



REFLECTIONS & FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS: THE OAS @ 70

**An Assessment of the Role of the
Organization of American States (OAS) in
Promoting Multidimensional Security in the
Caribbean Community (CARICOM):
2002 - 2017**

Anthony W J Phillips-Spencer

Ambassador of Trinidad and Tobago to the USA

Abstract: *The role played by the Organization of American States (OAS) as midwife and matron for the promotion of a multidimensional approach to security in the Americas, has been substantially inspired by the effective advocacy of the small states of the Caribbean. Adopted fully in 2002, in the context of hemispheric security, amidst a broader process of conceptualizing global post-Cold War security relations, multidimensional security cooperation between the OAS and the member states of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is first reviewed in this paper, in terms of its origins and outcomes, and then, explored for its opportunities and outlook. This analysis offers diverse perspectives: extra-regional, intra-regional and institutional/organizational. Extra-regional partners remain committed but concerned. In spite of significant milestone achievements, vulnerabilities, deficiencies, and incapacities persist intra-regionally, which require improved policy governance, strategic guidance, and, operational performance. Finally, the OAS needs to be more integrative and inclusive, in order to sustain the value and volume of its assistance to the CARICOM region amidst severe resource constraints.*

Keywords: CARICOM; OAS; Multidimensional Security; Strategic Deficiencies; Structural and Systemic Vulnerabilities; Policy Governance

Even before the formal adoption of the multidimensional approach to security in the Declaration of Bridgetown at the Forty-Second Regular Session of the General Assembly in June 2002¹, and, definitely since then, the Organization of American States (OAS) has improved its institutional capacity to meet the requirements of its member states for mainstreaming the concept of multidimensionality in the development and deployment of its programs and activities under the security pillar of the Organization. While all OAS member states have embraced this post-millennial concept of security, consistent with their respective multilateral security cooperation priorities, it should arguably be easiest for member states in the Caribbean to integrate multidimensionality into the full spectrum of activities that now characterize the international security cooperation environment.

The OAS formally institutionalized its commitment to promote multidimensional security across the hemisphere, with the creation in 2005 of its Secretariat for Multidimensional Security (SMS), three years after the adoption of the Declaration of Bridgetown, and, two years after the adoption of the Declaration on Security in the Americas in October 2003. While the Declaration of Bridgetown was an expression of political commitment by the OAS to multidimensional security, the Declaration on Security in the Americas effectively translated that commitment into cooperation policy.

This is particularly clear at Articles 2, and 4.i., under Chapter II, headed '*Shared Values and Common Approaches*'², and, at Article 33, under Chapter III headed '*Commitments and Cooperation Measures*'³. Further, while specific reference to multidimensional security is limited in the largest section, Chapter III, only to Article 33, commitments and cooperation measures covering the new and non-traditional scope of multidimensional security threats, concerns and other challenges, "economic, social, health, and environmental aspects"⁴, are extensively and implicitly outlined throughout Articles 34 to 41. Those measures have proved to be both visionary and accurate responses to the multidimensional security challenges currently faced by OAS member states. However, the absence of any attention to institutionalization of these commitments in the final chapter of the 2003 Declaration on Security in the Americas, Chapter IV, headed '*Institutional Issues*', underscores the importance and timeliness of the Organization's creation of the Secretariat for Multidimensional Security (SMS) in 2005, by then OAS Secretary General His Excellency José Miguel Insulza. The emergence of the

OAS SMS was particularly important and timely for the member states of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), who had been struggling post September 11, 2001, to adapt to the impact of the new international security measures for countering the increased global terrorist threat.

Measures such as the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (ISPS Code) of 2003, which entered into force in July 2004, disrupted the economic security of the tourist-dependent economies of CARICOM. In response, the principal international partner nations and organizations, including the OAS, and, principally through the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE), embraced the advocacy from regional authorities and stakeholders, and, mobilized technical and financial resources to alleviate the negative and burdensome impact of ISPS compliance for the affected small island developing states of the Caribbean.

Similarly, the decision by CARICOM to host the International Cricket Council (ICC) 2007 Cricket World Cup (CWC 2007) Tournament exposed, on one hand, the structural and systemic vulnerabilities, strategic and operational capability deficiencies, and, institutional and organizational incapacities of the regional grouping. Even with the forward-looking establishment of the CARICOM Framework for the Management of Crime and Security in July 2005, these shortcomings were evident. On the other hand, hosting the CWC 2007 also accelerated innumerable opportunities for CARICOM member states, collectively as a region, and individually as sovereign nations, to address those same vulnerabilities, deficiencies, and, incapacities. More recently in 2013, the adoption of the CARICOM Crime and Security Strategy (CCSS)⁵, by the Conference of Heads of Government, has represented another major sign of progress in the region's journey to overcome its implementation challenges.

That Strategy now serves as the platform upon which multidimensional security cooperation between CARICOM and the OAS is being pursued through an OAS/SMS 5-Year Work Plan to support the CCSS⁶.

In addition to the concern with terrorism, the creation of SMS, with its comprehensive approach to addressing security issues, was also timely and opportune for CARICOM, considering that the region is largely impacted by several emerging threats to citizen security. In the Caribbean, the security threats are largely connected with regional geostrategic and geopolitical conditions. Located along one

of the most active international routes of the drug trade, the region is negatively impacted by unintended effects of regional policies. As a result, the region has one of the highest homicide rates in the world, with average rates of homicides between 16 and 23 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants. As in other areas of the hemisphere, citizen insecurity hampers socio-economic development and constitutes one of the main risks to the stability and democratic governance of the countries.

It is in the context of this interdependent requirement to reduce vulnerability and increase resilience across the full spectrum of multidimensional security threats, concerns and challenges facing CARICOM member states, that the contribution of the OAS may best be assessed. Since the establishment of its SMS, the OAS has developed and delivered a myriad of administrative, financial and technical assistance programmes and projects to CARICOM member states. This has been done primarily, through three long-standing executive secretariats/departments of the SMS: the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), established in 1986, CICTE established in 1999, and the Department of Public Security (DPS) established in 2005.

