Trinidad and Tobago National Security Strategy Development Efforts.....	58
Points of Convergence	67
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	74
Introduction.....	74
Findings	75
Analysis	80
Recommendations for a National Security Strategy Framework	82
Recommendations for Future Research.....	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87
INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	90

ACRONYMS

ASEAN	Association of South East Nations
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Materials
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOTT	Government of Trinidad and Tobago
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSA	National Security Advisor
NSC	National Security Council
NSP	National Security Policy
NSPSSP	National Security and Public Safety Strategic Plan
NSS	National Security Strategy
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. Structure of the Trinidad and Tobago Economy.....	3
Figure 2. The Seven Pillars for Sustainable Economic Development of TT.	4
Figure 3. Vision 2020-The Model for Development.....	5
Figure 4. Vision 2020-The Five Development Priorities	6
Figure 5. Trinidad and Tobago Critical Domestic Issues.....	7
Figure 6. Strategy Formulation Model	26
Figure 7. Research Process.....	37
Figure 8. Analysis Framework	39

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

Security means societal development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it; security is not military force though it may involve it; security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development and without development, there can be no security.)¹

— McNamara

The advent of the 1990s brought another energy boom, with Trinidad and Tobago recording eleven successive years of economic expansion. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago (GOTT) intends to utilize this wave of prosperity to develop a national strategy that would guide the country to become a developed nation by the year 2020.² However, as stated by McNamara, security means societal development, so developing the National Security and Public Safety Plan; the appointed sub-committee at the time had to assume a national security strategy based on the absence of a formal articulated strategy.³ Consequently, how did the Government intend for the society of Trinidad and Tobago to develop without a formal National Security Strategy?

In 2004 a team, which included the author, was set up to craft a National Security Policy. While the team changed at various times, the country did not implement the draft policy. The Policy recognized that, “Mitigation of the threats described above, requires an approach to national security issues that is based upon a coherent and well-articulated strategy.”⁴ Further, the *Trinidad Guardian*, one of the national newspapers, in an article entitled “Security strategy must adapt to change” dated February 13, 2011, asked the question, “What is Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security strategy?” The article further

states; “While there is no written National Security strategy as yet, such a strategy must commence with a mandate of clear objectives that are agreed upon, in large measure by the public, Government and Opposition.” The article recognizes that central to addressing these challenges is the dire need to change the institutional, cultural and public service mentality from a colonial legacy to a post 9/11 international security environment,” and one of the tenets of addressing the challenges is, “mobilizing the national will to aid in a new national security strategy.” Finally, the article states, “The People’s Partnership (present government) may need to formulate a National Security Policy and Strategy which outlines a strategic framework and action plan designed to ensure that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago can prepare for and respond to current and future threats.”

Profile of Trinidad and Tobago

Geography

Trinidad and Tobago is located northwest of Venezuela between the Caribbean Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean at geographic coordinates 11 00N and 61 00W. Tobago is located 20 miles (32 km) northeast of Trinidad. In terms of natural resources the country has an abundance of oil, natural gas and asphalt.

Government

Trinidad and Tobago is a parliamentary democracy based on the British system of government, with three distinct branches of Government, the Executive Branch, the Legislature and the Judiciary.

The country is a participant in several regional and international organizations including the Commonwealth, the Community of Latin America and Caribbean States (CELAC) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) to name a few.⁵

Economy

The country has what is considered an “oil based economy” given the fact that oil and gas account for more than 35 percent of GDP and 80 percent of exports. The overall structure of the economy shows this dependence but also includes other areas such as manufacturing (5.3 percent) and construction (9.9 percent). Figure 1 outlines the breakdown of the economy.⁶

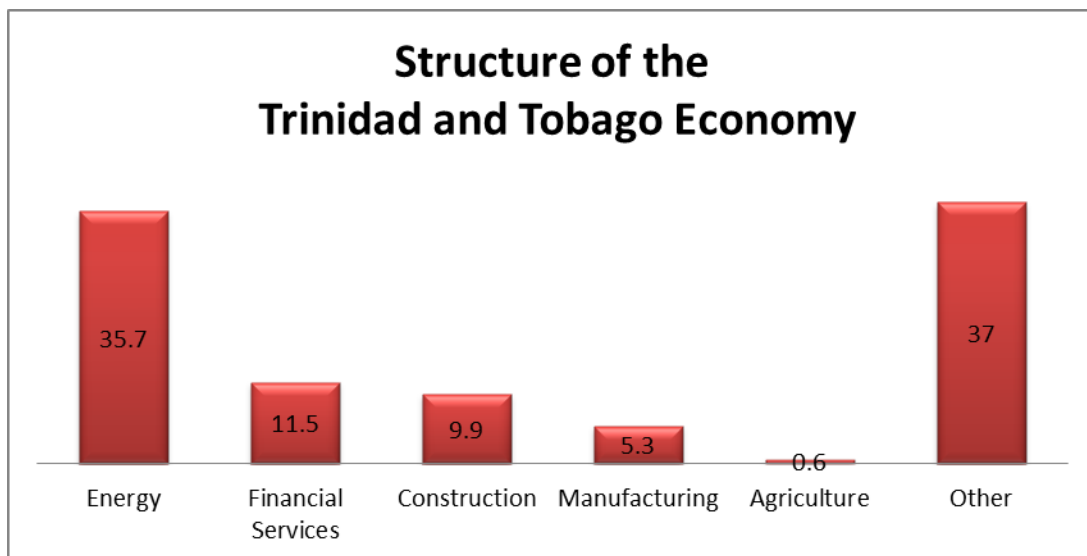


Figure 1. Structure of the Trinidad and Tobago Economy

Source: Created by author. Data from the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Investment 2012.

Other exports in 2011 include methanol, ammonia, urea, steel products, beverages, cereal and cereal products, sugar, cocoa, coffee, citrus fruit, vegetables and flowers.⁷ The country's major export partner is the United States, which receives about 43.7 percent of the country's export.

Economic Development

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has identified seven interconnected pillars, which outline the framework for the country's sustainable economic development built on the premise of "Prosperity for All."⁸ These pillars are People, Poverty, Security, IT Connectivity, Diversified Knowledge Economy, Good Governance and Foreign Policy.⁹ Each pillar forms the basis for government action in terms of its policy development (see figure 2)

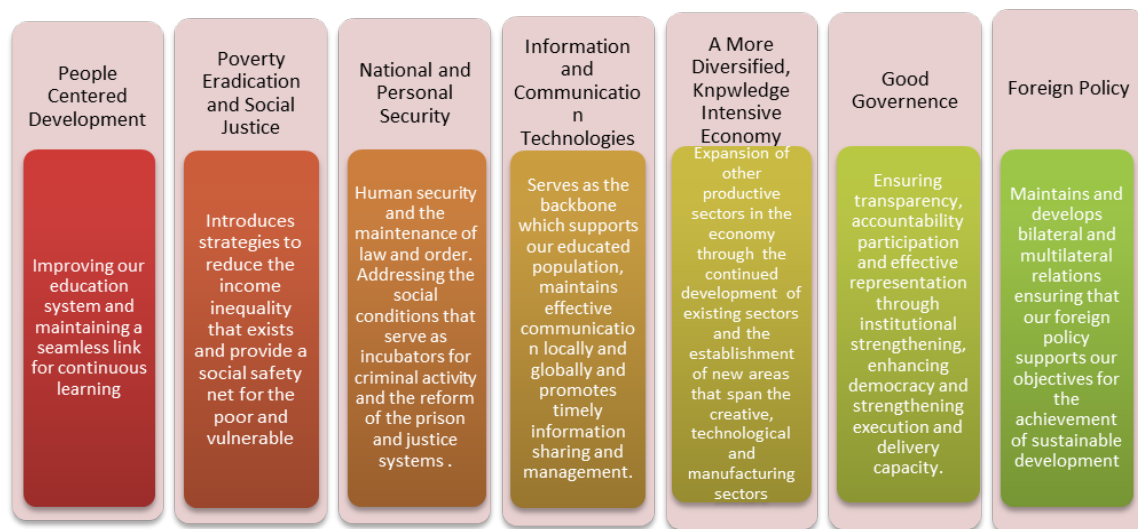


Figure 2. The Seven Pillars for Sustainable Economic Development of TT.

Source: Created by author. Data from the "National Development Agenda of Trinidad and Tobago" (Paper presented at the UNDP workshop on Trinidad and Tobago Country Strategy Action Plan 2012-2015, Port of Spain, Trinidad, August 2, 2011).

These seven (7) pillars are an expansion of the previous PNM government's five (5) development priorities of Innovative People, A Caring Society, Effective Government, Competitive Businesses and Sound Infrastructure and Environment (see figure 3)¹⁰

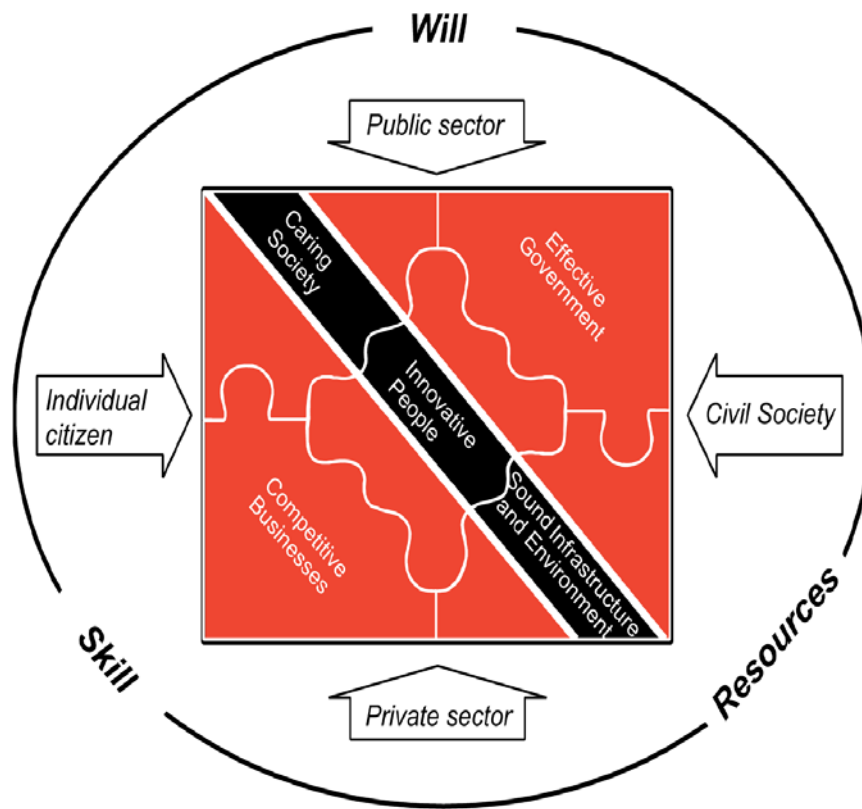


Figure 3. Vision 2020-The Model for Development

Source: Arthur Lok Jack, Chairman, *Report of the Multi-Sectoral Group on Vision 2020* (Port of Spain: Government Printing Office, 2006), 14.

While the number of pillars differ, it is important to note that both governments identified the same basic issues critical to ensuring the sustainable development of the country. The Vision 2020 Draft National Strategic Plan provides an explanation of the five pillars (see figure 4).



Figure 4. Vision 2020-The Five Development Priorities

Source: Created by Author. Data from Arthur Lok Jack, Chairman, *Report of the Multi-Sectoral Group on Vision 2020* (Port of Spain: Government Printing Office, 2006).

Domestic and International Issues

The Ministry of Planning and the Economy in 2011 identified several critical domestic issues, which the government has to address. These include crime, unemployment, health, inflation, and poverty.¹¹ (see figure 5)

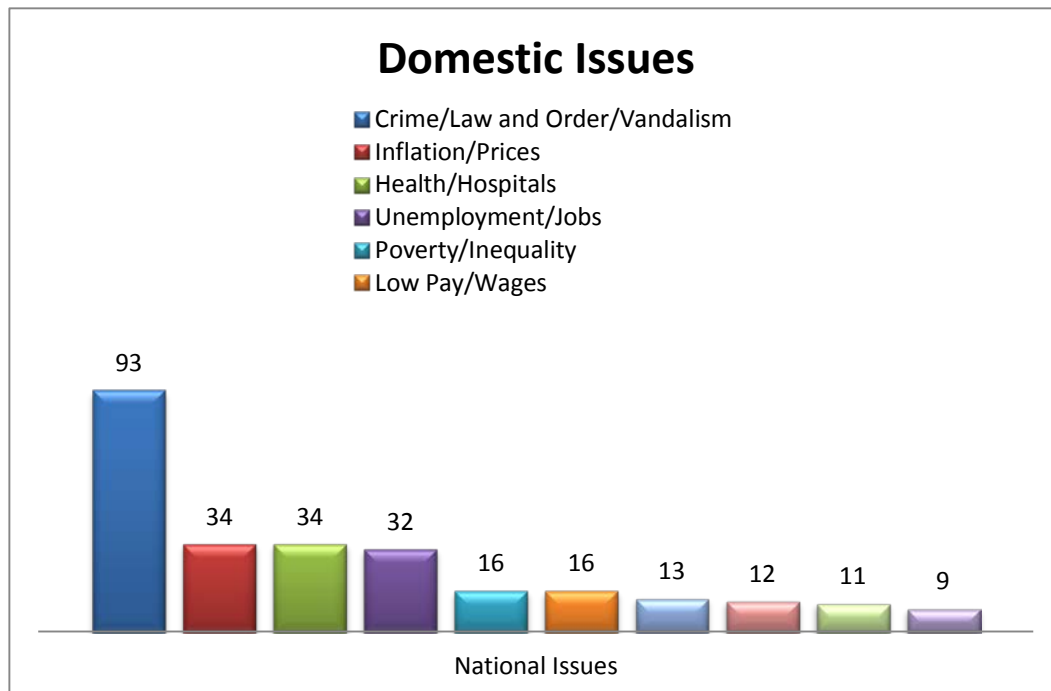


Figure 5. Trinidad and Tobago Critical Domestic Issues

Source: Created by Author. Data from the “National Development Agenda of Trinidad and Tobago” (Paper presented at the UNDP workshop on Trinidad and Tobago Country Strategy Action Plan 2012-2015, Port of Spain, Trinidad, August 2, 2011).

