

**Beyond Boundaries  
in the Andean Region:  
Bridging the Security/  
Development Divide  
With International  
Security Assistance**

By Brian Finlay, Johan Bergenas,  
and Esha Mufti



The  
Stanley  
Foundation

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## Acknowledgments

In 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Helsinki offered a seed grant to the Stimson Center's Managing Across Boundaries program to bring together national governments, regional and subregional organizations, and nongovernmental experts in an innovative effort called The Beyond Boundaries Initiative. The initiative's initial goal was to more effectively and sustainably promote implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004), which mandates a sweeping array of supply-side efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction. Over time, however, it became clear that without a holistic approach to the security and development challenges whose corrosive effects are mutually reinforcing, little sustainable progress could be made toward the hard-security-oriented goals of the Global North and the softer security and economic development objectives of the Global South. We concluded that by removing the artificial barriers between the "security" and "development" communities, whose goals are often similar but whose methods rarely intersect, a more sustainable and ultimately less costly approach to both issues would result.

This report is the next in a series of "Beyond Boundaries" studies that applies a "whole of society" model of implementation. Other reports in the series have focused on the Caribbean Basin, Central America, the Middle East, Eastern Africa, and South Asia. The authors are grateful to the government of Finland, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Stanley Foundation for their keystone support of the broader initiative from which this report emerges. We are especially indebted to Markku Virri at the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to Carl Robichaud and Patricia Moore-Nicholas at Carnegie, and to Keith Porter and Veronica Tessler from Stanley for their unwavering confidence in this initiative. We would also like to thank Emily Hill and Hunter Murray, interns with the Managing Across Boundaries program, for research and editorial assistance. The content of this report was significantly informed by an Andean regional workshop that took place in Bogota, Colombia, in March 2012, and in which the governments of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru participated.

Additional information on The Beyond Boundaries Initiative can be found at: [www.stimson.org/research-pages/bridging-the-divide-between-security-and-development-3/](http://www.stimson.org/research-pages/bridging-the-divide-between-security-and-development-3/). A comprehensive source for information on UN Security Council Resolution 1540 can be found at <http://1540.collaborationtools.org/about>.

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The authors prepared this report as part of a larger project on regional implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540. The report has been informed by meeting discussions and contains the authors' views and recommendations, and not necessarily those of the Stanley Foundation.

## Executive Summary

Although even the most cursory survey of the human condition today reveals wild geographic disparities in virtually every economic, social, and political measure, at no other point in history have people worldwide lived longer, had greater access to health services, or had more opportunities to acquire a basic education. These unprecedented advances in improving the quality of life have markedly decreased global poverty rates in the last half-century. Yet despite this remarkable improvement in the human condition, not everyone has benefitted equally.

While much progress has been witnessed across the Andean region—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru—these countries continue to face significant security and development challenges that threaten the foundation upon which positive momentum has been built. Public health scourges, partly the result of urbanization and lack of access to basic health care services, have exacerbated inequality. Likewise, the lack of access to clean water for the poor rural population has appalling effects on children’s health, occasionally introducing skyrocketing rates of diarrhea, parasitic fever, and hepatitis. Water insecurity has opened new vectors for diseases across the region, leading to child mortality rates as high as 20 percent in Bolivia and Ecuador. Equally detrimental to human security and development in the region is the abundance of small arms and light weapons that fuel violent crime, gang and youth violence, extortion, terrorism, and the drug trade. The high volume of arms—an estimated 2.4 million illegal weapons in Colombia alone—can be linked to elevated homicide rates throughout the Andean region. Add to these dynamics nonstate actors like the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the National Liberation Army in Colombia, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, and the Shining Path in Peru that prey on societies and spoil opportunities for social and economic progress.

In short, underdevelopment and soft-security challenges undermine many of the astonishing strides that Andean countries have made in the last two decades. These trends clearly demonstrate the need for additional work in order to promote increased security and more inclusive development patterns across the region.