The Department to Combat Transnational Organized Crime (DTCO), established in 2016, is the fourth and newest dependency of SMS, which commits the OAS to help the Caribbean address the second most enduring characteristic of its strategic security environment and experience, transnationality. Together, multidimensionality and transnationality have left CARICOM member states “Trapped between Dependence and Development”⁷. Integrating a transnational focus into the multidimensional security cooperation agenda of the OAS was therefore further evidence of the Organization’s commitment to the Caribbean.

In the following sections, first, the origins of the emergence of multidimensional security as a priority for the OAS, second, the challenges and obstacles to the integration of multidimensionality in the security cooperation agenda of the OAS, and, third, some specific outcomes and opportunities for the continued promotion of multidimensional security in the Caribbean/CARICOM, will each be briefly reviewed. Finally, an outlook on the future role of the OAS in the evolution of a multidimensional approach to security in the region, will be offered for further discussion.

ORIGINS

Institutional governance and oversight of the multidimensional security cooperation agenda of the OAS is provided by the Committee on Hemispheric Security (CHS) of the Organization, which was established in 1995 as a Permanent Committee of the OAS Permanent Council. It is therefore not surprising that the origins of the CHS are closely interwoven with the origins of the concept of multidimensional security. The CHS emanated from a mandate of the OAS General Assembly at its 21st Regular Session held in Santiago, Chile in June 1991. That mandate in General Assembly Resolution 1123 resolved: "To entrust the Permanent Council with setting up a working group to study and make recommendations on cooperation on the various dimensions of hemispheric security"⁸. It is evident from its language, that the intent of that mandate to the Permanent Council invoked both the new and emerging concept of hemispheric security, as well as the realization that hemispheric security needed to be studied within the construct of a multidimensional framework and context.

Coinciding with the emergence of this new concept of hemispheric security, the Summit of the Americas, which began in 1994, was also influential in providing early impetus for its adoption. Coming just after the end of the Cold War in 1990, that 21st OAS General Assembly mandate to the Permanent Council was part of the response by the OAS to a broader recognition of the requirement to: "initiate a process of consultation on hemispheric security in light of the new conditions in the region and the world"⁹.

Beyond the geo-strategic shift associated with the end of the Cold War, this imperative to engage in the reformulation of traditional strategic security concepts was also informed during the period 1991 – 1995, by a coinciding admission of the failure of the supply-side dominated and military-centric 'War on Drugs', and, the establishment of the first extended United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Mission in the Western Hemisphere, in Haiti. Further, this search for a new and relevant strategic security concept in the Americas was also simultaneously influenced by several other emerging theoretical, conceptual, and, political developments.

In terms of theoretical and conceptual developments, Rosenau's seminal work on the Theory of Change and Continuity¹⁰, amidst the increasing influence and application of complexity theory to explain issues such as globalization and diversity including the work by Byrne¹¹, was among the earliest. Buzan's writing on *New Patterns of*

Global Security in the Twenty-First Century¹², in which he outlined five sectors of security: military, political, economic, societal and environmental, was also relevant to the formulation of a new concept of multidimensional security. And, while there may have been other theoretical developments that influenced the emergence and eventual acceptance of the concept of multidimensional security, the final major conceptual influence included here was particularly relevant to the experience of the Caribbean.

The equally influential work by the Caribbean's own, Guyana-born, intellectual, Ivelaw Griffith, addressed the challenges for the region in the changing global security environment, with a focus on the principal and persistent regional security threat of drug-trafficking. In *Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty under Siege*, Griffith¹³ introduced the 'Discrete Multidimensional Security Framework', in which he identified four dimensions: military, political, economic, and, environmental, which were developed and designed to match the peculiar realities of the small states of the Caribbean. There were also several political developments that may have encouraged the eventual adoption of multidimensional security by the OAS. These included first, as already noted, the Summit of the Americas process, second, hemispheric sensitivity to the emerging post-Cold War unipolar influence of the United States, and, third, increased regionalism and sub-regionalism in the Americas during the 1990s (ACS in 1994, Mercosur in 1991, SICA in 1991).

Most important for the CARICOM member states of the OAS however, was the effectiveness of their increased sub-regional advocacy, which led to the adoption of General Assembly Resolution 1567¹⁴, as the first of what are now, annual Resolutions to address the "Special Security Concerns of Small Island States"¹⁵. And, to highlight the particular importance and relevance of the multidimensional security agenda of the OAS to CARICOM member states, at the very outset in 1998, it was agreed in AG/Res. 1567:

That the small island states have concluded that their security is multidimensional in scope and application and encompasses, *inter alia*, the military-political aspects traditionally associated with the security of states; the protection and preservation of the state's sovereignty and territorial integrity; freedom from external military attack and coercion; freedom from external interference by states or by non-state agents in its internal political affairs;

protection from environmental conditions and ecological disasters which could imperil its viability; the link between trade, economic development, and security; and the ability to maintain and protect democratic institutions which ensure domestic tranquility;¹⁶

This clear expression of the importance of multidimensional security by CARICOM member states in 1998, culminated four years later with the adoption of this new security concept in the Declaration of Bridgetown in June 2002. However, as is outlined in the following section, gaining consensus on a multidimensional approach to security was not unhindered. In fact, other major developments in the international security environment between 1998 and 2002 may well have diverted the commitment of the OAS from embracing the concept of multidimensional security. A brief discussion on the Organization's challenges to fulfill its commitment to this new strategic security priority for CARICOM member states, in particular, is useful for this assessment.

CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES

Having been mandated by the General Assembly in 1998 to support and respond to the successful and sustained advocacy by the small island member states for the implementation of the concept of multidimensional security, the OAS may well have completed the journey to the adoption of this new approach to hemispheric security cooperation, had two principal challenges not arisen.