Trinidad and Tobago is involved in two major international issues.¹² Firstly, the country is involved in an international dispute with Barbados and Guyana in terms of the maritime boundary; whether the northern limit of Trinidad and Tobago's and Venezuela's maritime boundary extends into Barbadian waters. Further, Guyana has expressed its

intention to include itself in the arbitration as the Trinidad and Tobago-Venezuela maritime boundary may extend into its waters as well.¹³ Secondly, Trinidad and Tobago is considered a major transshipment point for South American drugs destined for the US and Europe and is a producer of cannabis.¹⁴

Defining the Problem

The Concise Oxford Dictionary, eleventh edition, defines development as “a specified state of growth or advancement,” and defines a developing country as “a poor agricultural country that is seeking to become more advanced economically and socially.” The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations defines a developed state as “a state which has achieved self- sustained economic growth over a sufficient period of time to show development in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of industry, ultimately achieving a consistent improvement in living standards for the population as a whole.” It further states that advanced industrial countries represent the model for developed states. Additionally, the changes associated with developed status came into being due to a series of initiatives that started in Western Europe through the processes of industrialization and mechanization. This process, called the Industrial Revolution, began in Britain in the 1800s and made it possible to create wealth in a relatively benign manner. Thus, the original example of a developed nation was Great Britain, which then gave way to the United States, particularly after World War II. As such, development on a global level is due to the standards and systems of advancement and evolution achieved by developed states that they demand developing states to aspire. Consequently, the researcher will review the national security strategies of the United States of America and Great Britain as references to developed countries.

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs define Small Island Developing States (SIDS) as; low-lying coastal countries that share similar sustainable development challenges, including small population, limited resources, remoteness, susceptibility to natural disasters, vulnerability to external shocks, and excessive dependence on international trade. Their growth and development is often further stymied by high transportation and communication costs, disproportionately expensive public administration and infrastructure due to their small size, and little to no opportunity to create economies of scale. Currently there are fifty-one small island developing states and territories categorized in three regions; the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the AIMS (Africa, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean and South China Sea).¹⁵

Consequently, the researcher will also review the national security strategies of Jamaica and the Republic of the Philippines will as references to Small Island Developing States.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has stated that it wants to achieve “First World Status” by the year 2020. The basis of this claim was an assumed national security strategy defending national interests whose pillars they identified as, a secure nation, well-equipped private organs of state security, the commitment of the necessary resources and greater involvement in regional security arrangements.¹⁶ The intention is to achieve this status with a balanced, nimble, adaptable, flexible and multi-purpose national defense framework, which is sufficiently robust and capable, as mandated, to conduct its operations in defense of the national interest.¹⁷ Consequently, how will Trinidad and Tobago develop a defense framework to protect its national interests?

Primary Research Question

Can the principles applied by the United States of America and Great Britain in producing their National Security Strategy, be utilized to develop a national security strategy framework for Trinidad and Tobago?

Secondary Research Questions

1. What is the purpose of a National Security Strategy?
2. What are the main determinants of National Interests?
3. Who defines National Interests?
4. What is the process to develop a National Security Strategy?
5. What methodology did the United States and Great Britain use to develop their national security strategies?
6. Can this methodology work for Small Island Developing States?
7. What are the previous efforts of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a National Security Strategy?

Assumptions

The following assumptions predicate this research effort:

1. The United States will continue to influence the Caribbean Region.
2. The energy sector will continue to be the largest contributor to the gross domestic product of Trinidad and Tobago.

Limitations

The main limitation of this research is the fact that Trinidad and Tobago has never developed a national security strategy; therefore, there is limited literature on previous

work done. Further, the persons responsible for the available literature, are now enjoying private life and contacting them proved difficult since the researcher resides in the US at the time of this study. The persons contacted directed the researcher to the documents utilized for this research. This fact affects the area of the methodology, “reviewing past systems utilized by the government to guide force development and its impact.” Despite this drought of information, the author will continue with the research because of its importance to the development of Trinidad and Tobago.

Delimitation

The research will focus on the following area: Propose a framework to formulate a National Security Strategy for Trinidad and Tobago.

¹Sub-Committee on National Security and Public Safety, *National Security and Public Safety Strategic Plan, 2006*, http://www.pnmtt.org/pdf/National_Security/National_Security_Complete.pdf (accessed April 10, 2012).

²Multi-Sectoral Core Group, *Vision 2020, National Strategic Plan, 2006*, http://www.pnmtt.org/pdf/National_Security/National_Security_Complete.pdf (accessed April 10, 2012).

³Ibid.

⁴Ministry of National Security, “Towards Securing A Developed Nation–Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security Policy” (Copy retained by thesis author), 2005, 25.

⁵Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook, “Trinidad and Tobago,” 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/td.html> (accessed September 13, 2012).

⁶Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, “Ministry of Trade, Industry and Investment,” <http://.tradeind.gov.tt/> (accessed September 2, 2012)

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ministry of Planning and the Economy, “National Development Agenda of Trinidad and Tobago” (Paper presented at the UNDP workshop, Port of Spain, Trinidad,

August 2, 2011), <http://www.undp.org.tt/News/CPAP/pics/Ministry%20of%20Planning%20presentation.pdf> (accessed August 21, 2012).

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Multi-Sectoral Core Group.

¹¹Ministry of Planning and the Economy.

¹²Central Intelligence Agency, “Trinidad and Tobago.”

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Department for Sustainable Development, http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/dsd_aofw_sids/sids_members.shtml (accessed September 13, 2012).

¹⁶Multi-Sectoral Core Group.

¹⁷Sub-Committee on National Security and Public Safety.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Restated Purpose

The advent of the 1990s brought another energy boom, with Trinidad and Tobago recording eleven successive years of economic expansion. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago (GOTT) intends to utilize this wave of prosperity to develop a national strategy that would guide the country to become a developed nation by the year 2020.¹ However, as stated by McNamara, security means societal development, so developing the National Security and Public Safety Plan; the appointed sub-committee at the time had to assume a national security strategy based on the absence of a formal articulated strategy.² Consequently, how did the Government intend for the society of Trinidad and Tobago to develop without a formal National Security Strategy?

The *Trinidad Guardian*, one of the national newspaper agencies, in an article entitled “Security strategy must adapt to change” dated February 13, 2011, asked the question, “What is Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security strategy?” The article further states; “While there is no written National Security strategy as yet, such a strategy must commence with a mandate of clear objectives that are agreed upon, in large measure by the public, Government and Opposition.” The article recognizes that central to addressing these challenges is the dire need to change the institutional, cultural and public service mentality from a colonial legacy to a post 9/11 international security environment,” and one of the tenets of addressing the challenges is, “mobilizing the national will to aid in a new national security strategy.” Finally, the article states, “The People’s Partnership (present government) may need to formulate a National Security Policy and Strategy

which outlines a strategic framework and action plan designed to ensure that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago can prepare for and respond to current and future threats.” Therefore, the purpose of this research is to design a National Security Strategy Framework for Trinidad and Tobago.

In light of the above-mentioned purpose, the focus of this literature review is to examine the current body of knowledge that answers the following four secondary questions:

1. What is the purpose of a National Security Strategy?
2. What are the main determinants of National Interests?
3. Who defines National Interests?
4. What is the process to develop a National Security Strategy?

Purpose of a National Security Strategy

At a national security policy workshop held over the period January 21st-22nd 2012 the Minister of National Security, Senator the Honorable Brigadier John Sandy stated:

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is our earnest hope over this weekend, we would begin the process of creating a National Security Policy Document that will provide strategic guidance for organizational leadership and improve the coordination and cooperation among the various elements of Government, led by the Ministry of National Security.³

This statement clearly illustrates that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago recognizes the requirement for a National Security Strategy to guide and coordinate its various elements of government to protect the state. This coincides with the fact that states have governments that pass laws, enforce order, and are supposed to defend the people who live within their borders, however in pursuit of this defense, states act in their national

interests.⁴ Consequently, it is necessary to define “what is a national security strategy, before confirming what its purpose is.

The above view that states act in their national interests is, shared by Wendt who states; “the concept of national interest refers to the reproduction requirements or security of state-society complexes.”⁵ This follows the British concept that the first duty of the Government remains, “the security of our country.”⁶ Jamaica also agrees stating, “The foremost responsibility of the Government is to provide for a secure and safe environment conducive to the well-being of the citizens and the development of the country.”⁷ The concept of environment in the context of the state as a social institution exists in two perspectives: the internal environment comprised of all the other institutions located in the territory demarcated by the state and their interactions with it and each other; and the external environment comprised of all other states and their interaction with it and each other.⁸

As cited in Bartolotto, the US Army War College defines a national security strategy as the art and science of using all the elements of national power during peace and war to secure national interests. In addition, his thesis stated the following definition, “the NSS, like Grand Strategy, has been defined as the art and science of developing, applying, and coordinating the instruments of national power (diplomatic, economic, military, and informational) to achieve objectives that contribute to national security. It encompasses national defense, foreign relations, and economic relations and assistance; and aims, among other objectives, at providing a favorable foreign relations position, and a defense posture capable of defeating hostile action.”⁹

The state of New Guinea supports the view, stating that a national security policy (NSP) is a frame of reference derived from a process whose results describes how a country provides for and guarantees the security of the state and its citizens. New Guinea acknowledges the resultant document as a national security strategy, concept, or doctrine. It represents the culmination of a process that includes broad consultations among various stakeholders to achieve a national consensus on security as a whole. They concede that a NSP establishes the broad outlines of a nation's security objectives and the plan to achieve them. To this end, they recognize the three basic components of a NSP as; the role of the State within the international system; the perception of challenges and opportunities at the national and international level; and the responsibilities of actors who implement policies and deal with those challenges and opportunities.¹⁰ They emphasize the fact that NSPs concern both the present and the future; highlight the main interests of the nation and articulate broad guidelines for managing and confronting threats, risks and vulnerabilities. Therefore, various sectors contribute to its conception, and its implementation concerns several facets of national life.¹¹

In terms of the purpose of a national security strategy, Dale cites three main reasons in the context of the US NSS as follows:

1. By offering prioritized objectives and indicating which elements of national power (“ways and means”) are used to meet them, it can provide guidance to departments and agencies to use in their internal processes for budgeting, planning and executing, and organizing, training, and equipping personnel.

2. By clearly linking goals and the approaches designed to meet them, national security strategy can provide the executive branch a key tool for justifying requested resources to Congress.
3. By laying out a detailed strategic vision, it can help inform public audiences both at home and abroad about U.S. government intent.¹²

New Guinea gives credence to this concept, recognizing the purpose of a NSP as follows:

1. To ensure that the government fully confronts and deals with all threats;
2. To increase the effectiveness of the security sector by optimizing the contributions of all security actors;
3. To assess capacities and uncover weaknesses, in order to guide and shape the implementation of policies;
4. To establish a national consensus on security issues; and
5. To strengthen regional and international trust and cooperation.”¹³

The report also states;

NSPs are also instruments to strengthen trust between the security apparatus and citizens, and help create or strengthen trust at the regional and international levels. A coherent, transparent policy conveys a nation’s concerns to the international community, thereby facilitating international understanding and cooperation in the context of relations based on trust and mutual respect.¹⁴

Inherent in securing a state is the notion of a threat, defined by Kaufman as “anything that endangers a country’s core interests, people or territory.” However, the concept of threat has broadened to include anything that can harm or interfere with way of life, ideals, philosophy, ideology, or economy of the country. Additionally, within recent times, the broadened threat concepts now include environmental degradation, the spread of disease and human rights abuses.¹⁵ Further, Britain has identified other modern

threats that include terrorism, cyber-attack, and unconventional attacks using chemical, nuclear or biological weapons, as well as large-scale accidents or natural hazards. These threats can emanate from states, but also from non-state actors: terrorists, homegrown or overseas; insurgents; or criminals.¹⁶ The latter point highlights the fact that threat consideration must include a complete evaluation of the national and international environments.¹⁷

Consequently, the purpose of a national security strategy is to identify the individual or organization responsible for developing, implementing and coordinating the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. However, in the instance of Jamaica, a developing country, it includes the development of the country. Therefore, what are the determinants of national interests?

Determinants of National Interests

Several authors have identified four main areas of national interest. These are physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being¹⁸ and collective self-esteem.¹⁹ Physical survival refers to the individuals that make up a state-society complex. However, Wendt indicates that no individual is essential to the identity of the collective. Thus, the critical thing is the survival of the complex. Autonomy is the ability of the state-complex to exercise control over its allocation of resources and choice of government. The focus is not only survival but the state-society must also retain its liberty. Economic well-being refers to the maintenance of the mode of production in a society and the state's resource base. Collective self-esteem refers to a group's need to

feel good about itself, for respect and status.²⁰ Wendt further states, “these four interests are needs that must be met if state-society complexes are to be secure, as such they set objectives on what states can do in their foreign policies.”²¹ These interests may on occasion have contradictory implications that require prioritization however; all four must be satisfied in order for a state to survive. The form these interests take will vary with states’ other identities but the underlying needs are common to all states and must somehow be addressed if states are to reproduce themselves. In this respect, national interest occurs as a selection mechanism that disposes states to try to understand them and to interpret their implications in defining subjective security interests.²² Further, Freeman (1997) has added to this number, identifying that states compete or cooperate to secure territory, strategic advantage, resources, economic privilege, deference, prestige, influence and ideological ascendancy.²³

Finally, Kaufman highlights that states make foreign policy decisions based on national interest,²⁴ a perspective shared by Nye and Welch having purported that anyone seeking to promote a particular foreign policy will inevitably try to wrap it in the mantle of the national interest.²⁵ Consequently, in defining national interest, taking into consideration the four main areas of national interests, one needs to review domestic, regional and international issues because they impact foreign policy decisions.

Consequently, the main determinants of national interests necessary for a state’s continuity are physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being and collective self-esteem. Moreover, they set objectives on what states can do in their foreign policies and provide a framework for defining subjective security interests.