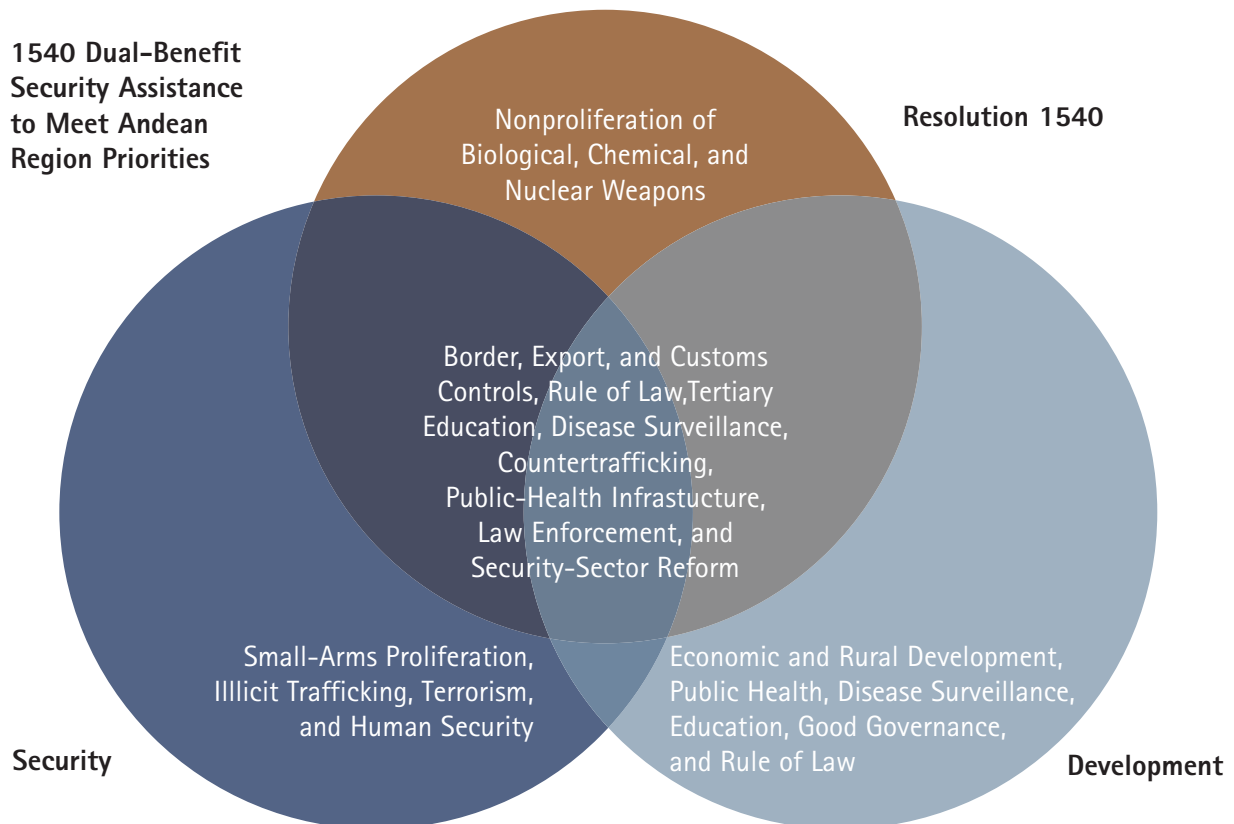
While these are the security and development issues that dominate domestic and regional dialogue, for Western audiences, hard-security concerns—including the proliferation of nuclear weapons (especially to nonstate actors) and terrorism—continue to absorb a disproportionate share of the political discourse and capacity response. It was against this backdrop that the UN Security Council passed Resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004). Promoted as part of a broader tapestry of formal and informal mechanisms to prevent terrorism and proliferation globally, the resolutions were seemingly ill-connected to the more pressing challenges facing much of the world.

Soon after promulgation of these measures, however, it became clear that asking developing nations of the Global South to divert attention and resources from more immediate national and regional challenges—from public health to citizen security—to the seemingly distant threat of terrorism on Western targets by the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) is not only unreasonable but also unlikely to succeed, if not from a lack of political will, then from a sheer lack of implementation capacity in many of these countries. In the end, without the sustained buy-in of those countries increasingly viewed as prominent and potential links in the global terror/proliferation supply chain—either as emerging dual-use technology innovators and manufacturers, as critical transshipment points and financial centers, or as breeding grounds for terrorist operations—it is infeasible to exercise sufficiently preventative controls over the movement of sensitive nuclear, chemical, and biological materials and/or technologies and over the malicious activities of terrorist entities.

To that end, the growing interconnectedness and interdependence between these traditionally siloed threat portfolios suggest that mutually addressing regional security and underdevelopment challenges is key to preventing them from metastasizing into international security threats. The capacity needed to prevent WMD proliferation and undermine the conditions conducive to terrorism is intimately connected to the capacity needed to fulfill economic, development, and human-security objectives of national governments throughout the Andean region. Thus, there is a strong link between implementing Resolutions 1373 (counterterrorism) and 1540 (nonproliferation and overcoming other high-priority challenges in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru). This realization offers a unique opportunity to capitalize on dual-benefit assistance and leverage international security assistance to promote human security and sustainable economic development. Therefore, our first objective must be to better understand the priority concerns of partners across the Global South. Subsequently, we can identify the capacity-building available, be it official development assistance or WMD nonproliferation resources.

The effectiveness of this approach has been proven around the globe, most notably in the Caribbean and Central America, but the model is also being implemented in Africa. For donors and partners alike, the growing confluence of security and development challenges during a time of strained financial resources means that these issues can be neither sustainably treated nor resolved in isolation. For this reason, bridging the security/development divide in order to foster collaboration and develop common strategies, ameliorate proliferation concerns, reinforce counterterrorism efforts, and provide an agenda of opportunity for all countries involved will be central not only in defending international security in the long term but also in facilitating sustainable economic growth and development. It is this development and security model that this report seeks to communicate.