First, there was the so-called "pink tide" in the early 21st century in which electorates in various Latin American countries demonstrated their disenchantment with Neoliberal economic programmes and possibly with the spectre of an emerging post-Cold War unipolarity by voting for a number of left of Centre governments, starting with the election of President Hugo Chavez in Venezuela in 1999. It is noteworthy that within five years following the election of President Chavez, leaders broadly categorized as Left of Centre were elected in several countries. By December 2004, the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) was established and within the next five years some CARICOM member states would also join this grouping. The launch of Petro Caribe in 2005 and ALBA introduced alternative forms of regional cooperation, particularly important for some small island states who were struggling to meet the burden of rising global oil and gas prices.

The resurgence of ideological diversity and divergence among the leaders of several influential OAS member states did not help the general environment for political consensus-building at the turn of the millennium. Consensus on multidimensional security may thus have been delayed in some capitals across the Americas, where the prospect of a return to a Cold-War type global security environment may have been considered as plausible. Commenting in 2011 on a decade-long process of what he labelled "Latin America's new orientation", Girvan noted in citing Cooper and Heine (2009) that: "Developments over the past decade have significantly altered the political, ideological and institutional landscape of Latin America"¹⁷. Girvan highlighted the influence of this 'new orientation' to introduce a discussion on its relevance to the Caribbean.

However, it was the second source of diverted attention that was more influential in lengthening the journey of the OAS to the adoption of a multidimensional approach to security. In June 1999, when the OAS General Assembly established CICTE, in its Resolution 1650¹⁸, it was unimaginable that in just over 2 years, the international security environment would have been disrupted by the events of September 11, 2001, to the extent that persists to date. Given the magnitude of the pervasive preoccupation by OAS member states that ensued after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Organization, and, all of its member and observer states must be credited with, and commended for their success in aspiring for and achieving consensus on the Declaration of Bridgetown in June 2002.

This feat of multilateral diplomacy was also magnified since it was realized together with the adoption of the understandably more important Inter-American Convention against Terrorism, which was also adopted at the Thirty Second Regular Session of the OAS General Assembly¹⁹. And, it is exactly this mutually reinforcing relationship between multidimensional security as an appropriate framework for implementing a counter-terrorism agenda that the OAS has leveraged substantially since 2002 to develop and deliver relevant and meaningful multidimensional security cooperation programmes to CARICOM member states.

While the OAS was successful in overcoming the obstacles to having the multidimensional security approach adopted, expressed and institutionalized between 2002 and 2006, the CARICOM experience of absorbing the assistance from the OAS, for hosting CWC 2007, and, in the years immediately following, was no less challenging. First, for the period 2003 - 2007 and the CWC 2007,

while the secretariats and departments of the OAS-SMS were focused on implementing cooperation programmes that could result in enduring strategic and operational improvements in the regional security environment in the Caribbean Basin, it was apparent that the CWC 2007 host-nations were fixated mainly on ensuring a successful CWC 2007 event. One clear example of this misalignment of focus between donors and recipients was the Tourism Security Programme developed and delivered by CICTE through the leadership of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, beginning with its chairmanship of CICTE from 2005 to 2006. With the support of the other CARICOM member states and key extra-regional partner nations such as Canada, Colombia and the United States, Trinidad and Tobago advocated for and advanced the process for the implementation of the Tourism Security Pilot Project in the CWC 2007 host countries prior to the tournament in 2007.

Based on the success of that Pilot Project, Tourism Security was included and remains on the Annual CICTE Work Plan with effect from 2007. Unfortunately, CARICOM member states are neither the major current beneficiaries of this programme, nor have the benefits delivered for CWC 2007 been institutionalized, as was expected by the CICTE Secretariat after implementation of the Pilot Project. Post CWC 2007, CARICOM member states also became preoccupied with three understandably priority concerns.

First, the increased incidence of crime and violence in the region, which was amplified, and perhaps even overstated in some jurisdictions in a report published by the UNODC together with the World Bank in March 2007 entitled: "Crime, Violence, and Development: Trends, Costs, and Policy Options in the Caribbean"²⁰ assumed immeasurable political, social and economic importance. The relevance of this report to this discussion, beyond its politically disturbing impact in the region in 2007, rests on its clear and bold expression of the security-development nexus, so central to a multidimensional approach to security.

Second, with the exception of Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, all twelve (12) CARICOM member states were worried about their ability to pay the rising global oil and gas prices, until the establishment of Petro Caribe with its large concessionary financial assistance²¹. The priority of OAS security assistance programmes was therefore reduced for these member states. Finally, by 2009, the region had begun to feel the impact of the global financial crisis on its tourism sector and other affected sectors of the economy.

Amidst these priorities, the institutionalization of security capability and capacity building in CARICOM member states did not emerge uniformly, as: “First Order: vital interests”²². Progress by the OAS in providing assistance to advance multidimensional security in the Caribbean was challenged, even after the establishment of the SMS. In spite of that array of vulnerabilities, deficiencies, and incapacities, the OAS, in collaboration with the region’s multidimensional security cooperation pioneers persevered with the implementation and institutionalization of the CARICOM Security Management Framework. The results were modest but unquestionably meaningful and provided a foundation for future success.

OUTCOMES AND OPPORTUNITIES

During the period 2002 to 2017, the OAS developed and delivered to CARICOM member states, a consistent and concerted stream of technical, financial and administrative resources and assistance across the full spectrum of the Organization’s multidimensional security cooperation programming agenda.

The majority of those cooperation programmes and projects are delivered by the SMS, through CICAD, with its three (3) programme areas (supply reduction, demand reduction and institutional strengthening), CICTE, now through three (3) rationalized programme areas (cybersecurity, border management and, legislative and policy assistance), and, the Department of Public Security (DPS), through its two sections (security and justice, and, prevention of crime and violence) and, its program of demining and arms destruction. In July 2016, by an Executive Order issued by the OAS Secretary General His Excellency Luis Almagro in July 2016, the DTOC was created, and, that Department is still in the process of being fully established.