Who Defines National Interest

In determining who defines national interest and why countries go to war, Brown and Ainley claim that this can be attributed to the personality characteristics of leaders or on the political characteristics of regimes, or on the anarchical character of the international system.²⁶ Goldstein and Pevehouse support this claim citing that foreign policy outcomes result from multiple forces occurring at various levels of analysis. These are individual decision makers, the type of society and government they are working within and on the international and global context of their actions.²⁷ Consequently, what are the characteristics of these decision makers?

The Individual Level

The individual level revolves around the question of rationality, indicative of the realist view of the world. It seeks to determine whether national leaders or citizens are able to make rational decisions in the national interest.²⁸ However, realists recognize that individual rationality may differ from state rationality because “states might filter individuals’ irrational decisions so as to arrive at rational choices, or states might distort individually rational decisions and end up with irrational state choices.”²⁹ Ultimately, realists assume that both states and individuals are rational and that the goals or interests of states correlate with those of leaders.³⁰

This view is shared by Nye and Welch who claim that using the individual level of analysis is to focus on features specific to individual people and characteristics common to all individuals meaning, “human nature.” This view acknowledges the perception that leaders of states either are, or accepted as rational actors. They further

claim that if individuals are rational, then all we need to know in order to understand or predict the choices they make are the cost and benefits of each one.³¹

Kegley and Blanton claim that leaders make decisions based upon careful evaluation of the relative usefulness of alternative options for realizing the best interest for themselves and their states.³² However, Goldstein and Pevehouse noted that individual decision makers have differing values and beliefs, and unique personalities based on their personal experiences, intellectual capabilities and personal style of making decisions.³³ Further, they noted that aside from individual idiosyncrasies in goals or decision making processes, individual decision-making diverges from the rational model because of misperceptions and selective perceptions, affective bias and cognitive bias.³⁴

Firstly, misperceptions and selective perceptions refer to the acceptance of partial information. Individuals use subconscious filters called information screens to filter incoming information during the decision-making process. As Goldstein and Pevehouse observe, this filtration process is often bias.³⁵

Secondly, affective bias refers to the emotions associated with the decision making process. These emotions, are exhibited when individuals think about the consequences of their actions, which serves to undermine the rationality of an individual's cost-benefit calculations.³⁶

Finally, cognitive biases are systematic distortions of rational calculations based on the limitations of the human brain in making choices. Individuals try to maintain mental models of the world that are logically consistent in order to produce cognitive balance. However, this seldom succeeds and they identify the two specific modifications proposed to the rational model of decision making to accommodate psychological

realities. These are bounded rationality which takes into account the cost of seeking and processing information and the prospect theory which provides an alternative explanation (rather than simple rational optimization) of decisions made under risk or uncertainty.³⁷

Nye and Welch (2011) claim that while some people do make decisions based on good quality cost benefit analysis; there are occasions that this is simply not possible. They utilize psychological considerations to explain apparent deviations from rational action. These considerations include;

1. cognitive psychology which examines the processes by which people seek to make sense of raw information about the world;
2. motivational psychology which explains human behavior in terms of deep seated psychological fears, desires and needs;
3. behavioral economics and particularly from prospect theory which explains deviations from rational action by noting that people make decisions very differently depending upon whether they face prospects of gain or loss; and
4. psychobiography which locates idiosyncratic in generally recognized neuroses and psychosis.³⁸

In summary, at the individual level the goals or interests of different individuals vary, in addition to which, these decision makers encounter a series of obstacles when receiving accurate information, constructing accurate models of the world and reaching decisions that further their own goals.³⁹ Thus, when explanations for international political events rest upon the subconscious fears, needs and desires of world leaders, it is difficult to know how to have confidence in them.⁴⁰ This leads to the conclusion that the rational model is only a simplification, that requires augmentation by an understanding of

individual psychological processes that affect decision-making and ultimately how they determine a state's national interests.⁴¹

The State Level

The state level acknowledges that what happens in world politics is a function of domestic politics, various features of domestic society or the machinery of government.⁴²

This view is shared by Kegley and Blanton who claim that at the state level of analysis, many historians in their interpretation of the origins of World War I, claim the growth of nationalism particularly in south eastern Europe as having created a climate of opinion that made war likely.⁴³

Marxism and Liberalism purport that states would act similarly in the international system if they were similar domestically. However, they differ on the outcomes of their similar view. Marxists argue that the source of war is capitalism. They claim that the nature of capitalist society, which they see as the inequitable distribution of wealth, leads to under consumption, stagnation and lack of domestic investment. This leads to imperialist expansionism abroad, which helps sell production in foreign markets, creates foreign investment opportunities and promises access to natural resource.⁴⁴

Marxists claim that such imperialism fuels the domestic economy through higher military spending which results in arms races and conflicts between capitalist states. However, this view does not explain the onset of World War I nor the fact that later on in the twentieth century communist states such as the Soviet Union, China and Vietnam were involved in military clash with each other while the major capitalist states in Europe, North America and Japan maintained peaceful relations. Ultimately, these facts nullify the argument that capitalism causes war.⁴⁵

Liberal thinkers are of the view that capitalist states tend to be peaceful because war is bad for business. This view, expressed by Richard Cobden (1804–1865) a classical liberal states; “We can keep the world from actual war, and I trust that the world would do that through trade.” World War I severely discredited the liberal view because even though bankers, aristocrats and the workforce had frequent transnational contacts, none of this helped stop the European states from going to war.⁴⁶

Thus, the nature of the society, democratic, capitalist or communist is not a sufficient predictor of how likely it is to go to war or determine national interests. However, domestic politics as stated above have caused wars and do influence national interests. Finally, Nye and Welch further claim that it is difficult to find cause in which liberal democracies have fought against other liberal democracies, although democracies have fought against authoritarian states in many situations.⁴⁷

The System Level

The System Level concerns the influence of international systems upon outcomes, in this instance national interest. This level of analysis focuses on the interaction of states themselves, without regard to their internal make-up or the particular individuals who lead them. It pays attention to states relative power positions in the international system and the interactions, such as trade, among them. The literature regard this level as the most important in comparison to the other two levels discussed.⁴⁸

Nye and Welch agree with the aforementioned concept of the system level of analysis when they stated that it looks at the way the overall system constrains state action.⁴⁹ The concept of decision-making requires information from more than one level of analysis, and it is best to start with the simplest approach. Systematic explanations tend

to be the simplest and therefore provide a good starting point. Consequently, Nye and Welch claim, “when the structure of the system is known; states are better able to predict behavior and who will benefit.”⁵⁰

In the Hobbesian world, states would face powerful incentives to be on their guard, make adequate provisions for their security and take advantage of opportunities to increase their wealth and power. Yet states that could not provide for their own security possibly because they have more powerful neighbors would face strong incentives to find strong allies. However, non-Hobbesian systems behave differently, claiming the more social the system the less the logic of self-help applies.⁵¹ Thus, the structure of international system can help us understand behavior within and ultimately understand decisions states would make about their national interest.⁵²

Ultimately, national interests can be determined at the individual, state or system level.

National Security Strategy Process

As cited in Bartolotto, “the term national security strategy implies a planned, systematic, and rational process, where a consideration of national interests, values, and priorities decides policy objectives, and an analysis of available resources, and the external security environment determines the strategy to achieve these objectives (see figure 8). However, in practice, strategy making is rarely so straightforward.”⁵³ Whittaker et al support this statement, citing, “A defined and efficient policy development and decision making process is critical to the development, coordination, articulation and implementation of a national security strategy.”⁵⁴ They further state, “the national security decision- making process is critical to the management of the national security

interests of the United States.”⁵⁵ However, “there are no laws or regulations directing how policy decisions should be made.”⁵⁶ Consequently, the process depends upon personalities, strengths and weaknesses of the people who work for the President, as well as the personality and management style of the President himself.⁵⁷

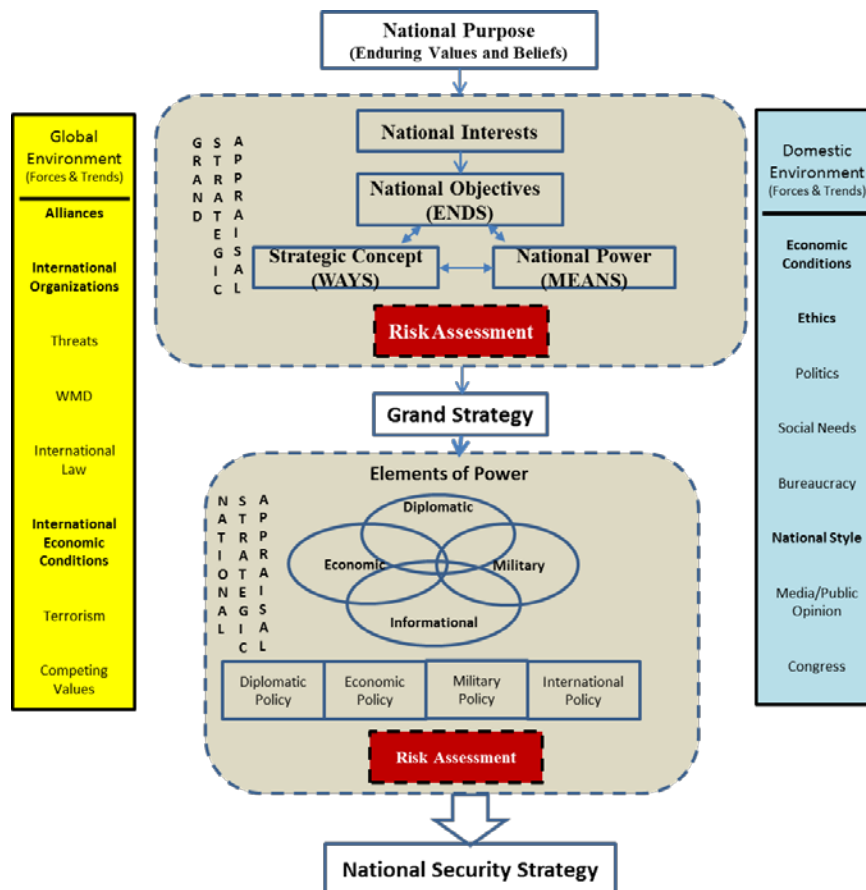


Figure 6. Strategy Formulation Model

Source: US Army War College, Core Curriculum, Course 2: War, National Security Policy and Strategy (Department of National Security and Strategy, Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College, 2003), 143.

The conference report on Developing a Guinean National Security Policy supports the sentiment that there is no formal process for devising a national security strategy. The report states, “no predefined solution exists for explaining how to approach the process of developing a security policy.” It also acknowledges that; “there is a broadly-established framework, of best practices emanating from various countries.”⁵⁸ Having acknowledged the latter points, the report goes on to say that NSPs must address three basic areas: “the role of the State within the international system; the perception of challenges and opportunities at the national and international level; and the responsibilities of actors who implement policies and deal with those challenges and opportunities.”⁵⁹

Thus, what recommendations exist for a National Security Strategy Development Policy Process?

Decision-Making Models

As Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011) explain, “states take actions because people in governments (decision makers) choose these actions, and decision- making is a steering process in which adjustments are made as a result of feedback from the outside world.”⁶⁰ As it pertains to decision-making models, most writers refer to the three models provided by Graham Allison in his case study of the Cuban Missile Crisis, entitled *Essence of Decision*.⁶¹

Further, the process of defining a national security strategy includes among other things, the identification of the national interests and the mitigation of threats to these interests. The fact that foreign policy formulation involves the recognition and articulation of the national interests, the aim of foreign- policy decision- making

approaches is to operationalize the idea of national interests.⁶² Additionally, according to Kanet, “institutions and individuals matter in the making and implementation of foreign policy.”⁶³ The latter quote ties in well with Allison’s models, the Rational Actor Model, the Organizational Process Model, and the Bureaucratic Politics Model.

Rational Actor Model

This model highlights the concept of the nation as the actor, setting goals in terms of national interests, then determines various courses of action designed to achieve the national interests. The government then weighs the pros and cons of each alternative and then chooses the best one, based on a cost benefit analysis.⁶⁴ However, problems identified with this model include uncertainty about the costs and benefits of various actions because some decision makers in the state are risk accepting while others are averse to risks.⁶⁵ Walz corroborates this statement citing:

Allison argues that in fact governments, even totalitarian governments, are made up of various sub organizations which result in a highly differentiated decision-making structure; and that “large acts are the consequences of innumerable and often conflicting smaller actions by individuals at various levels of bureaucratic organizations in the service of only partially compatible conceptions of national goals, organizational goals, and political objectives.”⁶⁶

Organizational Process Model

This model does not utilize the model of identifying goals and alternative actions, but instead relies on standard operating procedures.⁶⁷ This statement is further clarified in Brown and Ainley which highlights, “the model assumes that decisions are made by multiple organizations within the state, each of which have standard operating procedures and are resistant to being organized by any kind of central intelligence.”⁶⁸ This model argues that rather than being the rational decisions of Model 1, national security decisions

are outputs of the process the organization has developed to make decisions. Since government leaders are appointed to lead a conglomerate of semi-independent organizations, they ultimately view problems through the lenses of these organizations which do the staff work for the leaders. Thus, the behavior of organizations making up the government, determine the behavior of the government. However, and the behavior of these organizations is determined primarily by the routines set up in the organizations.⁶⁹

The drawbacks of this model are, change and learning occurs gradually and dramatic change can only occur in response to crises. The response takes place in the context of the responsiveness and flexibility of the organization's SOPs. However, the action taken is an output of the organizational process and the organization makes its decision based on its own organizational goals, standard operating procedures, and programs.⁷⁰

Bureaucratic Politics Model

In this model, the actors are bureaucrats who view policy issues in terms of various national, organizational and personal goals. Similar to the organizational process model, the actors define the problem in terms of parochial priorities, perceptions, and most importantly organizational interests. The position of each player in the game is often determined by the intensity of his organization's interests in the policy under discussion, what is at stake for the organization in that issue, and power he can bring to bear to influence the decision. Ultimately, detached rational analysts do not solve strategic problems, but instead bureaucratic (governmental) politicians acting under the pressure of time and the need to protect his own and his organization's reputation and power.⁷¹

Therefore, decisions made are not the results of the calculated choice of a unified group,

or the formal summary of the leader's preferences, but rather in the context of shared power based on separate judgments concerning the issue.⁷² Goldstein and Pevehouse corroborate this statement claiming that in the bureaucratic politics model, "foreign policy decisions result from the bargaining process among various government agencies with somewhat divergent interests in the outcome."⁷³ This suggests that in a complex situation that would require a coordinated effort, different organizations would most likely respond based on their interest in the outcome of the circumstance.