Figure 1. The application of the dual-benefit model to the Andean region



## Project Report

### The Security/Development Divide

Although even the most cursory survey of the human condition today reveals wild geographic disparities in virtually every economic, social, and political measure, at no other point in history have people worldwide lived longer, had greater access to health services, or had more opportunities to acquire a basic education. These unprecedented advances, propelled by the forces of globalization, have markedly improved the quality of life of millions of people around the world, decreasing global poverty rates by 34 percent over the last three decades.<sup>1</sup>

But while globalization has helped once-isolated communities connect to the outside world in new and profitable ways, with it has come an array of transnational security challenges—from the illicit trafficking of arms, drugs, and humans to the corrosive impact on peace, development, and the rule of law—that threaten to undermine the positive impacts of our growing interconnectedness. Besides the individual human tragedies they cause, these nefarious activities fuel conflicts and armed violence, ruin labor markets and educational systems, and dim the prospects of foreign direct investments. While these security and development issues have high priority in developing countries and emerging economies, in the most industrialized countries, harder security concerns, including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (especially to nonstate actors) and terrorism, absorb the lion's share of political discourse and, often, financial resources.

It was against this backdrop that the UN Security Council passed Resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004). The resolutions were promoted as part of a broader tapestry of formal and informal mechanisms to prevent terrorism and proliferation globally, but they were seemingly ill-connected to the more pressing challenges facing much of the world. Although few would question the disastrous consequences of a WMD terrorist incident, requiring developing nations to divert attention from more immediate national and regional challenges wrought in part by the dark side of globalization to the seemingly distant threat of chemical, biological, and nuclear terrorism is a nonproliferation and counterterrorism strategy that is destined to fail—if not from a lack of political will then from a sheer lack of implementation capacity across the Global South. Indeed, in the face of daily threats to citizen safety and security—both economic and physical—in the Andean region and much of the Global South, such requirements are *prima facie* unreasonable. In the end, without the sustained buy-in of the Global South, it is infeasible to exercise sufficiently preventative controls over the movement of sensitive nuclear, chemical, and biological technologies and over the malicious activities of terrorist entities.

Therefore, bridging the divide between the hard-security interests (nonproliferation and counterterrorism) of the North and the pressing development and human-security priorities of the South should be a central element to our common global counterterrorism and nonproliferation strategies. Absent the participation of those countries viewed as increasingly strong links in the global terror/proliferation supply chain—whether as emerging dual-use technology innovators and manufacturers, as critical transshipment points and financial centers, or as breeding grounds or refuges for terrorist operations—international efforts to curb the terrorist threat and prevent the world's most dangerous weapons from falling into the world's most dangerous hands will inevitably fail. An important first step to prevent this scenario is to understand the full spectrum of concerns of the Global South, what countries are doing to ameliorate these challenges, and where the capacity shortfalls might be met with available capacity-building assistance by more advanced industrialized countries.

## Development and Security Flashpoints in the Andean Region

### Public Health

The Millennium Development Goals, adopted by the United Nations in 2000, highlight the need for improved public health standards in the developing world and other emerging economies, including the countries of the Andean region.<sup>2</sup> This subregion is home to over 130 million people, many of whom are poor, marginalized, and vulnerable.<sup>3</sup> Today, almost 80 percent of regional inhabitants live in cities. The rapid pace of urbanization in recent decades has heightened susceptibility to communicable diseases because of increasingly overcrowded living conditions.<sup>4</sup> High levels of economic inequality and lack of access to basic health care services, as well as emerging infectious diseases, have brought public health capacity shortfalls to the forefront of growing nontraditional security and development challenges in the subregion.

Epidemic-prone diseases in the Andean region include cholera, yellow fever, H1N1 influenza virus, H5N1 bird flu, malaria, tuberculosis, and dengue fever. In 2010, for example, the Pan American Health Organization reported over 200,000 cases of malaria and over 325,000 cases of dengue fever.<sup>5</sup> The prevalence of HIV is low compared to other parts of the world; however, some countries, like Bolivia, still have around 12,000 people living with the disease, with the epidemic concentrated in vulnerable populations.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps most distressingly, the maternal mortality rate in the Andean subregion is nearly ten times that of more developed countries, delineating a clear disparity between the haves and the have-nots globally.<sup>7</sup>

Although Andean region states have made significant strides in increasing gross domestic product and trade, subsets of their populations have not benefitted from this recent trend, as noted by relevant UN agencies in the report *Millennium Development Goals: Progress Towards the Right to Health in Latin America and the Caribbean*.<sup>8</sup> Poverty remains a central obstacle to the establishment of adequate public health standards, especially considering the unprecedented migration of the rural poor to urban areas, where slums are prevalent. Most cities of the region lack the capacity to employ, house, or even feed their rapidly growing populations. Poverty also has devastating effects on food security across the subregion, with over 20 percent of people unable to afford food in Ecuador and Colombia.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, the lack of access to clean water for the poor rural population has disastrous effects on children's health, often leading to widespread outbreaks of diarrhea, parasitic fever, and hepatitis. Water insecurity opens new vectors for those diseases, which have led to child mortality rates as high as 20 percent in Bolivia and Ecuador.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, the lack of public health capacity is not only a human-security challenge for Andean region states but also an economic challenge. Poverty and disease reinforce each other, weakening the workforce and sapping the prospects for long-term economic growth and development.