In addition to the core multidimensional security cooperation managed by the SMS, other secretariats of the OAS, such as the Executive Secretariat for Integral Development (SEDI) also contribute to the other domains of multidimensional security. The following sections highlight some of the major outcomes by the Departments of the SMS, all in pursuit of the OAS multidimensional security agenda in the Caribbean. While all of the assistance mobilized by the OAS since 2002 in support of the implementation of a multidimensional approach to security in CARICOM member states cannot be accommodated in this brief discussion, a summarized account of the Organization’s coverage of this post-

millennial hemispheric concept and construct for security cooperation is useful for the completeness of this assessment. Further, the outcomes of those multidimensional security cooperation activities are even more important, given the special and peculiar relevance and importance of the multidimensional approach to security for OAS member states from the CARICOM sub-region.

CICAD – Major Outcomes and Opportunities

The cooperation activities undertaken by CICAD in accordance with its mandates are currently organized into three principal programme areas – supply reduction, demand reduction, and institutional strengthening. While the focus of CICAD activities at its establishment was understandably on supply reduction, by the turn of the millennium, and, noticeably since the adoption of the multidimensional approach to security by the OAS in 2002, there has been an increased balance between the Commission's supply reduction and demand reduction programmes.

CICAD Member States and the Secretariat also adopted measures for an even more mainstreamed process for integrating a multidimensional approach into the activities of the Commission. First, the Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism (MEM), initiated in 1999, and, now in its Seventh Round has been continually upgraded and adapted to reflect a more inclusive and integrative approach to a hemispheric counter-drug agenda that is multidimensional in character. Second, in 2009, CICAD approved, and, in 2010 adopted, and implemented a Hemispheric Drug Strategy²³ in collaboration with the OAS SMS. And, third, in November 2016, at its 60th Regular Session in the Bahamas, CICAD approved a Hemispheric Plan of Action on Drugs 2016 – 2020²⁴.

Supply Reduction Outcomes

Based on the Caribbean's historical and traditional experience with marijuana production, and, as a major transit area for cocaine trafficking through their expansive coastlines, CICAD's focus of activities in the region from its establishment in 1986 has been to support member states in designing, implementing and strengthening comprehensive and balanced policies and programs aimed at decreasing the illicit supply of plant-based drugs such as cocaine, heroin and marijuana, as well as synthetic drugs, such as

fentanyl and its analogues, and the New Psychoactive Substances (NPS). More recently, as the production and trafficking of synthetic drugs have increased, the Supply Reduction Unit (SRU) has been actively engaged in supporting national authorities in member states in identifying, detecting, seizing, handling and disposing of precursor chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and synthetic drugs. The SRU has also assisted Caribbean/CARICOM member states in preventing the diversion of controlled chemical substances towards illicit activities²⁵.

Supply Reduction Technical Assistance Opportunities

The current plans of the SRU include delivering technical assistance in the following areas: dismantling clandestine laboratories; increasing the quantity and quality of counterdrug law enforcement operational and prospective intelligence; enhancing maritime border, port and airport drug trafficking control, information sharing, and reducing the sale of narcotics in the dark net; improving the capacity of forensic laboratories to analyze chemical substances, precursors and pharmaceutical products; recovering illicit drug-related assets and dismantling drug trafficking criminal groups; increasing gender mainstreaming in counter-drug law enforcement agencies; enhancing inter-agency and horizontal cooperation; and reviewing and updating legislation, regulations and administrative controls on illicit drugs, and on the pharmaceuticals and chemicals used for their production²⁶.

Demand Reduction Outcomes

The Demand Reduction Unit (DRU) of CICAD has been active in and beneficial to the Caribbean region. While from the traditional concept of security, programmes of the DRU are viewed as “soft”, it should be noted that Bertram Niles of the BBC in the article “High violence rates stifling Caribbean economic growth” carried on China Global Television Network (CGTN) notes that: “The World Bank has recommended that the region increase prevention efforts, such as investing in education, behavioural and soft skills programs, and well targeted poverty reduction efforts”²⁷. This Unit has focused its energies on the development of projects in a number of areas. Working with the research-based section of CICAD that evolved into the Inter-American Observatory on Drugs (OID), data was collected on drug use in secondary schools in the region to undertake more

targeted prevention interventions. This was followed by the development of an on-line programme for the Caribbean, delivered in collaboration with the Open Campus at the University of the West Indies (UWI), which was one of the early programmes offered through a web-based platform. Concurrently the Unit worked with the CARICOM Secretariat and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) to draft and launch: “CARICOM Universal Standard of Care Handbook for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Drug Dependence”²⁸, with financial assistance from the European Union (EU).

Demand Reduction Cooperation Opportunities

Through the continued commitment of the DRU, measures to address drug use and addiction from a public health perspective in the Caribbean are expected to continue. These measures include the Training and Certification Program for Drug and Violence Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation (PROCCER) programme, which is expected to continue in collaboration with the CARICOM Secretariat, the UWI, Mona Campus, and St. Georges University in the delivery of training in the treatment and prevention tracks respectively. CARICOM member states are also expected to receive support for the development of the Adolescent Intervention programme, which aims to increase understanding of adolescent drug use and provide intervention methods for persons working with this unique population. This follows successful pilots in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, with the support of the UWI, and, two International Society of Substance Use Professionals (ISSUP) Conferences, and, sponsorship of the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) of the US Department of State.

Institutional Strengthening Outcomes

In 2000 CICAD began its capacity building initiatives in the Caribbean by assisting member states with the development of National Drug Plans. These plans provide a strong policy basis for the development of programmes and activities in all areas of drug control and contribute to the promotion of comprehensive security initiatives. In 2009, CICAD and the CARICOM launched a manual that provides a guide to the development of National Plans. Through its SRU, CICAD also worked with the Government of Trinidad and

Tobago from 2010 to manage the establishment of the Regional Counterdrug Intelligence Training School (RCITS) initiative. Based at the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Training Academy, in Port-of-Spain, and, launched in 2015, the Training School is the first specialized center in the Caribbean for academic and operational training in the anti-drug intelligence field. The RCITS has already delivered regional courses in Strategic Intelligence Management as well as national courses with limited regional participation in Operational Intelligence Gathering. The administration of the RCITS includes representation from the CARICOM Secretariat as well as a Regional Board of senior practitioners in drug control. Trinidad and Tobago maintains a national team with responsibility for logistical and other support services dedicated to the School.