In conclusion, there is no formal process for devising a national security strategy; however, the Rational Actor Model, the Organizational Process Model, and the Bureaucratic Politics Model present an approach to the process. These three models all have disadvantages, which hinder the development process of a national security strategy. These hindrances highlighted in Bartolotto's thesis state:

Strategies often develop incrementally as a result of compromises between the conflicting interest groups involved in decision making. They are also shaped by strong leaders, organizational cultures, and governmental structures. In some states, economic policy alone can drive the whole security strategy process. Unforeseen events will also tend to upset the most rigorous planning, causing the distinct stages in a sequential process of strategic analysis, choice, and implementation to overlap.⁷⁴

Therefore, in developing a national security strategy, the methodology must seek to reduce the impact of these disadvantages as much as possible.

Summary

A review of the literature has gleaned the following points:

1. The purpose of a national security strategy is to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and

abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. However, in the instance of Jamaica, a Small Island Developing State, it includes the development of the country.

2. The main determinants of national interests are physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being and collective self-esteem. They set objectives on what states can do in their foreign policies and provide a framework for defining subjective security interests.
3. National interests can be determined at the individual, state or system level.
4. There is no formal process for devising a national security strategy; however, the Rational Actor Model, the Organizational Process Model, and the Bureaucratic Politics Model present an approach to the process.
5. NSPs must address three basic areas: “the role of the State within the international system; the perception of challenges and opportunities at the national and international level; and the responsibilities of the actors who implement policies and deal with those challenges and opportunities.

Consequently, chapter 3 will define the methodology used to answer the primary and other secondary research questions. It will subsequently explain the analysis process, and the method of using the information to develop a national security strategy framework for Trinidad and Tobago.

¹Multi-Sectoral Core Group.

²Ibid.

³Brigadier General John Sandy, “Address by the Minister of National Security” (Speech, the National Security Policy Workshop, Port of Spain, Trinidad, January 21-22,

2012), [http://www.nationalsecurity.gov.tt/Portals/0/Pdf%20Files/DraftMNSPolicyWorkshopJAN\(Revised\).pdf](http://www.nationalsecurity.gov.tt/Portals/0/Pdf%20Files/DraftMNSPolicyWorkshopJAN(Revised).pdf) (accessed August 12, 2012).

⁴Joseph S. Nye Jr., and David A Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 8th ed. (USA: Pearson Education Inc., 2011), 45.

⁵Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 234. [Orig. pub. 1999]

⁶The Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom, *The National Security Strategy: A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty*, 2010, <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/resources/national-security-strategy.pdf> (accessed April 24, 2012).

⁷The Ministry of National Security, *National Security Strategy for Jamaica: Towards a Secure and Prosperous Nation*, 2006, <http://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/clas/pdba/Security/citizenssecurity/jamaica/programs/SecurityStrategy.pdf> (accessed April 24, 2012).

⁸Chris Brown, and Kirsten Ainley, *Understanding International Relations*, 4th ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 76.

⁹John K. Bartolotto, “The Origin and Developmental Process of the National Security Strategy” (Master’s Thesis, US Army War College, 2004), 4.

¹⁰Partners for Democratic Change, “Developing a Guinean National Security Policy” (Conference Report Conakry, October 20-21, 2011), <http://www.partnersglobal.org/network/senegal/Developing%20a%20Guinean%20National%20Security%20Policy-%20Conference%20Report.pdf> (accessed August 12, 2012).

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Catherine Dale, *National Security Strategy: Legislative Mandates, Execution to Date, and Considerations for Congress* (Congressional Research Service, 2008), <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34505.pdf> (accessed September 10, 2012).

¹³Partners for Democratic Change.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Joyce P. Kaufman, *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2010), 13.

¹⁶The Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom, *The National Security Strategy*, 2010.

- ¹⁷Partners for Democratic Change.
- ¹⁸Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 235 [Orig. pub. 1999]. (page citation is to the reprint edition)
- ¹⁹Ibid.
- ²⁰Ibid., 235-236.
- ²¹Ibid., 237.
- ²²Ibid.
- ²³Chas W. Freeman Jr., *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy*, 2nd ed. (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007), 9.
- ²⁴Kaufman, 9.
- ²⁵Nye and Welch, 46.
- ²⁶Brown and Ainley, 10.
- ²⁷Joshua S. Goldstein, and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations*, 9th. ed. (USA: Longman, 2011), 104.
- ²⁸Ibid., 107.
- ²⁹Ibid.
- ³⁰Ibid.
- ³¹Nye and Welch, 49.
- ³²Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Shannon L. Blanton, *World Politics: Trend and Transformations*, 14th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011), 70.
- ³³Goldstein and Pevehouse, 107.
- ³⁴Ibid., 108.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶Ibid.
- ³⁷Ibid., 110.
- ³⁸Nye and Welch, 50.

³⁹Goldstein and Pevehouse, 110.

⁴⁰Nye and Welch, 51.

⁴¹Goldstein and Pevehouse, 110.

⁴²Nye and Welch, 51.

⁴³Kegley and Blanton, 70.

⁴⁴Nye and Welch, 51.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 52.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸Goldstein and Pevehouse, 18.

⁴⁹Nye and Welch, 53.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 54.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 55.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 54.

⁵³Bartolotto, 6.

⁵⁴Alan Whittaker, Shannon A. Brown, Frederick C. Smith, and Elizabeth McKune, *The National Security Policy Process: The National Security Council and Interagency System* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 2011), 5.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸Partners for Democratic Change.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰Goldstein and Pevehouse, 105.

⁶¹Brown and Ainley, 78.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Roger Kanet, *Foreign Policy Making in a Democratic Society* (2010). Quoted in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Shannon L. Blanton, *World Politics Trend and Transformations*, 14th ed (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011), 202.

⁶⁴Bob Walz, *Models of Decision Making*, in *A512 National Security Policy Formulation Syllabus and Book of Readings* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: USACGSC, March 2012), 47.

⁶⁵Goldstein and Pevehouse, 105.

⁶⁶Walz, 47.

⁶⁷Goldstein and Pevehouse, 106.

⁶⁸Brown and Ainley, 79.

⁶⁹Walz, 48.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., 49.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Goldstein and Pevehouse, 106.

⁷⁴Bartolotto, 6.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The focus of this research paper is to design a framework for a National Security Policy for Trinidad and Tobago. This chapter describes the methodology employed to conduct a comparative analysis of the strategies of the US, UK, Jamaica, the Philippines and the previous policy efforts of Trinidad and Tobago. It outlines the research process; design as well as the various research/data collection methods used to achieve the stated purpose. Further, it aims to answer the following secondary research questions:

1. What methodology did the United States and Great Britain use to develop their national security strategies?
2. Can this methodology work for Small Island Developing States?
3. What are the previous efforts of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a National Security Strategy?

Research Process

Figure 7 shows the steps used to achieve the purpose of the research paper as outlined. Firstly, I will compare the National Security Strategy of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. This comparison will focus on:

1. The individual and or organisation designated to develop, implement and coordinate the National Security Strategy;
2. What have they defined as their National Interests;
3. What are the threats to their National Interests;
4. What is their overall concept to mitigate against these threats.

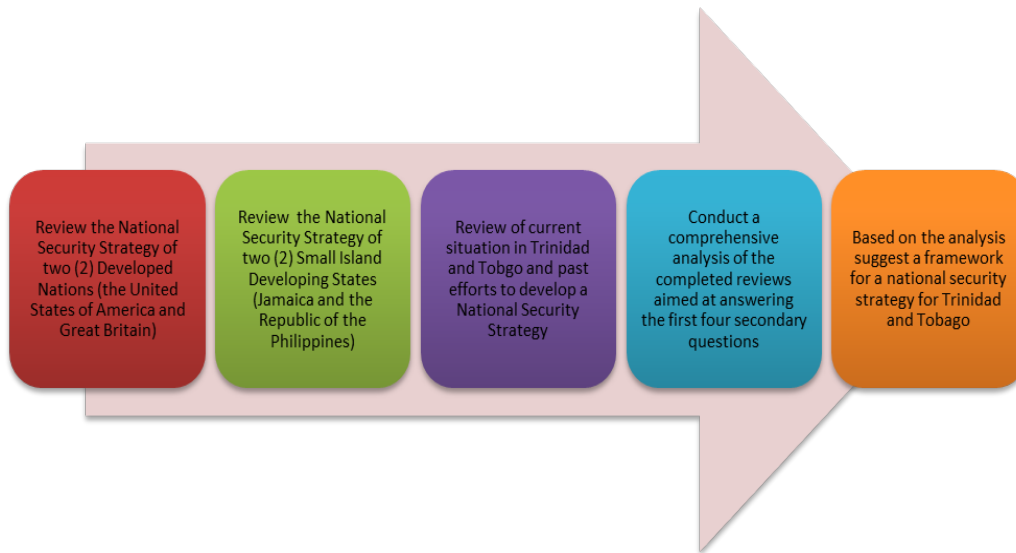


Figure 7. Research Process

Source: Created by Author.

Secondly, I will examine the National Security Strategies of two Small Island Developing States; the Republic of the Philippines and Jamaica. It will follow the same parameters as detailed in step 1. These islands, like Trinidad and Tobago are Small Island Developing States. Additionally, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are members of the Caribbean Community, located in the same region and experiences similar challenges.

Thirdly, I will review the efforts of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a National Security. The review will attempt to answer the questions outlined in step 1 and determine the reason for the non-implementation of these efforts.

The fourth step is a comparative analysis of the strategies reviewed to determine their relevance to the following answers obtained in the literature review to the first four secondary questions.

1. The purpose of a national security strategy is to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. However, in the instance of Jamaica, a Small Island Developing State, it includes the development of the country.
2. The main determinants of national interests are physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being and collective self-esteem. They set objectives on what states can do in their foreign policies and provide a framework for defining subjective security interests.
3. National interests can be determined at the individual, state or system level.
4. There is no formal process for devising a national security strategy; however, the Rational Actor Model, the Organizational Process Model, and the Bureaucratic Politics Model present an approach to the process.

This step will culminate by answering the primary research question.

Finally, step five will design a framework for a National Security Strategy for Trinidad and Tobago (see figure 8).

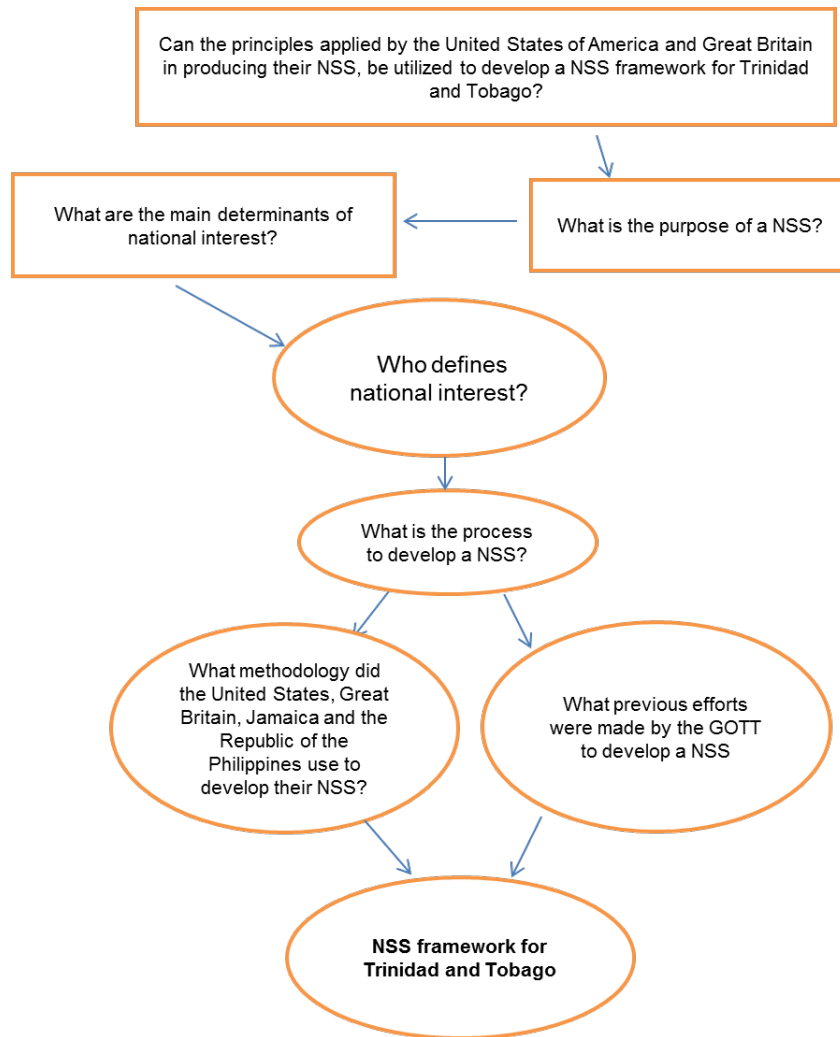


Figure 8. Analysis Framework

Source: Created by Author.

Research Design and Data Collection Method

This paper focused on a qualitative research because of the limitations described in chapter 1. This type of research reviews the study of recorded human communication¹ and involves the collection of in-depth non-numerical data² and information.

The author reviewed information from secondary data such as reports and other published documents. Additionally, the author utilized his personal experiences gained from twenty-seven years of service in the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, and his involvement in previous attempts at developing a National Security Strategy. Although the information was easily accessible, this did not compromise the quality as well as its authenticity in reflecting the current security situations of the countries studied. The documents used came from very reliable sources including official websites such as the United States of America Department of Defence, the United States White House, the Cabinet Office of the Government of the United Kingdom, the Ministry of Defence in the Philippines and the Ministries of National Security in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The chosen documents focused on the specific National Security Strategies of the countries studied in order to answer the questions outlined in step 1 above.