In addition, most of the Andean region is exposed to a plethora of environmental disasters, such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, droughts, and floods. Emergency and even preventative care are more accessible in big cities than in small towns and rural areas, making the latter more vulnerable during and after such disasters. Because of this, there is a pressing need for enhanced capacity-building across the health sector, including, for instance, improved disease-surveillance capabilities and coordination. Targeted capacity-building in this field would allow for the rapid cross-border detection and confirmation of, response to, and control of public health emergencies. Collected disease-surveillance data is also a useful tool in detecting, monitoring, and researching infectious diseases, contributing to more expeditious and efficacious responses. Lastly, once implemented, disease-surveillance networks can be used to identify improvements in health standards, evaluate control measures, and more effectively facilitate planning across every facet of health infrastructure, from the regional level to the national.



Over the last two decades, governments of the Andean region have identified health as a priority issue and designed responses accordingly—including the initiation of national epidemiological surveillance systems.<sup>11</sup> However, individual initiatives have often proven to be ineffective because of the transnational nature of most public health challenges. According to the health community, subregional and regional coordination initiatives are desperately needed. To this end, the Andean Health Organization, under the umbrella of the Andean Community of Nations (Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru), has developed several health care initiatives, many of which fall within the framework of the UN Millennium Development Goals as well as the Pan American Health Organization. For instance, the Andean Border Health Plan, approved in March 2003, prioritizes health problems in border areas and identifies coordinated strategies to confront them. More recently, the Strategic Plan 2009-2012 identified priority health problems in the subregion, including inadequate surveillance coordination and response systems, gaps in human resources, and limited access to health care. It further set forth strategic objectives with regard to initiating exchanges of experiences and best practices among states, harmonizing policymaking across the subregion, and defining strategies to address shared health challenges. These decisions, however, are not legally binding, and financial and resource constrictions are major obstacles to the implementation of these actions.<sup>12</sup>

Despite progress toward more robust disease surveillance and public health systems in the Andean region, the critical capacity shortfalls include:

- An inadequate number of skilled health care workers, especially in remote areas.
- Lack of training opportunities for health care workers.
- Lack of laboratory capacity, adequate manpower, training, equipment, and supplies to confirm diseases.
- Insufficient communications equipment for disease surveillance and response.
- A reduced ability to respond effectively, even when identification occurs promptly, due to shortfalls in financial, material, and human capacity.

Perhaps most importantly, none of these challenges can be met without leveraging substantial new resource streams, both technical and financial, aimed at their coordinated implementation.

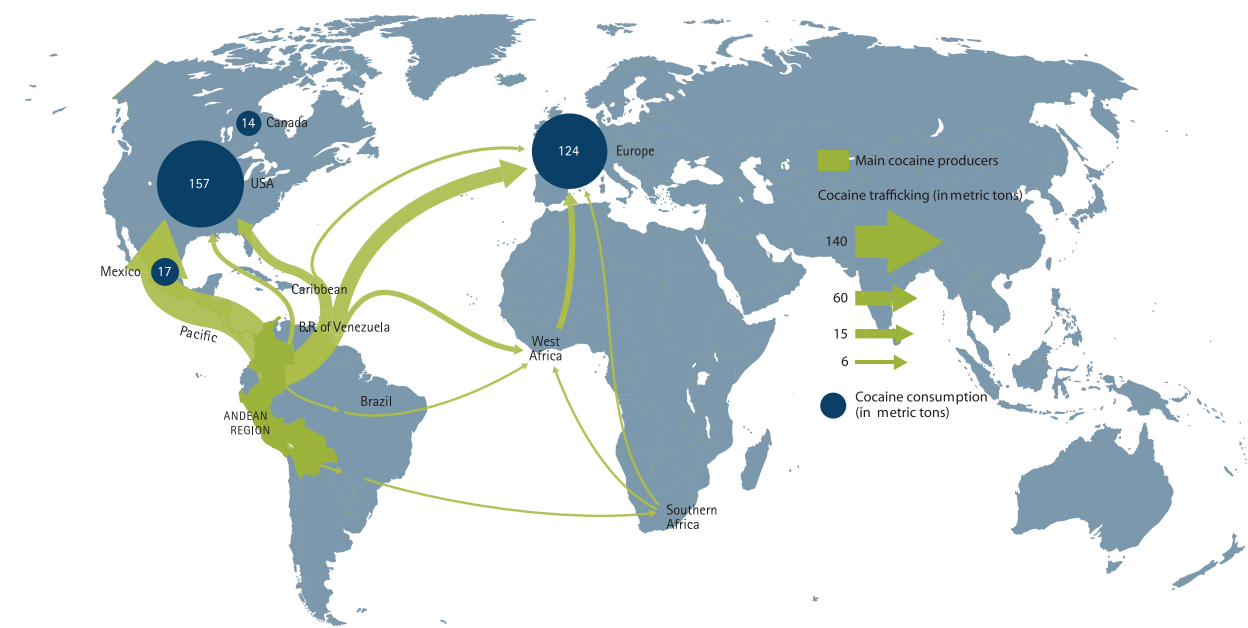
### **Illicit Trafficking in Arms and Drugs**