Institutional Strengthening Cooperation Opportunities

The work of the Institutional Strengthening Unit has focused on the development of Drug Treatment Courts (DTC) for both adults and youth, through its Drug Treatment Court in the Americas programme. Over the period 2011 to 2017 there was expansion of the number of courts in Jamaica, with new courts established in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Other member states are initiating infrastructure for the implementation of these courts. The development of National Plans will continue to receive attention in the Caribbean region in collaboration with the CARICOM Secretariat, since the 6th Round of the MEM noted that only 27% of the member states had completed Plans or Strategies. The potential for significant preventive impact from institutional capacity-building that is focused on urban alternative and sustainable development programme delivery is being explored. Alternative and Sustainable Development has regained specialized focus, and, is an area of particular importance to the Caribbean region. Since Marijuana is the only significant drug that is cultivated and trafficked intra-regionally, with high levels of micro-trafficking, especially in urban centres, this leads to the creation of “drug blocks” and “turf wars” which impact the level of violent crime, the safety and security of communities, and, the involvement of many youth in illegal activities. Alternative and Sustainable Development programmes, combined with traditional crop substitution initiatives can therefore create outcomes that are meaningful for the region’s multidimensional security environment.

Multi-Lateral Evaluation Mechanism (MEM) - Major Outcomes and Opportunities

The First Round of the MEM in 1999 established baseline information of the institutional arrangements, policies, strategies and programmes in member states of the Region. Since that time the instrument has gained international recognition as a premier evaluation tool for drug control, including at a meeting of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in 2014. Over its successive Rounds, the MEM has provided member states of the Caribbean with the opportunity to review their progress, focus on critical areas, and take action on priority issues for ensuring their compliance with their hemispheric and global responsibilities. The MEM is therefore viewed as a valuable tool by the Caribbean.

CICTE – Major Outcomes and Opportunities

The CICTE Secretariat has provided a wide range of technical assistance to CARICOM countries. Most notably, CICTE has recently assisted with the drafting of CARICOM's regional counter-terrorism strategy with a view to becoming a major implementation partner once the strategy has been approved. Also, many of CARICOM's members have benefitted in recent years from CICTE's cybersecurity program, through the development of national cybersecurity strategies, establishment of Cyber Incident Response Teams (CSIRTS) and capacity building in a number of areas that increase Member States' abilities to prevent and mitigate attacks against critical virtual infrastructure.

CARICOM countries have also benefitted from CICTE's tourism security program, through which national authorities have received training in disaster management, contingency planning, and threat evaluation, among other topics. Several CARICOM countries will benefit from a tourism security plan drafted in collaboration with CICTE. Finally, members of CARICOM have received technical assistance to help secure trade and transportation routes through specific capacity building in such areas as maritime and port security, supply chain security, and container inspection.

DPS – Major Outcomes and Opportunities

The DPS was created to design and implement initiatives to support the efforts of Member States to assess, prevent, confront, and

respond to threats posed by different manifestations of criminality and violence, particularly in the following areas: (i) security and justice (police reform, prison reform and reintegration, crimes related to irregular migration, witness protection and assistance for victims); (ii) prevention of crime and violence; and, (iii) demining and arms destruction. Since its creation, the DPS has prioritized projects and assistance to CARICOM countries recognizing that the regional context poses many challenges to the countries, making their citizens more vulnerable to safety concerns. DPS utilizes a framework comprised of comprehensive, cross-cutting, and coordinated multilateral programs to address these threats. An early major outcome of the establishment of the DPS in 2006 was the institutionalization of the process for the Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Public Security in the Americas (MISPA) in 2008.

One of the key areas on which the DPS has worked with CARICOM countries is to strengthen institutional capacity in prison management and programs aimed at the successful reintegration of persons in conflict with the law. DPS has achieved positive results in Jamaica with the program 'A New Path: Promoting a Healthy Environment and Productive Alternatives for Juvenile Remandees and Offenders in Jamaica'. The project operates in all juvenile facilities, and, has assisted more than 1,460 youngsters in three years, who upon release are supported with social reintegration and economic inclusion. Preliminary data indicates that only 33 of the 713 young people released from Metcalfe and South Camp facilities during 2015 and 2016 have returned to a juvenile correctional center, a reentry rate of 4.62%²⁹.

In addition to Jamaica, the DPS is working with the Governments of other CARICOM countries to expand 'A New Path' throughout the region.

DPS also works with the CARICOM in the improvement of law enforcement capacities, through the Inter-American Network for Police Development and Professionalization (REDPPOL, for its Spanish acronym). REDPPOL was created by DPS as a mechanism for international cooperation to develop police skills and has four (4) pillars: (i) development and implementation of a training curriculum, with both on-site and virtual courses, that seek to respond to identified knowledge needs and to reduce asymmetries among the police forces in the Americas; (ii) creation of a permanent network for cooperation with the goal of strengthening the training process through the continuous exchange of information and knowledge; (iii) horizontal cooperation that promotes the exchange

of information, experiences, and best practices among police institutions; and, (iv) certification of police forces in excellence management. In 2017, the DPS implemented its first on-site police training under REDPPOL at the Police Technological Institute in Honduras. CARICOM was represented by both participants and facilitators. In the future, DPS intends to prioritize CARICOM participation in the REDPPOL, implement a Sub-Regional Workshop for Police Cooperation in the Caribbean, and, work with countries to promote the pillars of REDPPOL in the region.