Data Analysis

Earl R. Babbie states, “qualitative research methods involve a continuing interplay between data collection and theory”.³ This means that throughout the research, researchers must continually evaluate the relevance of the data obtained to the research.

Thus, the conduct of analysis during this study involves a consistent review of the data obtained in order to focus the outcome of the analysis.

Summary

The procedure presented in this section focused on the collection of qualitative data geared towards the design of a National Security Strategy Framework for Trinidad and Tobago.

¹Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 11th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007), 320.

²Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis, and Adrian Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*, 4th ed. (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), 145.

³Babbie, 378.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Restated Purpose

The advent of the 1990s brought another energy boom, with Trinidad and Tobago recording eleven successive years of economic expansion. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago (GOTT) intends to utilize this wave of prosperity to develop a national strategy that would guide the country to become a developed nation by the year 2020.¹ However, as stated by McNamara, security means societal development, so developing the National Security and Public Safety Plan; the appointed sub-committee at the time had to assume a national security strategy based on the absence of a formal articulated strategy.² Consequently, how did the Government intend for the society of Trinidad and Tobago to develop without a formal National Security Strategy?

The *Trinidad Guardian*, one of the national newspaper agencies, in an article entitled “Security strategy must adapt to change” dated February 13, 2011, asked the question, “What is Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security strategy?” The article further states; “While there is no written National Security strategy as yet, such a strategy must commence with a mandate of clear objectives that are agreed upon, in large measure by the public, Government and Opposition.” The article recognizes that central to addressing these challenges is the dire need to change the institutional, cultural and public service mentality from a colonial legacy to a post 9/11 international security environment,” and one of the tenets of addressing the challenges is, “mobilizing the national will to aid in a new national security strategy.” Finally, the article states, “The People’s Partnership (present government) may need to formulate a National Security Policy and Strategy

which outlines a strategic framework and action plan designed to ensure that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago can prepare for and respond to current and future threats.” Therefore, the purpose of this research is to design a National Security Strategy Framework for Trinidad and Tobago.

This chapter will answer the following secondary questions;

1. What methodology did the United States and Great Britain use to develop their national security strategies?
2. Can this methodology work for Small Island Developing States?
3. What are the previous efforts of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a National Security Strategy?

It will then compare them to the conclusions of chapter 2 in order to determine the answer to the primary research question.

First, an analysis of the national security strategies of the United States of America, Great Britain, Jamaica, the Republic of the Philippines and the efforts of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a strategy will be conducted to ascertain the following:

1. The individual and or organisation designated to develop, implement and coordinate the National Security Strategy;
2. What is the purpose of their National Security Strategy;
3. What have they defined as their National Interests; and do they reflect the four determinants necessary for a state to survive;
4. What are the threats to their National Interests;
5. What is their overall concept to mitigate these threats?

Next, the author will compare the findings to the above questions to the findings of the secondary research questions reviewed in chapter 2 as shown below;

1. The purpose of a national security strategy is to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. However, in the instance of Jamaica, a Small Island Developing State, it includes the development of the country.
2. The main determinants of national interests are physical survival, autonomy, economic well- being and collective self-esteem. They set objectives on what states can do in their foreign policies and provide a framework for defining subjective security interests.
3. National interests can be determined at the individual, state or system level.
4. There is no formal process for devising a national security strategy; however, the Rational Actor Model, the Organizational Process Model, and the Bureaucratic Politics Model present an approach to the process.

This comparison will provide an answer to the primary research question.

Can the principles applied by the United States of America and Great Britain in producing their National Security Strategy, be utilized to develop a national security strategy framework for Trinidad and Tobago?

Ultimately, this will lead to a design/framework for a practical and relevant National Security Strategy for Trinidad and Tobago. Thus, what do the national security strategies of the four countries mentioned above state?

National Security Strategy of the United States

Pertinent to who defines national interests and ultimate responsibility for the US NSS, Whitaker et al state:

Central to the policy development and decision-making process is the National Security Council (NSC), which serves as the President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters with his senior national security advisors and cabinet officials. The NSC advises and assists the President on national security and foreign policies and serves as the President's principal arm for coordinating these policies among various government agencies.³

Congress established and codified this formal national security structure in the National Security Act of 1947.⁴ Subsequently, the Act, as amended by the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, mandates the President to deliver to Congress annually, the national security strategy, on the date the he submits the budget for the following fiscal year. In addition, a newly elected President is required to submit a strategy report not less than 150 days after taking office.⁵

The US National Security Strategy 2010 states its focus as

renewing American leadership so that we can more effectively advance our interests in the 21st century. We will do so by building upon the sources of our strength at home, while shaping an international order that can meet the challenges of our time.⁶

The strategy defines their national interests as;

1. The security of the United States, its citizens, and U.S. allies and partners; (physical survival).
2. A strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity; (economic well-being)

3. Respect for universal values at home and around the world; (collective self-esteem).
4. An international order advanced by U.S. leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges (autonomy).⁷

The US concedes that threats emanate from state and non-state actors. They identify their threats as; terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, space and cyberspace disruption and attack, environmental pollution, climate change, pandemic diseases, failing states and global criminal networks.⁸ Yet, within the current environment, the strategy seeks opportunities to forge new international cooperation by utilizing the interconnectivity of the world while responding effectively and comprehensively to its dangers. They intend to utilize a whole of government and society approach to achieve this, stating, “we must take advantage of the unparalleled connections that America’s Government, private sector, and citizens have around the globe. To do this, they must once more shape their practices and institutions at home and policies abroad to meet this challenge.”⁹

Ultimately, the US NSS seeks to mitigate the threats to their national interests and simultaneously seize opportunities presented in the environment, utilizing all instruments of national power in coordination with domestic and foreign policy. They emphasize this fact in the following manner:

The United States retains the strengths that have enabled our leadership for many decades. Our society is exceptional in its openness, vast diversity, resilience, and engaged citizenry. Our private sector and civil society exhibit enormous ingenuity and innovation, and our workers are capable and dedicated. We have the world’s largest economy and most powerful military, strong

alliances and a vibrant cultural appeal, and a history of leadership in economic and social development. We continue to be a destination that is sought out by immigrants from around the world, who enrich our society. We have a transparent, accountable democracy and a dynamic and productive populace with deep connections to peoples around the world. And we continue to embrace a set of values that have enabled liberty and opportunity at home and abroad.¹⁰

Additionally, The US acknowledges the need for alliances to mitigate threats. The NSS cites:

Engagement is the active participation of the United States in relationships beyond our borders, Engagement begins with our closest friends and allies—from Europe to Asia; from North America to the Middle East, and we must engage them as active partners in addressing global and regional security priorities and harnessing new opportunities to advance common interests.¹¹

In conclusion, the National Security Act of 1947 as amended by the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986 mandates the President, utilizing the National Security Council, to determine the National Security Strategy of the United States and present it annually to Congress. The purpose of the strategy is to secure US National Interests, which are all in line with the four determinants of national interests. The strategy also identifies threats to these interests, which they will mitigate utilizing all instruments of national power coupled with their worldwide reach and international partners, in a whole of government approach that includes all facets of the US society, coordinated by the National Security Council, as directed by the President. Further, as part of the mitigation process, the US recognizes the need to adapt their society in order to forge and maintain alliances. Thus, their NSS cites “we must once more shape our practices and institutions at home and policies abroad to meet this challenge.”¹² In addition, they stress the need for alliances as part of the mitigation process, stating; “we must engage active partners in addressing global and regional security priorities and harnessing new opportunities to advance common interests.”¹³

National Security Strategy of Great Britain

Britain published their first National Security Strategy, presented to Parliament in March 2008, by the Prime Minister, by command of Her Majesty. This represented their initial effort to bring together the objectives and plans of all departments, agencies and forces involved in protecting their national security.¹⁴ At that time, they were still searching for a methodology on how to determine a national security strategy. The document emphasizes,

Establishing a national security forum, including people from central and local government, politics, academia, the private and third sectors, and other bodies, as well as people with relevant security experience, while looking for opportunities to seek views from members of the public, to ensure that government thinking on national security constantly keeps pace with the rapidly evolving global security environment.¹⁵

Further, the initial strategy spoke about “consulting all Parties and the Parliamentary authorities about how Parliament can play a stronger role in overseeing the development and implementation of this strategy.”¹⁶

The *National Security Strategy* of 2010 has given the responsibility to develop and implement the strategy to the National Security Council. The council is chaired by the Prime Minister and represents, “the first time, the Government has produced a full strategy for national security alongside clear decisions about our country’s priorities, the capabilities we need to achieve them and the resources we will allocate.”¹⁷ Further, the document states “lead ministers will have responsibility for coordinating priority areas of work across government, supported by officials, to implement the strategy.” Additionally, it states, “we will publish an annual report of progress on implementation for scrutiny by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the National Security Strategy, and we commit to producing a new National Security Strategy every five years.”¹⁸ They view the purpose

of their national security strategy is to protect their national interests, by projecting their influence abroad utilizing their entire government.¹⁹

Britain highlighted their national interests under two core objectives; the first one being to ensure a secure and resilient UK, defined as “protecting our people, economy, infrastructure, territory and way of life from all major risks that can affect us directly.” The second is shaping a stable world, defined as “actions beyond our borders to reduce the likelihood of specific risks affecting the UK or our direct interests overseas.”²⁰

The NSS also highlights the fact that their national interests are underpinned by a firm commitment to human rights, justice and the rule of law, the pursuit of which will take place through a commitment to collective security via a rules-based international system and key alliances with the United States, European Union and NATO.²¹ Thus, these two objectives inherently incorporate the four determinants of national interests. Concurrently, what are the threats to these interests?

The British acknowledge the fact that threats can emanate from states, as well as non-state actors such as home grown or overseas terrorists, criminals and insurgents. They highlight the four highest priority threats to their National Interests as;

1. International terrorism, including the use of chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear materials (CBRN) and of terrorism related to Northern Ireland;
2. Cyber-attack, including by other states, and by organized crime and terrorists;
3. International military crises; and
4. Major accidents or natural hazards.²²

However, within this environment, the British also see opportunity. The strategy cites:

We live in an age of unparalleled opportunity. Globalization has opened up possibilities which previous generations could not have dreamed of and is lifting billions out of poverty. More open markets mean more open societies, and more open societies mean more people living in freedom. These developments are unambiguously in Britain's national interest and we should seize the opportunities they present, not fear for our future.²³

Consequently, to mitigate against threats, Britain intends to engage all members of society, coordinated through the national Security Council, to bring together all the instruments of national power to build a secure and resilient Britain, underpinned by a firm commitment to human rights, justice and the rule of law UK.²⁴ They note the fact that "to protect our interests at home, we must project our influence abroad using our network of alliances and relationships with the United States, European Union and NATO."²⁵ They view this as achievable because; "one in ten British citizens now live permanently overseas, and their country's political, economic and cultural authority far exceeds its size." Other advantageous factors cited include:

The global force of our language; the ingenuity of our people; the intercontinental reach of our time zone, allowing us to trade with Asia in the morning and with the Americas in the evening, means we have huge advantages. Yet, to enhance their reach and influence, they recognize the need to change in order to adapt to and influence developments in the structures that support British security.²⁶

In conclusion, the National Security Strategy of Great Britain places the responsibility for developing and implementing the said strategy in the hands of the National Security Council chaired by the Prime Minister. The document states, they will publish an annual report of progress on implementation for scrutiny by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the National Security Strategy; and commits to producing a new National Security Strategy every five years. The purpose of the strategy is to secure British National Interests, which are all in line with the four determinants of national interests. The strategy also identifies threats to these interests, which they will mitigate

utilizing all instruments of national power coupled with their worldwide reach through their regional and international alliances, in a whole of government approach that includes all facets of British society, coordinated by the National Security Council.

National Security Strategy of Jamaica

The Caribbean Island of Jamaica views their National Security Strategy as a document that presents the Government's overarching policies on national security matters through a process of a strategic environmental analysis relating to security. They describe the threats that work against the full achievement of the country's security goals, determine Jamaica's security priorities in relation to the capabilities and policies required to counter those threats, and establish the responsibilities, structures, and timelines for implementation. Further, the document aims to enhance coordination and cooperation among the different ministries and national security agencies because "the foremost responsibility of the Government is to provide for a secure and safe environment conducive to the wellbeing of the citizens and the development of the country."²⁷ The National Security Council chaired by the Prime Minister will be responsible for the implementation of the NSS. They will report to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet to the Parliament for public accountability.²⁸

The National Security Council intends to achieve this aim by making individuals and organizations more aware of their roles as part of a broader security sector, able to coordinate all instruments of national power. Further, they will do this while maintaining Jamaica's "obligations to contribute to the security and development of its partners in the Caribbean, Americas and the global international community."²⁹

The NSS has identified Jamaica's national interests as:

1. A peaceful and mutually respectful society where individuals are safe and able to exercise their rights and freedoms responsibly;
2. A strong, diverse and stable domestic economy;
3. The democratic ideal in its systems of governance;
4. Harmonious international relations; and
5. Its natural resources, natural physical beauty and the cultural heritage that is the distinctive and authentic Jamaican identity.³⁰

Thus, their national interests incorporate the four determinants of national interests, and highlight the need to develop the country. What are the threats to this interest?