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in the Andean region fuels violent crime, gang and youth violence, extortion, and terrorism, and underpins a flourishing drug trade and black economy. The mass proliferation of these arms has exacerbated endemic security challenges, including drug trafficking, rampant gun violence, and social unrest due to instability.<sup>13</sup> The high volume of arms—an estimated 2.4 million illegal guns in Colombia alone—can be linked to elevated homicide rates throughout the subregion, with approximately 37 murders per 100,000 people in Colombia, 18 in Ecuador, 12 in Bolivia, and 11 in Peru.<sup>14</sup> In addition to those killed, violence has displaced millions more in the area.<sup>15</sup> Colombia has historically had the subregion's largest illicit arms-trafficking network, and investigators have identified 98 trafficking routes into the country.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, small arms, which are largely imported by drug cartels and political insurgents, have “become both the currency and commodity of the drug trade.”<sup>17</sup> These interlinked illicit networks can thrive in the subregion because of local corruption, porous borders, and lack of governmental capacity to manage.

The Andean region states are the world's main cocaine-exporting countries. In addition to the cultivation of coca, which serves as the main raw material for the manufacture of cocaine, the manufacturing process itself has historically taken place in laboratories in Colombia. In the last few years, however, labs have been found in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.<sup>18</sup> Armed insurgents and/or members of organized crime groups in rural areas largely outside direct state control protect these labs, requiring a steady inflow of weapons and reinforcing the link between small arms and the drug.<sup>19</sup>

The processed cocaine is exported from these countries through Central America and Mexico to final destinations in North America and West and Central Europe, as well as to endpoints elsewhere in South America.<sup>20</sup> The shameful focus by drug-consuming and arms-exporting governments to the north reinforces an insecurity dynamic that has had debilitating effects on regional security and a long-term corrosion on development.

Figure 2. The main global cocaine flows in 2009



(Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, World Drug Report 2010, updates for 2009, UNODC/SCIENCES PO)

While North Americans and Europeans have traditionally made up the largest portion of consumers, drug use has also become common among Andean region inhabitants, with up to 30 percent of youth having used drugs in Colombia and 14 percent in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador each.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, according to a UN Office on Drugs and Crime report, Andean coca farmers and traffickers each earn 1 percent of the total value of cocaine sales in Europe. International traffickers, however, earn 25 percent of the final sales value.<sup>22</sup>

In tandem, small-arms trafficking and drug trafficking have devastating effects on development in insecure rural areas, especially with regard to food security, as work in fields and on farms declines because of these threats.<sup>23</sup> Studies indicate that areas that witness increased coca production become more violent, especially because of its close links to regional insurgent actors. Traditionally, these groups imposed “taxes” on traffickers in exchange for protection; recently, however, they have become more directly involved in trafficking themselves, cutting out middlemen and generating

greater profits.<sup>24</sup> Such an unstable environment is anathema to sustainable economic investment and development. It is clear that as security is enhanced, growth and development flourish. For example, from 2000 to 2008, as Plan Colombia took root, the Colombian economy grew by 4.4 percent, compared to the average of 3.6 percent for all of Latin America and the Caribbean.<sup>25</sup> The Inter-American Development Bank estimates that gross domestic product per capita in Latin America would be 25 percent higher if crime rates were closer to the global average.<sup>26</sup> In short, according to the assistant secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS), Albert Ramdin, “nothing has a greater negative impact on Latin American economic and social development prospects than does widespread crime and violence throughout the region.”<sup>27</sup>

Responding to the scourges from illicit drug and arms trade, Andean region governments have attempted to establish state presence in a number of previously unsecure areas. Plan Colombia, for example, a 2000 Colombian government offensive supported by the United States, focused on aerial fumigation to eradicate coca in growing regions of the country. In 2007, Plan Colombia was merged into the new National Consolidation Plan, a civilian-led whole-of-government strategy that combines eradication, increased security and state presence, and facilitating alternative development plans in traditionally marginalized rural areas. As a result, the amount of land used for coca production decreased from 169,800 hectares in 2001 to 100,000 hectares in 2010.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, recent eradication efforts in Peru’s largest coca-growing region, the Upper Huallaga Valley, have resulted in a decline of almost 4,500 hectares. Lima is now expanding its success to other areas.<sup>29</sup>

What these efforts have accomplished is notable; however, much remains to be done. Government corruption and porous borders remain significant challenges to countering small-arms and drug trafficking. Although the annual production yields of cocaine have recently decreased, Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia continue to be responsible for nearly 100 percent of production of coca globally.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, as a result of government efforts to curb cocaine production and manufacturing, the use of synthetic drugs has grown subregionally, with 1.6 percent of university students above age 17 reporting having used synthetic drugs, causing not only deteriorating social conditions but also impacting already strained public health capacity.<sup>31</sup> The synthetic drugs consumed in the subregion are often adulterated with herbicides, antihistamines, and veterinary anesthetics, among other dangerous substances. They can cause seizures, elevated blood pressure, nausea, hallucinations, paranoid behavior, and even death.<sup>32</sup>

At a subregional level, the Andean Community of Nations adopted the Andean Cooperation Plan for the Fight Against Illicit Drugs and Related Crimes in June 2001, and the Andean Plan to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects in March 2003. Moreover, the United Nations has partnered with regional governments to develop the Firearms Policy and Technical Assistance Package, which focuses on strengthening long-term policymaking, increasing the capacity and expertise of the law-enforcement community, and promoting armed-violence prevention.<sup>33</sup> Despite these efforts, however, the persistent presence, spread, and effect of weapons and drugs in the subregion continues to undermine national and regional stability, and long-term economic progress. Because of this, there is a pressing need to strengthen and enhance capacity and coordination in the following areas within and among states in order to counter these threats:

- Technical capacity at border points, seaports, and airports, such as more and better-trained and equipped guards; and improved narcotics- and SALW-detection gear and techniques, and surveillance systems and scanners.