DPS has also worked with other institutions of the justice system to strengthen their capacity to provide assistance and protection services to victims and witnesses of crime. More than 25 officials have been trained in Belize to facilitate the implementation of the best common approach for the Caribbean region for providing assistance to and protecting victims and witnesses. In addition to working with the different institutions of the criminal justice system, DPS has prioritized programs to prevent violence and criminality. In that regard, the DPS has promoted cooperation under two main frameworks: the Inter-American Network for the Prevention of Violence and Crime created by Resolution 2866 at the 44th OAS General Assembly, and the Inter-American Program for the Prevention of Violence and Crime. The Inter-American Network for the Prevention of Violence and Crime provides assistance to all Member States in the enforcement and implementation of public polices, programs and initiatives in the area of violence and crime prevention.

The Caribbean region has benefited from initiatives of the Prevention Network since its launch in November 2016. The Inter-American Program for the Prevention of Violence and Crime offers support to Member States in the development of a comprehensive and multidimensional prevention strategy to reduce and mitigate risk factors of violence and crime, especially among youth, and, to foster international cooperation. One of the regional priorities of the Program is the prevention of human trafficking, and so, in 2008, the DPS implemented a project for Combating Trafficking in Persons in the Caribbean. The Program has educated law enforcement personnel on the differences and similarities of the crimes of trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants, and, Caribbean parliamentarians in the development of comprehensive legal frameworks to address these crimes.

Between years 2010-2011, the DPS implemented the program Strengthening the Capacity of Law Enforcement Officials,

Immigration Officers, Judges and Prosecutors in the Caribbean to Identify and Combat Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children. CARICOM Member States also participated in the Fourth Meeting of National Authorities on Trafficking in Persons in 2014, which resulted in the Second Work Plan against Trafficking in Persons, and the Declaration of Brasilia. In 2018, the DPS expects to implement a project to address Human Trafficking in the Caribbean Region.

The DPS also serves as the Technical Secretariat for the Inter-American Convention against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Materials (CIFTA, for its initials in Spanish) and supports its implementation. One measure implemented in the region under CIFTA was the “Promoting Firearms Marking in Latin America and the Caribbean” programme, which created the Program of Assistance for Control of Arms and Munitions (PACAM) to build the national capacities of OAS member states to mark and trace firearms. The Caribbean countries which participated in the project were: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Bahamas, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Kitts and Nevis, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. Under PACAM, 39 marking machines were donated to 25 countries, 288 national authorities were trained and 289,600 firearms were marked.

DTOC – Major Outcomes and Opportunities

The newly-formed Department against Transnational Organized Crime (DTOC) has focused its technical assistance/capacity building efforts in the Caribbean along two (2) main fronts: 1.) Combating money laundering - providing two regional training courses in 2017 to build the capacity of law enforcement and the judiciary; and, 2.) the forfeiture and recovery of assets related to transnational organized crime, helping to establish an Asset Recovery Interagency Network (ARIN-Carib) for the exchange of information to recover assets related to Transnational Organized Crime (TOC). The DTOC intends: to provide technical assistance to Caribbean Member States in the areas of Anti-Money Laundering (AML), asset recovery, and special investigative techniques to combat transnational organized crime, and, to assist Member States implement Caribbean Financial Action Task Force (CFATF)-recommended AML measures, and, is developing a program to strengthen national capacities for financial

sector supervision and regulation with a view to reducing the perception of risk to correspondent banking relations. The DTOC also supports the political/technical Forum of National Authorities/Points of Contact on Transnational Organized Crime with a view to its development into a premier hemispheric forum for cooperation in this area.

OUTLOOK ON OAS ROLE IN CARIBBEAN MULTIDIMENSIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION

General Outlook

Multidimensional security has evolved during the past two decades to become a principal framework for helping the Caribbean to try to overcome the persistent vulnerability that has helped to keep the region trapped between dependence and development³⁰. The political commitments and institutional changes made by the OAS between 2002 and 2017 to enable the Organization to adapt to its role in advancing and promoting the Caribbean multidimensional security cooperation agenda have therefore been meaningful. CARICOM member states have also recognized and increasingly accepted their responsibility for overcoming the region's strategic, structural and systemic deficiencies that will limit the potential for a multidimensional approach to security to contribute to ensuring achievement of the broader goals of sustainable development.

Measures such as the establishment of the Regional Security Management Framework in 2005, adoption of security as the fourth pillar in 2006, adoption of the CCSS in 2013, the signing of the MOU between the OAS and the CARICOM Implementation Agency for Crime and Security (IMPACS) in 2014³¹, and, the adoption of the OAS/SMS 5-Year Work Plan (2017 – 2022) to Support the CCSS, all highlight the commitment of both the CARICOM and the OAS to cooperate in pursuing and achieving the full value of the transformational potential of a multidimensional approach to security. The outcomes and opportunities outlined in this paper indicate that while much has been achieved, there is much benefit yet to be delivered by the OAS and yet to be derived for CARICOM member states.

2017 marked another significant political crossroad for the OAS, with its institutional governance and finance both under review based on mandates from its 47th General Assembly. The Organization's commitment and capacity to pursue its

multidimensional security agenda will in turn be inspired and influenced, mainly by the commitment of CARICOM's extra-regional OAS partner states, as well as, CARICOM's own intra-regional, institutional and operational capacity, to accept and absorb a continued and even more concentrated stream of cooperation instruments and initiatives delivered as outputs of the OAS/SMS 5-Year Work Plan.

Extra-Regional Outlook

A multidimensional approach to security appears to have been most easily embraced by the small-island and low-lying coastal developing states (SILDS) of the Caribbean, including Central American member states, in particular Belize. However, CARICOM member states, with the notable exception of Trinidad and Tobago, have not themselves been inspired to significantly influence or resource the multidimensional security cooperation agenda of the OAS themselves. The OAS has relied almost totally on extra-regional OAS member states, especially the OAS Big Four (Brazil, Canada, Mexico and the United States), and, several OAS permanent observer states, to both sustain and strengthen its multidimensional security agenda for the wider Caribbean, including CARICOM.