Jamaica has identified the following threats, crime, terrorism, military and Para-military concerns, disasters and unsustainable loss of natural resources, and socio-economic issues.³¹ Consequently, to mitigate against these threats, Jamaica is employing a "whole of government" approach. They emphasize this fact by stating;

All Jamaicans must play a part in safeguarding the country's national security. Certainly, the Jamaica Defense Force and Jamaica Constabulary Force have critical roles to play that are central to the effective implementation of the NSS. Notwithstanding, all Government ministries, departments and agencies should critically examine their directives and conduct their own internal assessment of the implications of their roles and structures.³²

Additionally, Jamaica views the mitigation process as a transformation of attitudes to promote security awareness and zero tolerance; transformation of processes and systems to achieve unity of effort; and finally transformation of practices for greater efficiency.³³

Finally, the mitigation process would enhance good governance, sustainable development, and a competent and effectively functioning security sector. The NSS states

that these enhanced factors create a stable and secure environment that allows the country to capitalize on global economic opportunities.³⁴

In conclusion, the *National Security Strategy* of Jamaica places the responsibility for developing and implementing the said strategy in the office of the National Security Council chaired by the Prime Minister. The document states that they will report to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet to the Parliament for public accounting. The purpose of the strategy is to secure Jamaica's National Interests, which are all in line with the four determinants of national interests, in order to enhance the development of the country. The strategy also identifies threats to these interests, which they will mitigate utilizing all instruments of national power while maintaining regional and international obligations, in a whole of government approach that includes a transformed Jamaican society, coordinated by the National Security Council.

National Security Policy of the Republic of the Philippines

The aim of the National Security Policy of the Republic of the Philippines is to develop and enhance “the national interests, the well-being of our people and institutions, and our sovereignty and territorial integrity.” They view its purpose as; “to identify the strategic priorities to establish the correct balance in the “guns or butter” debate for the allocation of scarce resources; and to establish the prioritization, among others, between external and internal defense”; and placed the responsibility for its formulation on their President.³⁵ To assist in the formulation of the National Security Policy, the President signed into law Memorandum Order No. 6, s. 2010, which states:

The National Security Adviser/National Security Council Director-General (NSA/NSC-DG) shall spearhead the formulation of the National Security Policy (NSP) and National Security Strategy (NSS) for 2010-2016, in

coordination with all concerned departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the government including government-owned and controlled corporations and regional offices. All sectors of society, both government and non-government, are enjoined to participate in these national endeavors in order to arrive at a national consensus on our development objectives and national security priorities.³⁶

Thus, the President heads the National Security Council whose function via the NSA/NSC Director is to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security. The NSC also serves as the President's principal arm for coordinating these policies among various government departments and agencies in matters involving the national security.³⁷

The Memorandum further cites; “The National Security Policy shall be submitted to the National Security Cabinet Group for coordination and integration at the national and regional levels, and subsequently to Cabinet on or before November 30 2010.”³⁸ Ultimately, the document expects to provide the enabling environment conducive for development by putting together under one comprehensive and cohesive policy document, all the national security considerations of the country and balancing it with its national peace and development perspectives.³⁹

The NSP identifies their national interests as Socio-Political Stability; Territorial Integrity inclusive of its Exclusive Economic Zone; Economic Solidarity; Ecological Balance; Cultural Cohesiveness; Moral-Spiritual Consensus; Peace and Harmony.⁴⁰ Inherent to the national interests is the fact that the fundamental mandate of the National Security Policy is to serve the national interests of the Philippines, “aimed at upholding and promoting peace, prosperity, freedom and democracy, consistent with the values enshrined in the Constitution.”⁴¹ Thus, their national interests incorporate the four

determinants of national interests, in order to provide the enabling environment conducive for development.

The threats identified in the NSP are as follows:

1. Ethnic conflict and belligerent states that threaten domestic and regional stability;
2. Organized crime and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are global concerns that transcend national borders;
3. Conventional arms races;
4. Environmental damage and ecological degradation which undermine economic prosperity and stability; and
5. Transnational crimes such as terrorism and the proliferation of illegal drugs.⁴²

Additionally, they view themselves as a developing economy in a globalized world, noting the difficulty for these types of countries to assert themselves in the international community. Further, globalization has made their economy vulnerable to drastic downturns caused by international crises since the economy is also dependent on foreign trade and investments.⁴³ Consequently, they took into consideration non-traditional issues and concerns in the security environment that they regard as new challenges, to include:

1. A borderless world has emerged with increasing flow of goods, services, capital, and human resources across national boundaries.
2. The shift of focus by economies from ideological concerns to trade and technological priorities.

3. The shift of demographics, economic and political centers of gravity and attention from the US and Europe to Asia-Pacific countries.⁴⁴

However, while recognizing the threats and security challenges, the NSP also notes the economic opportunities presented by the global environment.⁴⁵ To mitigate these threats, they intend to utilize a whole of government approach involving the people and institutions of the state as outlined in their vision and social contract with their people, which states: “A country with:

1. A re-awakened sense of right and wrong, through the living examples of our highest leaders;
2. An organized and widely shared rapid expansion of our economy through a Government dedicated to honing and mobilizing our people’s skills and energies as well as the responsible harnessing of our natural resources;
3. A collective belief that doing the right thing does not only make sense morally, but translates into economic value as well;
4. Public institutions rebuilt on the strong solidarity of our society and its communities.”⁴⁶

Additionally, in considering the external environment, they recognize the need for greater cooperation, stating; “the challenges posed by increasingly interconnected economies all call for a further strengthening of international cooperation.”⁴⁷ Thus, they have embraced the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN) regional cooperation and partnership among member nations in order to enhance regional stability and economic growth in the region. Through the ASEAN, the Philippines will pursue greater regional

cooperation on common issues such as combating piracy, smuggling, human trafficking, terrorism and other transnational crimes.⁴⁸

In conclusion, the National Security Strategy of the Republic of the Philippines places the responsibility for developing and implementing the said strategy in the office of the National Security Council, chaired by the President. The document states that they will report to the Cabinet. The purpose of the strategy is to secure the Philippines National Interests, which are all in line with the four determinants of national interests, in order to enhance the development of the country. The strategy also identifies threats to these interests, which they will mitigate utilizing all instruments of national power coupled with a whole of government approach that includes the people of the Philippines; and regional cooperation and partnership among ASEAN members.

In summary, the leaders of the four countries reviewed are ultimately responsible for the identification of the national interest and the formulation of the national security strategy. While this highlights the individual level, they utilize the state level of analysis via their National Security Council to arrive at the final product, which they present to their respective Congress or Parliament to inform their society. The purpose of the national security strategy is to secure the national interest. However, in the instance of SIDS, Jamaica and the Republic of the Philippines, development is integral to the purpose of their national security strategy. Ultimately, each country underscored their national security strategy in line with the four determinants of national interests. Additionally, they all identified almost synonymous national and international threats to their national interest and all embrace a whole of government approach, utilizing all instruments of national power, coordinated by their national security councils to mitigate

these threats. Further, they all pursue the mitigation process through the transformation of their societies along with regional and international alliances. Thus, in identifying and protecting their national interests, they also utilize the system level of analysis. Finally, the above analysis aligns itself with the overall purpose of a national security strategy. The purpose identified in chapter 2 states; to identify the individual or organization responsible for developing, implementing and coordinating the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. What is the experience of Trinidad and Tobago?

Trinidad and Tobago National Security Strategy Development Efforts

The National Security and Public Safety Strategic Plan (NSPSSP) as part of the National Strategic Development Plan 2006 represent an effort of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a National Security Strategy. The only other document is the National Security Policy (NSP) of 2005, entitled “Towards Securing a Developed Nation” of which the author was a member. They have not promulgated the latter document. The development of these documents did not take place via a defined national interagency process, but by members of the Ministry of National Security. As stated in the NSPSSP:

The Sub-Committee on National Security and Public Safety, after its inaugural meeting, divided itself into various sub-committees. Given the semi-autonomous management placing of the different divisions of the Ministry of National Security, members of the Sub-Committee headed the individual subcommittees.⁴⁹

Further, as part of the NSP process, the members all came from the Ministry of National Security. The NSP highlights this aspect citing: “the policy outlined in this

document cannot be “owned” exclusively by the agencies and organizations that constitute the Ministry of National Security.”⁵⁰

The NSPSSP noted “National Security and Public Safety is vital for any developed society” and that national development cannot be accomplished without a secure environment.⁵¹ It defined national security as the protection of a nation’s internal and external resources from harm and viewed the responsibility to secure the country’s national interests as belonging to the agencies responsible for National Defense. The document clarifies its purpose via the following four Strategic Objectives:

1. To secure Trinidad and Tobago’s National Interests.
2. To promote security cooperation and self sufficiency
3. To supplement regional military presence.
4. To participate in international peace support and humanitarian operations.⁵²

They sought to secure the national interests by: Improving Defense capability; Enhancing the national crime reduction effort; Ensuring Force protection; Developing base infrastructure and Strengthening logistic support capability. Further, the document refers to an assumed national security strategy that highlights the national interests as; “a secure nation, well equipped primary organs of State security; commitment of the necessary resources; and greater involvement in regional security arrangements.”⁵³

Further to its involvement in regional security arrangements, the NSPSSP recognizes regional integration and a need to protect the Exclusive Economic Zone, stating:

As a member state of CARICOM and the wider Association of Caribbean States, Trinidad and Tobago has Regional Defence Interests that extend as far north as the Bahamas, as far South as Suriname and as far West as Belize and Mexico, covering the entire Caribbean Basin.⁵⁴

While these national interests highlight physical survival, they do not emphasize autonomy, economic well being and collective self-esteem.

The NSPSSP outlines the threats to these interests, stating:

The concept of National Security is rooted in the assumption that the principal threat to security comes from other nations, however, new sources of danger arise from terrorism, oil and gas depletion, environmental concerns, including climatic alterations, HIV/AIDS and over population.⁵⁵

To mitigate the threats to the national interests, the NSPSSP suggests utilizing only those agencies responsible for National Defense. The intent is to derive a National Defense/Military Strategy from the assumed National Security Strategy to develop the National Defense infrastructure to achieve the National Strategic Objectives articulated above. Thus, the mitigation process will occur via; “a National Defense Framework, which is sufficiently robust and capable, as mandated, to conduct its operations in defense of the national interest.”⁵⁶ Consequently, how did the National Security Policy of 2005 address these issues?

The NSP defines national security as “the protection of Trinidad and Tobago’s internal and external resources from harm,”⁵⁷ in concert with NPSSP. However, the NSP further defines these dimensions as:

The internal dimension reflects the domestic environment in which the country operates and takes into account the geography of the country, its people, its material resources, institutions, the military and national defense regime and law enforcement institutions. The external dimension reflects the environment within which this country interacts with the rest of the region and the world and the role of foreign policy in security issues.⁵⁸

In defining the internal dimension, the NSP highlights certain key factors. In respect to geography, it highlights the fact: “Trinidad and Tobago is particularly vulnerable to the hazards of illicit movement of people, drugs and firearms; and prone to disputes of

territoriality and jurisdiction.”⁵⁹ As it pertains to the people, the NSP recognizes the need to secure its people both home and abroad while ensuring development and prosperity, or physical survival, stating:

The protection, security and well-being of our society remain a constant priority. Our status as an independent, sovereign nation obliges us to ensure that our communities are safe and viable and the citizens that constitute our human capital are afforded a secure environment that promotes growth, development and prosperity. This obligation does not extend only to citizens resident within our borders, but applies equally to our nationals who travel abroad and indeed to foreign visitors to our own shores.⁶⁰

The aspect of protecting material resources embraces the issue of economic well being, which the NSP highlights in the following manner:

Our natural resources, industries, infrastructure and financial markets attract domestic and foreign investment and form the basis of a strong economic framework that promotes economic stability and security. Protection of our resources is of paramount importance to ensuring our stability and security. This link to our long-term prosperity makes protection of our natural and material resources an issue of paramount importance.⁶¹

In looking at its institutions as part of national security, the NSP takes into consideration, collective self-esteem, highlighted in the statement:

It is imperative that the separation of powers within the legislative, executive and judicial system be maintained. Our concerns about national security and our methods of ensuring its provision must not run contrary to our constitutional and institutional safeguards. Our national security policy, therefore, must encompass measures that protect these institutions from subversion.⁶²

They highlight concept of autonomy in the statements:

Protection of our resources is of paramount importance to ensuring our stability and security. This link to our long-term prosperity makes protection of our natural and material resources an issue of paramount importance.⁶³

The final aspect of the internal dimension is the fact that the NSP agrees with the NSPSSP that the responsibility to secure the country’s national interests belongs to the agencies responsible for National Defense. They highlight this view in the statement:

“The military and law enforcement agencies are charged in particular with the defense of our sovereignty and national interests and the protection of our citizens.”⁶⁴

The external dimension of the policy highlights the fact that Trinidad and Tobago must consider the regional and international environment; and its national security interests must be fully recognized and supported in framing the country’s foreign policy. Consequently, the document recognizes the need for the military to support foreign policy, as highlighted in the statement:

There is a clearly recognized nexus between this country’s foreign policy and peace and security concerns, which are best preserved through closer links between national security and foreign affairs. Thus, Trinidad and Tobago’s national security interests must be fully recognized and supported in framing our country’s foreign policy.⁶⁵

As mentioned above, there is a need to recognize national interests, articulated in the NSP as follows:

Trinidad and Tobago’s national interests are linked to the survival and security of the state; the protection of our territorial integrity; ensuring political, economic and social stability; the protection and maintenance of our cherished democratic values; the protection of critical infrastructure and the integrity of our maritime borders.⁶⁶

The NSP further defines and links the country’s national interests to:

1. Ensuring the safety and security of our nationals at home and abroad;
2. Preservation of public order, defense against external aggression and preventing the use of Trinidad and Tobago as a base against our international allies;
3. Adopting positions that contribute to regional and global security by means of engaging in partnerships and coalitions. These positions would inform foreign

policy and diplomacy in the areas of security, regional and international trade, education and health;

4. Ensuring political and social stability;
5. Protection of our key economic interests.⁶⁷

Therefore, in defining national interests, the NSP incorporates the four determinants necessary for a state to survive.

As previously mentioned the concept of national security implies threats to the nation, which the NSP describes as:

Threats to the State

1. Coup or seizure of power by insurgents/terrorists including attempts to assassinate, seize or hijack members of the executive (President, Prime Minister, Ministers of Government, and other VIPS);
2. Seizure or disruption of key installations or essential services (electric power, natural gas, water, Parliament, television/radio stations, offices or residences of foreign missions) communication and information systems;
3. Seizure of sovereign islands or offshore petrochemical platforms by a foreign state, state actors or terrorists;
4. Incursions of sovereign airspace or maritime territory by hostile military aircraft or ships;
5. Invasion, total or partial, by a foreign power;
6. The adverse impact of foreign policy emanating from the international community.