- Strengthened judicial and law-enforcement systems to deter and respond to illicit drug and arms trafficking.
- Enhanced policing and patrolling at key border hot spots.
- Improved export and transshipment laws and controls.
- Systems, hardware, and software to facilitate the marking, tracking, and monitoring of small arms, with a view to improving prospects for detection and enforcing national laws.
- Regional harmonization of legal and enforcement systems, as well as improved systems for and frequency of information exchange and joint strategies to combat illicit trafficking in SALW and drugs.
- Better interdepartmental cooperation at the national level, and better coordination at the regional and international levels with regard to border security, law-enforcement cooperation, and intelligence sharing.
- Anti-corruption mechanisms and training for demotivated staff to implement current legal and enforcement structures for small arms.

### **Terrorism**

Terrorism is a palpable threat in the Andean region, particularly with the existence of insurgent groups throughout the subregion, including the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army in Colombia, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, and the Shining Path in Peru. Despite declining memberships and having been significantly weakened by governments' military campaigns, these groups remain responsible for terrorist attacks, kidnappings, extortions, and killings. For instance, the FARC remains 8,000 strong, and in 2011, it increased its number of attacks from the previous year.<sup>34</sup> Targets include military and civilians in populated urban areas, police, political figures, and critical infrastructure. The FARC not only represents a threat to Colombia, but also a significant challenge for the subregion, as it has infiltrated the neighboring Andean countries of Ecuador and Peru through porous borders. The FARC has training and supply camps along the Colombia-Ecuador border and reportedly uses the Colombia-Peru border to regroup, purchase arms, and cultivate and produce cocaine.<sup>35</sup>

Indeed, the FARC, the Shining Path, and the other terrorist groups are intertwined with the subregion's massive drug trade—from taxing coca cultivation to engaging in production, manufacture, and trafficking—and using it to finance their criminal activities.<sup>36</sup> In Colombia in 2008, illegal armed groups were present in 79 percent of the municipalities where coca was cultivated.<sup>37</sup> Rural areas that are geographically isolated from a centralized governing body are prime for this use and fall easily under insurgent control, also allowing these groups to recruit from the marginalized population, including children.<sup>38</sup> The violence and insecurity related to the presence of terrorist groups is a key deterrent for farmers in substituting licit crops for coca.<sup>39</sup> So terrorism is linked to the strengthening of an illicit enclave economy, undermining the formal economy of these states, and fostering insecurity and the unpredictability of a conflict environment that is anathema to gaining access to international markets, foreign direct investments, and development at large.

Andean regional governments have made notable strides in responding to the terrorist organizations operating within the subregion. Over the last several years, Colombia and Peru have strengthened

domestic counterterrorism legislation, and the subregion more generally has significantly improved interstate cooperation with regard to terrorism, including the sharing of information and cooperation between customs agencies.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, all Andean region states have enacted legislation to combat terrorist financing. For example, in December 2010, Ecuador reformed its anti-money laundering law to strengthen its Financial Analysis Unit to combat money laundering and terrorist financing. The new law also strengthens border controls on cash movements at airports and seaports, removes the \$5,000 minimum threshold for an action to be considered money laundering, and extends to crimes committed beyond Ecuador.<sup>41</sup> All the Andean region countries are members of the Financial Action Task Force of South America Against Money Laundering, a regional inter-governmental organization that fosters collaboration between countries, engages the private sector to report suspicious transactions, and promotes increased investigation and prosecution to combat money laundering and terrorist financing.<sup>42</sup> The Organization of American States' Inter-Action Committee Against Terrorism has been an important regional actor in developing and facilitating these efforts.<sup>43</sup>

Yet despite this progress, concerns remain that these laws alone are inadequate, and on-the-ground success has been limited by the subregion's lack of capacity, including:

- Insufficient counterterrorism training for police, judges, and prosecutors.
- Insufficient expertise related to the drafting and adoption of relevant counterterrorism legislation, including a lack of formal legal mechanisms for extradition, mutual legal assistance, and information sharing across the subregion.
- Insufficient control over land borders and inadequate monitoring of maritime boundaries.
- Lack of interdepartmental cooperation at the national level, and insufficient coordination at the subregional and international levels.
- Inadequate communications infrastructures.
- Scarcity of technology and other hardware necessary to compensate for the above deficiencies.