Shared concern over transnationality related threats, such as TOC and trafficking in persons, and, vulnerabilities such as cybersecurity and tourism security have encouraged extra-regional commitment to sustaining the OAS multidimensional security agenda in the region. However, in addition to the strategic and systemic deficiencies and incapacities still being manifested within CARICOM for institutionalizing the value of extra-regional assistance delivered through the OAS, recent and emerging international political differences on regional priorities such as climate change, correspondent banking relations and migration, as well as on Venezuela, have raised concerns about the potential adverse effect of any strain in bilateral or multilateral relations on extra-regional commitment to multidimensional security cooperation in the Caribbean region.

Going forward, CARICOM member states would be well-advised to effectively include and integrate regional priorities such as climate change, correspondent banking relations and migration, more innovatively into its multidimensional security cooperation agenda with the OAS. However, extra-regional partners will in turn expect a more interactive and influential level of multilateral and

bilateral engagement from CARICOM member states, to inspire their continued support for the OAS multidimensional security cooperation agenda in the region. Admittedly, CARICOM is being engaged by new extra-regional partners, who may share common positions on regional priorities. It should be noted though that while the new partners are yet to display their commitment, OAS extra-regional member states have consistently supported the region through a wide spectrum of OAS multidimensional security cooperation instruments and initiatives.

Intra-Regional Outlook

Within CARICOM, there has been a varied level of receptivity and responsiveness to the plethora of multidimensional security cooperation opportunities offered by the OAS. While Trinidad and Tobago's above average level of participation in such initiatives may also be associated with its lead responsibility for security within the CARICOM quasi-cabinet, other member states in the region have apparently not assigned similar priority to programmes and projects delivered by the OAS. Above average receptivity has frequently been evident, more as a result of individual influence rather than institutional intent, or, the acknowledgement of an operational or organizational imperative.

The 5-Year Work Plan adopted by the OAS: "to help improve the SMS-wide co-ordination of efforts to assist CARICOM member states implement the CARICOM Crime and Security Strategy"³², therefore presents both opportunities and challenges for the future of the region's multidimensional security cooperation with the OAS.

First, without a change in the current pattern of under-utilization of the available cooperation programmes and projects delivered by the OAS, to reflect a more policy-governed and strategy-guided approach to the region's multidimensional security concerns and challenges, the existing vulnerabilities, deficiencies and incapacities will persist. Second, without the requisite institutional strengthening and organizational capacity-building at both regional and national levels, the regional security environment will not benefit from measurable performance outcomes of the efficient operating systems and effective operational capabilities that the technical, administrative and financial assistance being delivered by the OAS, as well as other security assistance partners, are intended to create.

Finally, the CCSS of 2013, the OAS-CARICOM MOU of 2014, and, the OAS 5-Year Work Plan to Support the CCSS of 2017, are all necessary strategic security cooperation guidance instruments. Still missing from the CARICOM security cooperation landscape is a coherent policy-level security sector governance framework of instruments and institutional arrangements, a limitation which Byron in 2010 has noted: "... has often imposed great constraints on the adoption and implementation of common policies"³³. Further, in addition to regional level governance requirements, security sector reform initiatives are required at the national level of individual CARICOM member states.

Ensuring that the multidimensional security cooperation agenda of the OAS contributes to enabling the CARICOM region to overcome the persistent vulnerability that keeps its member states trapped between dependence and development requires this coherent outlook from within the region. The coherence of that outlook will depend on the extent to which it is characterized by an integrative, inclusive, innovative and interactive policy governance framework to provide the required oversight for the already established CARICOM Security Management Framework, and, to offer strategic guidance for the implementation of the CCSS.

The extensively bemoaned implementation deficit in the region and in individual CARICOM member states across the spectrum of multidimensional security environment can be reduced with improved policy governance, strategic guidance, and, operational performance. The OAS has been the most committed multidimensional security cooperation partner for the region. The region now has the opportunity and obligation to increase its utilization of that cooperation in the interest of an improved future security environment in the Caribbean.

OAS Institutional/Organizational Outlook

Within the OAS, while much organizational effort has been made to meet the needs and special concerns of CARICOM member states to date, principally through the SMS, an improved level of policy integration between the SMS and the other principal agencies and secretariats of the OAS, such as the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA), the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB), the Executive Secretariat for Integral Development (SEDI), and, the Secretariat for Access to Rights and Equity (SARE), should further increase the governance and effectiveness of the role

of the OAS in addressing new, non-traditional and multidimensional security threats and vulnerabilities. The vulnerability-driven character of the Caribbean security environment includes multidimensional security concerns such as climate change, non-communicable diseases, complex humanitarian emergency assistance, food security, and forced migration. Addressing these interdependent challenges requires a coherent approach. Similarly, a greater tendency for inclusive strategy development should serve to increase the strategic guidance, alignment and efficacy in targeting the region's priorities and goals with the Organization's instruments and initiatives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to acknowledge and express appreciation to officials at the OAS Secretariat for Multidimensional Security (SMS) for their contribution of accurate accounts of the multidimensional security cooperation assistance provided to CARICOM member states. Special thanks must also go to Ms. Esther Best and Ms. Hayda Wallen for their contribution of research material and editorial comments, and, also to Ms. Simone Parsons, for assisting with proof-reading and editing earlier drafts of this Paper. Finally, the author is deeply grateful for this opportunity offered by the Editors of CJIRD to contribute to this Special Issue on this topic of such importance to the development and security of the CARICOM region.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR

Anthony W J Phillips-Spencer currently serves in Washington, DC as the Ambassador of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago to the United States, and also, as that country's Permanent Representative to the OAS, where he also currently functions as the Vice Chair of the Committee on Hemispheric Security of the OAS Permanent Council. During a long military career of over thirty-five (35) years, from which he retired as a Brigadier General and Vice Chief of Defence Staff of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, he has completed undergraduate and post-graduate studies at the University of the West Indies in Economics (BSc) and International Relations (MSc) respectively. Between 2004 and 2016, in addition to serving as Trinidad and Tobago's Defence and Military Attache to the United States and Canada, and, as Chief of Delegation to the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB), Ambassador Phillips-Spencer played a

pivotal role in the development of: CICTE's Tourism Security Programme; the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI); and, the Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Public Security in the Americas (MISPA).