Threats to the Economy

1. Trans-national and local organized crime;
2. Concealment of criminally derived assets through money laundering and production of counterfeit currency;
3. Diversion of illicit financial proceeds to terrorist financing;
4. Subversive threats emanating from militant groups and organisations representing subversive interests;
5. Cumulative impact of widespread corruption;
6. Concerns generated by economic and social integration;
7. Natural disasters such as hurricanes, earthquakes, floods, volcanic eruptions.

Threats to Society

1. Illicit trafficking and production of narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and precursor chemicals;
2. Illicit landing of weapons and explosives;
3. Escalation of crime and pervasive culture of violence and disrespect for the rule of law;
4. Illicit/Unregulated movement of persons;
5. HIV / AIDS.

Threats to Ecology and Health

1. Dumping of toxic and hazardous waste;
2. The illicit export/import of rare flora, fauna, birds and fish;
3. Fisheries poaching;
4. Industrial pollution;

5. Illicit importation of livestock and livestock disease (foot and mouth disease, mad cow, blue tongue, rabies, swine fever, and fowl pests);
6. Introduction of parasites (mealy bugs and pests);
7. Destruction of forests and wetlands;
8. Destruction of fish stocks, natural oyster bed and shell fish;
9. Illicit destruction of natural reefs and coastal erosion;
10. HIV / AIDS.⁶⁸

Consequently, what are the plans to mitigate these threats to the national interests?

The policy gave the agencies and organizations of the Ministry of National Security the responsibility for the mitigation process, even though it recognizes that to mitigate the threats requires mobilization of all of the nation's resources. The policy recognizes that this single ministry cannot implement the process on its own, citing:

It is clear that the policy outlined in this document cannot be “owned” exclusively by the agencies and organizations that constitute the Ministry of National Security. Deterring or responding to threats to our security requires mobilization of all of the nation's resources.⁶⁹

Ultimately, the policy states that a national security strategy is required to mitigate the threats highlighted, hence the document states:

Mitigation of the threats described above, requires an approach to national security issues that is based upon a coherent and well-articulated strategy. It is therefore imperative that the community of defense, law enforcement, intelligence, regulatory and emergency response agencies develop a well-integrated and collaborative national security strategy framework. This framework will include the ability to develop and integrate strategies for a deterrence and response regime for each of the threats listed above.⁷⁰

Thus, there is no whole of government approach to include the society to mitigate the threats to the national interests.

Finally, there is no documented reason as to why they did not implement the policies. Further, the two policies do not refer to any specific requirement to report to the Prime Minister, the National Security Council or the Parliament. However, the NSP cites “strong and dedicated political will” as one of the critical enablers of the policy and further state, “It is therefore critical that leadership and direction emanates from the very highest levels of Government and the agencies and institutions under its control.” To this end, the policy names the National Security Council as “the personages and offices responsible for the execution of this policy.”⁷¹ This leads to the conclusion that in spite of the recommendations by the NSP, there was no requirement to report both policies to a designated authority such as the National Security Council or the Parliament. This caused their non-implementation.

In summary, both documents define national security as the protection of Trinidad and Tobago’s internal and external resources from harm. However, there was no leadership and direction emanating from the very highest levels of Government to develop and implement this policy, choosing instead to utilize individuals from the Ministry of National Security. While the purpose of the two documents is to protect the national interests, only the interests identified in the NSP encompass the four determinants necessary for the survival of a state. Further, having identified threats to these interests, the mitigation process does not comprise a whole of government approach inclusive of the society and the coordination of all instruments of national power. Instead, it involves only the military aspect of national power having placed the responsibility of securing national interest in the Ministry of National Security. Nevertheless, they both recognize that regional integration and international partnerships are also key to the

mitigation process. Finally, the fact that there was no requirement to report both policies to a designated authority such as the National Security Council or the Parliament caused their non-implementation.

Points of Convergence

The primary research question is focused on confirming if the principles applied by the United States of America and Great Britain in producing their National Security Strategy, can be utilized to develop a national security strategy framework for Trinidad and Tobago? To answer the question, this section will focus on reviewing the answers to the questions used to compare the strategies of the four countries, mainly as it pertains to the United States and Britain and compare them to the efforts of Trinidad and Tobago. However, it will also take cognizance of the experiences of Jamaica and the Republic of the Philippines in terms of Small Island Developing States.

In response to the question of the individual and or organisation designated to develop, implement and coordinate the National Security Strategy, both the United States and Great Britain designated the National Security Council, presided over by the President and Prime Minister respectively. This formula was echoed by both Jamaica and the Philippines, however in the instance of Trinidad and Tobago, there was no leadership and direction emanating from the very highest levels of Government to develop and implement the policies developed, choosing instead to utilize individuals from the Ministry of National Security. Further, the respective country leader by law presented the national security strategy to the Congress or Parliament at a specified time, thus ensuring that the document was developed and promulgated to the public, a fact repeated by Jamaica and the Philippines. Trinidad and Tobago did not follow this process,

consequently, the documents developed, were never promulgated nor their recommendations implemented. Finally, Trinidad and Tobago has a NSC chaired by the Prime Minister that should take responsibility for its NSS.⁷²

In stating the purpose of their National Security Strategies, both the US and the UK stated that it was to secure their national interests. Jamaica and the Philippines agreed with securing national interests, but also cited “enabling development” as part of their purpose, a fact reiterated by the policy attempts of Trinidad and Tobago.

In defining their national interests, the US and UK utilized the four determinants of physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being and collective self- esteem necessary for a state to survive.⁷³ Jamaica and the Philippines utilized these determinants, however, for Trinidad and Tobago, only the interests identified in the NSP encompass the four determinants necessary for the survival of a state.

In defining threats to their national interests, the US and UK applied Kaufman’s definition of threats. They also took account of modern threats such as terrorism, cyber attacks, nuclear or biological attacks and natural hazards. The strategies of Jamaica, the Philippines and Trinidad and Tobago also reflected these threats. Further, all countries mentioned highlighted economic issues as threats to their national interests.

The concept of threat mitigation by the US and UK, embraces a whole of government approach inclusive of their societies, utilizing all instruments of national power, coordinated by their national security councils. Jamaica and the Philippines reiterated this approach. Further, they all highlight the need to transform their societies and to work with regional and international alliances as part of the mitigation process. The Trinidad and Tobago approach to the mitigation process did not embrace a whole of

government approach inclusive of the society and the coordination all instruments of national power. Instead, it involves only the military aspect of national power having placed the responsibility of securing national interest in the Ministry of National Security. Additionally, their policy attempts did not mention the need to transform the society, though the Trinidad Guardian highlighted this requirement, as noted in chapter 1. Yet, their NSP recognizes that to mitigate the threats requires mobilization of all of the nation's resources. Consequently, Trinidad and Tobago needs to implement a whole of government approach as utilized by the US and UK in order to fully mitigate the threats to their national interests.

Finally, in light of the above, it is recognized that the US and UK set goals in terms of national interests and then take action to achieve these interests, which demonstrates the Rational Actor Model. Their national interests embrace the four determinants necessary for states to survive. In addition, their respective president/ prime minister is ultimately responsible for developing the national security strategy, however, they utilize their respective national security council during the development and implementation process. The process involves a whole of government and society approach that reviews the national and international system to determine interests and threats. It then coordinates all instruments of national power, while engaging their regional and international partners, to mitigate these threats. Thus, they utilize the individual, state and system level when developing and implementing their strategies. As part of the process, they both present their strategy to the respective Congress/ Parliament. Therefore, the process they utilize coincides with the purpose of a national security strategy defined in chapter 2 as; to coordinate the instruments of national power,

taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. Jamaica and the Philippines, totally embrace this methodology, however, these two SIDS include the development of their country as one of the main outcomes of their national security strategy.

In conclusion, the principles applied by the United States of America and Great Britain in producing their National Security Strategy can be utilized to develop a national security strategy framework for Trinidad and Tobago. Consequently, chapter 5 will outline this framework.

¹Multi-Sectoral Core Group.

²Ibid.

³Whittaker et al., 1.

⁴Ibid., 7.

⁵Dale.

⁶The White House, *National Security Strategy* (2010), <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rssviewer/nationalsecuritystrategy.pdf> (accessed October 3, 2012).

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴The Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom, *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in an Interdependent World*, 2008, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm72/7291/7291.pdf> (accessed April 24, 2012).

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷The Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom, *The National Security Strategy: A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty*, 2010.

¹⁸The Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom, *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in an Interdependent World*, 2008.

¹⁹The Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom, *The National Security Strategy: A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty*, 2010.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷The Ministry of National Security, *National Security Strategy for Jamaica*.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵Office of the President of the Philippines, *National Security Policy Securing the Gains of Democracy, 2011-2016*, <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2011/08aug/NATIONAL-SECURITY-POLICY-2011-2016.pdf> (accessed September 10, 2012).

³⁶Office of the President of the Philippines, *Memorandum Order No. 6, s. 2010: Directing the Formulation of the National Security and National Security Strategy 2010-2016*, <http://www.gov.ph/2010/10/21/memorandum-order-no-6/> (accessed September 10, 2012).

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Office of the President of the Philippines, *National Security Policy Securing the Gains of Democracy, 2011-2016*.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Sub-Committee on National Security and Public Safety.

⁵⁰Ministry of National Security, “Towards Securing A Developed Nation–Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security Policy” (Copy retained by thesis author), 2005, 25

⁵¹Sub-Committee on National Security and Public Safety.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ministry of National Security, “Towards Securing A Developed Nation–Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security Policy,” 2.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 7.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 10-12.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 27.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Wendt, 235.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The advent of the 1990s brought another energy boom, with Trinidad and Tobago recording eleven successive years of economic expansion. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago (GOTT) intends to utilize this wave of prosperity to develop a national strategy that would guide the country to become a developed nation by the year 2020.¹ However, as stated by McNamara, security means societal development, so developing the National Security and Public Safety Plan; the appointed sub-committee at the time had to assume a national security strategy based on the absence of a formal articulated strategy.² Consequently, how did the Government intend for the society of Trinidad and Tobago to develop without a formal National Security Strategy?

The *Trinidad Guardian*, one of the national newspaper agencies, in an article entitled “Security strategy must adapt to change” dated February 13, 2011, asked the question, “What is Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security strategy?” The article further states; “While there is no written National Security strategy as yet, such a strategy must commence with a mandate of clear objectives that are agreed upon, in large measure by the public, Government and Opposition.” The article recognizes that central to addressing these challenges is the dire need to change the institutional, cultural and public service mentality from a colonial legacy to a post 9/11 international security environment,” and one of the tenets of addressing the challenges is, “mobilizing the national will to aid in a new national security strategy.” Finally, the article states, “The People’s Partnership (present government) may need to formulate a National Security Policy and Strategy

which outlines a strategic framework and action plan designed to ensure that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago can prepare for and respond to current and future threats.” Therefore, the purpose of this research is to design a National Security Strategy Framework for Trinidad and Tobago.

Taking the above into consideration, the aim of chapter 5 is to conclude the research project. First, the researcher will present the findings of the study based on the observations of chapters 1- 4 to the secondary research questions. Following this, the researcher will interpret and synthesize these findings, to highlight the principles utilized by the US and Great Britain in determining their National Security Strategy. Then confirm their relevance when applied to Small Island Developing States based on the review of National Security Strategies of Jamaica and the Philippines, and then look at similarities based on the previous efforts of Trinidad and Tobago. This will all culminate in a National Security Strategy Framework for Trinidad and Tobago. Finally, the researcher will conclude the chapter by proposing some recommendations for future study.

Findings

To determine the principles of a national security strategy; the researcher commenced by asking the initial question: What is the purpose of a National Security Strategy?

To answer this question, it was necessary to define what a national security strategy is. As cited in Bartolotto, the US Army War College defines a national security strategy as the art and science of using all the elements of national power during peace and war to secure national interests. He further cites, “It encompasses national defense,

foreign relations, and economic relations and assistance; and aims, among other objectives, at providing a favorable foreign relations position, and a defense posture capable of defeating hostile action.”³ The aforementioned ties into Dale’s three main reasons for a strategy as follows:

1. By offering prioritized objectives and indicating which elements of national power (“ways and means”) are used to meet them, it can provide guidance to departments and agencies to use in their internal processes for budgeting, planning and executing, and organizing, training, and equipping personnel.
2. By clearly linking goals and the approaches designed to meet them, national security strategy can provide the executive branch a key tool for justifying requested resources to Congress.
3. By laying out a detailed strategic vision, it can help inform public audiences both at home and abroad about U.S. government intent.⁴

New Guinea gives credence to this concept, recognizing the purpose of a NSP as follows:

1. To ensure that the government fully confronts and deals with all threats;
2. To increase the effectiveness of the security sector by optimizing the contributions of all security actors;
3. To assess capacities and uncover weaknesses, in order to guide and shape the implementation of policies;
4. To establish a national consensus on security issues; and
5. To strengthen regional and international trust and cooperation.⁵

Further, NSPs must address three basic areas: “the role of the State within the international system; the perception of challenges and opportunities at the national and

international level; and the responsibilities of actors who implement policies and deal with those challenges and opportunities.”⁶

Consequently, the purpose of a national security strategy is to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against threats, risks and vulnerabilities. However, in the instance of SIDS, it includes the development of the country.

The second research question asks: What are the main determinants of national interests? Wendt cited the following four main determinants of national interests; physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being⁷ and collective self-esteem.⁸ As Wendt noted, these interest may on occasion have contradictory implications that require prioritization however, all four must be satisfied in order for a state to survive.⁹

The third research question enquires: Who or defines national interests? As noted, national interests can be determined at the individual, state or system level.