#### **UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 and 1540: Proven Platforms for Bridging the Security/Development Divide**

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, irrevocably altered the global security landscape. Following those attacks, governments, led by the United States, began allocating significant new resources to denying safe havens and cutting off financial streams of assistance to malevolent nonstate actors. New initiatives were promoted to facilitate the sharing of relevant information among governments. New mandates were promulgated that require all governments to criminalize active and passive assistance for terrorism in domestic law and bring violators to justice. And today, an unprecedented degree of cooperation among governments is being sought in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition, and prosecution of those involved in acts of terrorism.

Likewise, globalization and the resultant freer flow of information, technology, and goods have highlighted the threat stemming from an increasing number of countries capable of innovating, manufacturing, financing, and transshipping being taken advantage of by a proliferating state, or of being victimized by a weapon of mass destruction. In response, governments have initiated new

controls and levied significant new financial resources to ensure the nonproliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction. For instance, since launching the G-8 Global Partnership in 2002, the partner governments (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) have allocated approximately \$20 billion toward targeted nonproliferation programs in the states of the former Soviet Union, a region historically considered the epicenter of the proliferation challenge.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, in 2004, the revelation that rogue Pakistani nuclear scientist A. Q. Khan had been operating an illicit nuclear network supplying state and nonstate actors with WMD technologies underscored the geographic scale of the threat today. When voting to extend the G-8 Global Partnership beyond 2012 at the Deauville Summit in May 2011, member governments agreed on the need to expand the partnership's focus to include new regions in need of assistance in order to respond successfully to the evolving global proliferation and terrorism threats.<sup>45</sup>

Yet while these hard-security challenges have taken priority in the Global North, the developing and emerging states of the Global South understandably continue to prioritize softer security threats and development needs that are day-to-day challenges for them. Indeed, many states in the Global South would welcome capacity-building efforts that address important national needs, such as improved border control, policing, and judicial capabilities, instead of efforts that are explicitly linked to narrow Western-oriented counterterrorism or nonproliferation strategies.<sup>46</sup> This disjunction between needs and priorities is especially clear when considering the disparity between global security and development spending. Annual military spending and foreign security assistance totals about \$1.5 trillion, compared to the \$127 billion allocated for global development assistance.<sup>47</sup> The latter number equals a mere 9 percent of the former, even though over one-sixth of the world's population lives in poverty and millions of children die every year of preventable ailments such as pneumonia, diarrhea, and malaria.<sup>48</sup>

The inability to reconcile priorities between the Global North and South has revealed an increasing number of governments that are unwilling or unable to participate fully as active partners in global nonproliferation and counterterrorism efforts. Moreover, despite a few promising innovations and pilot projects aimed at better integrating the security and the development components of national policy, a survey of these whole-of-government approaches finds that governments across the Global North continue struggling to promote policy integration, formulating a cohesive strategic vision, creating robust structures of coordination, and initiating new funding streams to ensure sustainability of effort.<sup>49</sup>

For instance, nonproliferation strategies designed to address the spread of weapons of mass destruction have traditionally focused on technology-denial efforts, including export controls, strengthened and expanded safeguards, sanctions, and even regime change. On its face, technology denial flies in the face of domestic economic diversification and growth strategies. It appears to many recipient states that donor governments have given little thought to the need for a more comprehensive outreach that would co-opt regional security concerns and development needs. Instead, much of the well-intentioned nonproliferation assistance is viewed as an effort to stymie economic and technological development, rather than an effort to prevent the diversion of sensitive WMD technologies. This failure to better integrate hard-security supply-side programming with soft-security demand-side incentives has prevented the requisite buy-in from recipient partners that would ensure the sustainability of efforts.

Indeed, the perceived lack of enthusiasm in implementing hard-security obligations connected to terrorism and WMD proliferation among governments of the Global South is not a rejection of the

threat but rather a result of the delicate balancing of financial and human-capacity priorities. Using scarce resources to implement strategies solely focused on assuaging terrorist activity in the West and WMD proliferation—in most instances seen as distant threats by partner governments—makes little sense for leaders in developing or emerging economies. However, capitalizing on the dual-benefit applicability of much of the existing nonproliferation and counterterrorism assistance yields untapped opportunities for bridging the gap between the policy objectives of developing and emerging economies and those of developed states.

To this end, UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 and 1540 are two mechanisms that offer opportunities to leverage international security assistance to also benefit national development needs and security priorities, such as money laundering as well as the trafficking of SALW.

Resolution 1373, adopted unanimously in September 2001, calls on UN member states to deny safe havens to those who finance, plan, support, or commit acts of terrorism.<sup>50</sup> Specifically, it mandates that all member states:

- Criminalize the financing of terrorism.
- Freeze without delay any funds related to persons involved in acts of terrorism.
- Deny all forms of financial support for terrorist groups.
- Suppress the provision of safe haven, sustenance, or support for terrorists.
- Share information with other governments on any groups practicing or planning terrorist acts.
- Cooperate with other governments in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition, and prosecution of those involved in such acts.
- Criminalize active and passive assistance for terrorism in domestic law and bring violators to justice.