NOTES

¹ OAS General Assembly (2002) *Declaration of Bridgetown: The Multidimensional Approach to Security*. Bridgetown: OAS.

² OAS Special Conference on Security (2003) *Declaration on Security in the Americas*. Washington, DC: OAS, p. 5.

³ *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁵ CARICOM Secretariat. 2013. *CARICOM Crime and Security Strategy 2013: Securing the Region, adopted February 2013*. Retrieved from <http://www.caricom.org>

⁶ OAS Permanent Council (2017) *OAS/SMS 5-Year Work Plan (2017 – 2022) to Support the CARICOM Crime and Security Strategy*. Washington, D.C.: OAS.

⁷ Phillips-Spencer, Anthony W. J., (2013). 'The Persistent Multidimensional Security Dilemma in the Caribbean and Requirements for Emergence: Trapped between Dependence and Development – A Strategic Deficiency', in Santos, M. & Randall, S.J. (eds.) (2013), *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies, Occasional Paper 9, 2013*. Calgary: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, 71 – 79.

⁸ OAS General Assembly (1991). *Proceedings of Twenty First Regular Session, Vol. 1*. Santiago: OAS, p. 118.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

¹⁰ Rosenau, James N., (1990). *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

¹¹ Byrne, David (1998). *Complexity Theory and the Social Sciences: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

¹² Buzan, Barry (1991). New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944 -)*, Vol. 67 (3). pp. 431 – 451. Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.2307/2621945

¹³ Griffith, Ivelaw L., (1997). *Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty Under Siege*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

¹⁴ OAS General Assembly (1998). *Proceedings of Twenty Eighth Regular Session, Vol. 1*. Caracas: OAS.

¹⁵ The term 'Special Security Concerns of Small Island States' used as the title of Resolutions adopted by the OAS between 1998 and 2016 was updated to 'Special Security Concerns of Small Island and Low-Lying Coastal Developing States' (OAS, 2017) at the 47th OAS General Assembly, Mexico in June 2017. This updated term emanated from: "the outcome of the meeting on the special security concerns of the small island states of the Caribbean, held in the framework of the CHS on March 23, 2017" (OAS, 2017, p.66), and, was adopted by OAS member states to represent a more inclusive reference for those non-island small developing states of the Caribbean that shared similar special security concerns as island states, in particular the circumstance of low-lying coastal areas that have assumed greater importance in light of the global agenda to address the effects of climate change.

¹⁶ OAS General Assembly (1998). *Proceedings of Twenty Eighth Regular Session, Vol. 1*. Caracas: OAS, p. 77.

- ¹⁷ Girvan, Norman (2011). 'The Caribbean in a Turbulent World', in Mace, G., Cooper, A. F., & Shaw, T. M. (eds.) (2011), *Inter-American Cooperation at a Crossroads*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 60 - 77.
- ¹⁸ OAS General Assembly (1999). *Proceedings of Twenty Ninth Regular Session, Vol. 1*. Guatemala: OAS.
- ¹⁹ OAS General Assembly (2002). *Proceedings of Thirty Second Regular Session, Vol. 1*. Bridgetown: OAS.
- ²⁰ UNODC (2007). *Crime, Violence, and Development: Trends, Costs, and Policy Options in the Caribbean*. Report No. 37820.
- ²¹ Girvan, Norman (2011). 'The Caribbean in a Turbulent World', in Mace, G., Cooper, A. F., & Shaw, T. M. (eds.) (2011), *Inter-American Cooperation at a Crossroads*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 60 - 77.
- ²² McDavid, Hilton, A. (2010). 'Regional Security versus National Security', in Hall, K.O., & Chuck-A-Sang, M. (eds.) (2010), *CARICOM: Policy Options for International Engagement*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 427 - 437.
- ²³ CICAD (2010). *Hemispheric Drug Strategy*. Washington, D.C.: OAS.
- ²⁴ CICAD (2016). *Hemispheric Plan of Action on Drugs*. Bahamas: CICAD.
- ²⁵ CICAD (2018). This information on the supply reduction outcomes was provided by the CICAD Executive Secretariat.
- ²⁶ CICAD (2018). This information on the supply reduction technical assistance opportunities was provided by the CICAD Executive Secretariat.
- ²⁷ Niles, Bertram (2018), on CGTN, 'High violence rates stifling Caribbean economic growth'. Retrieved from https://news.cgtn.com/news/346b544d77677a6333566d54/share_p.html
- ²⁸ CARICOM Secretariat. (2011). *CARICOM Universal Standard of Care Handbook for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Drug Dependence*. Georgetown, Guyana: CARICOM Secretariat. Retrieved from <http://www.caricom.org>
- ²⁹ OAS-SMS-DPS (2018). The DPS advised that: 'Statistics of recidivism rates were not available before the project began to allow for comparison, and, there are methodology challenges to collect data on recidivism in a two-year period'.
- ³⁰ Phillips-Spencer, Anthony W. J. (2013). 'The Persistent Multidimensional Security Dilemma in the Caribbean and Requirements for Emergence: Trapped between Dependence and Development – A Strategic Deficiency', in Santos, M. & Randall, S.J. (eds.) (2013), *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies, Occasional Paper 9, 2013*. Calgary: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, 71 – 79.
- ³¹ OAS General Secretariat. (2014). *Memorandum of Understanding between the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States and the Caribbean Community Implementation Agency for Crime and Security*. Retrieved from <http://scm.oas.org/pdfs/2017/CP37874TOASIMPACS.pdf>
- ³² OAS General Assembly (2017). *Declaration and Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly*. Cancún: OAS.
- ³³ Byron, Jessica (2010). 'CARICOM and Security Governance: Probing the Limits of Regional Cooperation', in Hall, K.O., & Chuck-A-Sang, M. (eds.) (2010), *CARICOM: Policy Options for International Engagement*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 438 - 451.