The fourth research question enquires: What is the process to develop a National Security Strategy? As stated, there is no pre-defined solution on how to approach the process of developing a national security strategy.¹⁰ However, as noted, the aim of a national security strategy is to protect national interests, which according to Kaufman, forms the basis for foreign policy decisions.¹¹ Consequently, in defining national interest, taking into consideration the four main areas of national interests, one needs to take into consideration domestic, regional and international issues because they impact foreign policy. However, according to Kanet (2010), “institutions and individuals matter in the

making and implementation of foreign policy.”¹² Further, NSPs must address three basic areas: “the role of the State within the international system; the perception of challenges and opportunities at the national and international level; and the responsibilities of actors who implement policies and deal with those challenges and opportunities.”¹³ Thus, while there is no defined approach to devising a national security strategy; the Rational Actor Model, the Organizational Process Model, and the Bureaucratic Politics Model present a methodology to the process.

The fifth research question enquired: What methodology did the United States and Great Britain use to develop their national security strategies? The US and UK set goals in terms of national interests and then take action to achieve these interests, which demonstrates the Rational Actor Model. Their national interests embrace the four determinants necessary for states to survive. In addition, their respective president/ prime minister is ultimately responsible for developing the national security strategy, however, they utilize their respective national security council during the development and implementation process. The process involves a whole of government and society approach that reviews the national and international system to determine interests and threats. It then coordinates all instruments of national power, while engaging their regional and international partners, to mitigate these threats. Thus, they utilize the individual, state and system level when developing and implementing their strategies. As part of the process, they both present their strategy to the respective Congress/ Parliament. Therefore, the process they utilize coincides with the purpose of a national security strategy defined in chapter 2 as; to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while

informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of the state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats.

The sixth research question enquired; Can Small Island Developing States apply the methodology utilized by the United States and Great Britain? Jamaica and the Philippines, totally embraced the methodology utilized by the United States and Great Britain, however, these two SIDS included the development of their country as one of the main outcomes of their national security strategy.

The seventh and final secondary question enquires: What are the previous efforts of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to develop a National Security Strategy? The country's previous attempts defined national security as the protection of Trinidad and Tobago's internal and external resources from harm. While the purpose of the two documents is to protect the national interests, only the interests identified in the NSP encompass the four determinants necessary for the survival of a state. Nevertheless, there was no leadership and direction emanating from the very highest levels of Government to develop and implement this policy, choosing instead to utilize individuals from the Ministry of National Security. Further, having identified threats to these interests, the mitigation process did not comprise a whole of government approach inclusive of the society and the coordination of all instruments of national power. Yet, their NSP recognizes that to mitigate the threats requires mobilization of all of the nation's resources. Additionally, their policy attempts did not mention the need to transform the society, though the Trinidad Guardian highlighted this requirement, as noted in chapter 1. Instead, their mitigation process involved only the military aspect of national power having placed the responsibility of securing national interest in the Ministry of National

Security. Nevertheless, they both recognize regional integration and international partnerships as important to the mitigation process. Finally, the fact that there was no requirement to report both policies to a designated authority such as the National Security Council or the Parliament caused their non-implementation.

Analysis

In light of the above, it is recognized that the US and UK set goals in terms of national interests and then take action to achieve these interests, which demonstrates the Rational Actor Model. Their national interests embrace the four determinants necessary for states to survive. Jamaica and the Philippines utilize this model; however, it is only in the context of their National Security Policy that Trinidad and Tobago embraced this concept.

In defining threats to their national interests, the US and UK applied Kaufman's definition of threats. They also took account of modern threats such as terrorism, cyber-attacks, nuclear or biological attacks and natural hazards. The strategies of Jamaica, the Philippines and Trinidad and Tobago also reflected these threats. Further, all countries mentioned highlighted economic issues as threats to their national interests.

The US and UK designated their respective president/ prime minister as ultimately responsible for developing the national security strategy; however, they utilize their respective national security council during the development and implementation process. The process involves a whole of government and society approach that reviews the national and international system to determine interests and threats. It then coordinates all instruments of national power, while engaging their regional and international partners, to mitigate these threats. Thus, they utilize the individual, state and

system level when developing and implementing their strategies. Inherent in the process is the need to transform the society and to present their strategy to the respective Congress/ Parliament. Therefore, the process they utilize coincides with the purpose of a national security strategy defined in chapter 2 as, to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of the state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. Jamaica and the Philippines, totally embrace this methodology, however, these two SIDS included the development of their country as one of the main outcomes of their national security strategy. Ultimately, their policies were developed and implemented.

In the Trinidad and Tobago approach, there was no leadership and direction emanating from the very highest levels of Government to develop and implement this policy, choosing instead to utilize individuals from the Ministry of National Security. Additionally, the process did not embrace a whole of government approach inclusive of the society and the coordination of all instruments of national power, even though their NSP recognizes that to mitigate the threats to their national interests requires mobilization of all of the nation's resources. Instead, threat mitigation involved only the military aspect of national power having placed the responsibility of securing national interest in the Ministry of National Security. Further, their policy attempts did not mention the need to transform the society, though the Trinidad Guardian highlighted this requirement, as noted in chapter 1. Finally, there was no requirement to inform the Parliament and ultimately they did not implement the recommended policies.

Consequently, the approach of the US and UK which resulted in the development and implementation of their national security strategies was emulated by Jamaica and the Philippines with the same results. Thus, Trinidad and Tobago needs to implement the said approach as utilized by the US and UK in order to develop and implement their national security strategy.

In conclusion, the principles applied by the United States of America and Great Britain in producing their National Security Strategy can be utilized to develop a national security strategy framework for Trinidad and Tobago.

Recommendations for a National Security Strategy Framework

The research has shown that a National Security Strategy is a frame of reference derived from broad consultations among various stakeholders to achieve a national consensus on the main interests of the nation and articulating broad guidelines for managing and confronting threats, risks and vulnerabilities.¹⁴ It defined a national security strategy as the art and science of using all elements of national power during peace and war to secure national interests. It involves developing, applying, and coordinating the instruments of national power (diplomatic, economic, military, and informational) to achieve objectives that contribute to national security. It encompasses national defense, foreign relations, and economic relations and assistance; and aims, among other objectives, at providing a favorable foreign relations position, and a defense posture capable of defeating hostile action.”¹⁵ Consequently, the purpose of a national security strategy is to identify the individual or organization responsible for developing, implementing and coordinating the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public

audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against internal and external threats. However, in the instance of SIDs, it includes the development of the country.

In light of the above-mentioned factors, the framework for the National Security Strategy of Trinidad and Tobago should be as follows:

1. It should identify who is responsible for its development and implication, namely the National Security Council under the direction of the Prime Minister.
2. Utilizing the four determinants necessary for a state to survive, identify the National Interests of Trinidad and Tobago inclusive of national development, and determine threats to these interests taking into account Kaufman's definition of threats; and modern threats such as terrorism, cyber-attacks, nuclear or biological attacks, natural hazards and economic issues. The process involves a whole of government and society approach that reviews the national and international system utilizing the Rational Actor Model
3. Develop the concept of threat mitigation and of opportunities by means of a whole of government approach inclusive of the society, utilizing all instruments of national power, coordinated by the National Security Council that highlights the need to transform the society and to work with regional and international alliances as part of the mitigation process. Thus, they will utilize the individual, state and system level when developing and implementing their strategy.

4. State the requirement to and frequency of presenting the strategy to the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago.

In conclusion, the framework outlined highlights the three basic components of a National Security Strategy; the role of the State within the international system; the perception of challenges and opportunities at the national and international level; and the responsibilities of actors who implement policies and deal with those challenges and opportunities.¹⁶

Recommendations for Future Research

There are three areas recommended for future research. First, the thesis reviewed the NSSs of only two SIDS and found that their formulation utilized the Rational Actor Model, which the researcher endorsed as the way forward for Trinidad and Tobago. However, the research did not confirm if other SIDS utilized this model when designing their NSS. Consequently, the researcher recommends that future research should attempt to determine if the Rational Actor Model is the approach best suited for the formulation of the NSS of SIDS.

Second, the research did not evaluate the effectiveness of the NSSs of SIDS that utilize the Rational Actor Model. Thus, the researcher recommends for future research, an analysis of the effectiveness of the NSS of SIDS that utilized the Rational Actor Model to formulate their strategy.

Third, as stated, the purpose of a national security strategy is to coordinate the instruments of national power, taking into consideration national defense, foreign and economic relations, while informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against threats, risks and

vulnerabilities. However, in the instance of SIDS, it includes the development of the country. The research demonstrates that Trinidad and Tobago has previously addressed some of these requirements, specifically:

1. The Profile of Trinidad and Tobago highlighted foreign and economic relations and previous and current economic development plans;
2. The Recommended Framework addresses; informing public audiences both at home and abroad on the methodology of a state to secure its national interest against threats, risks and vulnerabilities.

However, in terms of a national defense strategy, the research specified that there is intent to derive a national defense strategy in order to achieve national strategic objectives¹⁷ that Trinidad and Tobago has not developed to date.

In conclusion, the researcher recommends a study to determine “How is a National Defense Strategy derived from a National Security Strategy.”

¹Multi-Sectoral Core Group.

²Ibid.

³Bartolotto, 4.

⁴Dale.

⁵Partners for Democratic Change.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Alexander George and Robert Keohane, *The Concept of National Interest: Uses and Limitations* (1980). Quoted in Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999; reprint, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 235 (page citation is to the reprint edition)

⁸Wendt, 235.

⁹Ibid., 237.

¹⁰Partners for Democratic Change.

¹¹Kaufman, 9.

¹²Roger Kanet, *Foreign Policy Making in a Democratic Society* (2010). Quoted in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Shannon L. Blanton, *World Politics Trend and Transformations*, 14th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011), 202.

¹³Partners for Democratic Change.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Bartolotto, 4.

¹⁶Partners for Democratic Change.

¹⁷Sub-Committee on National Security and Public Safety.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Babbie, Earl. *The Practice of Social Research*. 11th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007.
- Bartolotto, John. K. "The Origin and Developmental Process of the National Security Strategy." Strategy Research Project, US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, 2004.
- Brown, Chris A., and Kirsten Ainley. *Understanding International Relations*. 4th ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Cabinet Office Government of the United Kingdom. *The National Security Strategy-A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty*. October 18, 2010. <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/resources/national-security-strategy.pdf> (accessed April 24, 2012).
- . *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in an Interdependent World*, 2008. <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm72/7291/7291.pdf> (accessed April 24, 2012).
- CIA. The World Factbook, "Central America and the Caribbean: Trinidad and Tobago." August 24, 2012. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/td.html> (accessed September 5, 2012).
- Dale, Catherine. *National Security Strategy: Legislative Mandates, Execution to Date, and Considerations for Congress*. Congressional Research Service, December 15, 2008. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34505.pdf> (accessed September 10, 2012).
- Freeman, Chas W. Jr., *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy*. 2nd. ed. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007.
- Goldstein, Joshua. S., and Jon C. Pevenhouse. *International Relations*. 9th ed. USA: Longman, 2011.
- Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. "The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Investment." <http://www.tradeind.gov.tt/> (accessed September 2, 2012).
- . *National Strategic Plan Draft*. Port of Spain: Government Printing Office, 2006.
- Kaufman, Joyce P. *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2010.
- Kegley, Charles W., and Shannon L. Blanton. *World Politics Trend and Transformations*. 14th ed. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011.

- Ministry of National Security. *National Security Strategy for Jamaica*. 2006. <http://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/clas/pdba/Security/citizenssecurity/jamaica/programs/SecurityStrategy.pdf> (accessed November 23, 2012).
- . “Towards Securing A Developed Nation–Trinidad and Tobago’s National Security Policy.” 2005.
- Ministry of Planning and the Economy. “National Development Agenda of Trinidad and Tobago.” <http://www.undp.org.tt/News/CPAP/pics/Ministry%20of%20Planning%20presentation.pdf> (accessed August 21, 2012).
- Multi-Sector Core Group. “Vision 2020 National Strategic Plan, 2006.” http://www.pnmtt.org/pdf/National_Security/National_Security_Complete.pdf (accessed April 10, 2012).
- Nye, Joseph. S., and David A. Welch. *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History*. 8th ed. New York: Pearson Education Inc., 2011.
- Office of the President of the Philippines. “Memorandum Order No. 6, s. 2010: Directing the Formulation of the National Security and National Security Strategy 2010 – 2016.” <http://www.gov.ph/2010/10/21/memorandum-order-no-6/> (accessed September 10, 2012).
- . “National Security Policy Securing the Gains of Democracy, 2011-2016.” <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2011/08aug/NATIONAL-SECURITY-POLICY-2011-2016.pdf> (accessed September 10 2012).
- Partners for Democratic Change. “Developing a Guinean National Security Policy.” 2008. <http://www.partnersglobal.org/network/senegal/Developing%20a%20Guinean%20National%20Security%20Policy-%20Conference%20Report.pdf> (accessed August 12, 2012).
- Sounders, Mark, Philip Lewis, and Adrian Thornhill. *Research Methods for Business Students*. 4th ed. Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2007.
- Sub Committee on National Security and Public Safety. *National Security and Public Safety. Strategic Plan, 2006*. http://www.pnmtt.org/pdf/National_Security/National_Security_Complete.pdf (accessed April 10, 2012).
- The White House. *National Security Strategy 2010*. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rssviewer/nationalsecuritstrategy.pdf> (accessed October 3, 2012).
- United Nations. “Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Department for Sustainable Development.” http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/dsd_aofw_sids/sids_members.shtml (accessed September 13, 2012).

US Army Command and General Staff College. *A512 National Security Policy Formulation Syllabus and Book of Readings*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: USACGSC, 2012.

Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Whittaker, Alan G., Shannon A. Brown, Frederick C. Smith, and Elizabeth McKune. *The National Security Policy Process: The National Security Council and Interagency System*. Washington, DC: National Defense University, 2011.

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

Combined Arms Research Library
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College
250 Gibbon Ave.
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2314

Defense Technical Information Center/OCA
825 John J. Kingman Rd., Suite 944
Fort Belvoir, VA 22060-6218

Mr. Richard T. Anderson
DJIMO
USACGSC
100 Stimson Ave.
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301

Dr. Edward J. Robarge
DJIMO
USACGSC
100 Stimson Ave.
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301

Mr. Jeffrey G. Van Wey
DJIMO
USACGSC
100 Stimson Ave.
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301