Resolution 1373 also highlights the link between international terrorist groups and transnational criminal syndicates involved in myriad illicit activities, including trafficking in drugs, SALW, and people; money laundering; and the proliferation of WMD materials. Finally, it establishes the Counter-Terrorism Committee, which monitors implementation of the resolution. The executive directorate, which carries out the committee's policy decisions, was established in 2004.<sup>51</sup> Five technical groups working horizontally across the executive directorate are responsible for engaging countries on security and development issues, including technical assistance, border control, arms trafficking, and law enforcement.<sup>52</sup>

In April 2004, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1540, which mandates that all member states implement a set of supply-side controls with regard to the nonproliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Specifically, UNSCR 1540 calls on states to:

- Adopt and enforce laws that prohibit any nonstate actor from manufacturing, acquiring, possessing, developing, transporting, transferring, or using nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons and their means of delivery.

- Develop and maintain measures to account for and secure such items in production, use, storage, or transport.
- Develop and maintain effective physical protection measures.
- Develop and maintain strong border controls and law-enforcement efforts to detect, deter, prevent, and combat illicit trafficking.
- Establish, develop, review, and maintain appropriate effective national export and transshipment controls over such items.<sup>53</sup>

The resolution also established the 1540 Committee to monitor implementation of the resolution, as well as a group of experts to assist member states in raising domestic awareness and executing decisions made by the committee. The experts also facilitate technical assistance to countries in need.

The 1373 and 1540 Committees recognize the inherent overlap in their work and cooperate in various ways, including holding meetings between their experts and exchanging information, as well as joint participation at formal UN workshops and regional and subregional meetings.<sup>54</sup> However, although significant progress has been made toward implementing both resolutions, neither has even come close to achieving global compliance, as evidenced by the paucity of country reports on progress (mandated by both resolutions) submitted.<sup>55</sup> At the heart of this limited fulfillment lies an underlying Global North/South divide with regard to priority objectives. For instance, one survey commissioned to provide a comprehensive look at the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee's executive directorate found that,

[T]he positive contribution of the United Nations to global counterterrorism efforts is poorly appreciated outside New York and Vienna. Many people we interviewed told us that there remains a need for the United Nations to articulate to communities around the world a clearer vision of counterterrorism, differentiating its work from more militaristic, coercive approaches to counterterrorism. Absent such an articulation, we were told, the United Nations will continue to face resentment and litigation—or worse. In particular, we were told time and again, there is a need for a clear articulation of the United Nations' commitment to human rights and the rule of law while countering terrorism—which unfortunately remains much doubted in some corners of the globe.<sup>56</sup>

Criticisms have also been leveled at the 1540 Committee in New York. For instance, the committee has had to face legitimacy concerns with regard to the resolution itself—during the negotiation process and after promulgation. States have expressed their disapproval of the fact that the permanent five members of the Security Council were the primary negotiators of UNSCR 1540, ostensibly excluding the input of the vast majority of UN member states.<sup>57</sup>

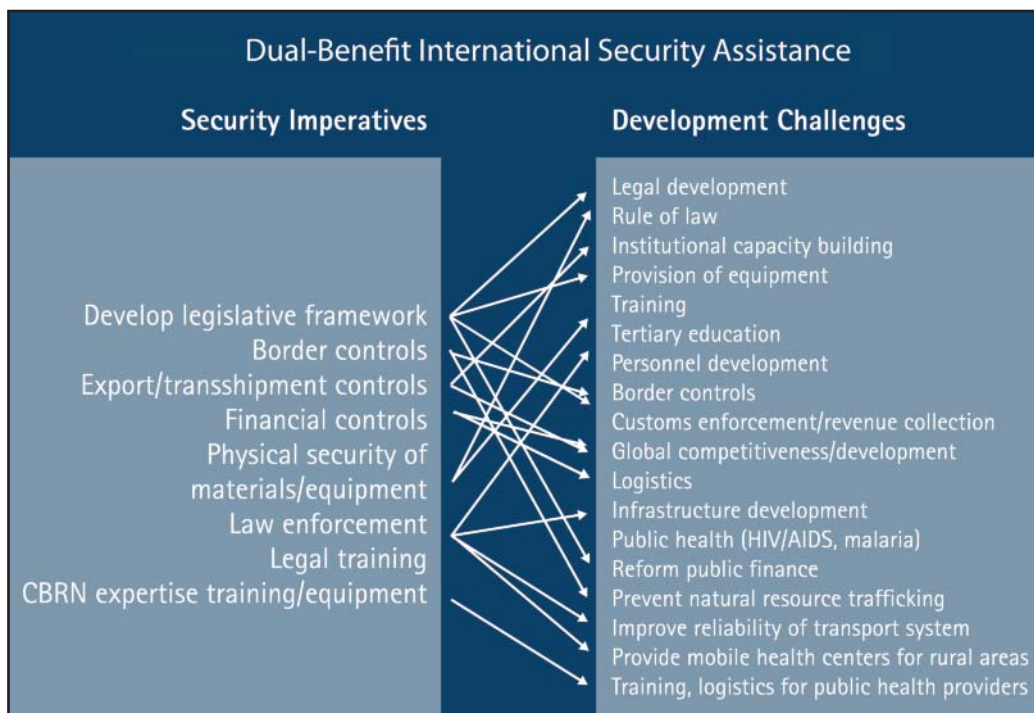
Regardless, common ground can be found beyond rhetorical commitments to the broad aims of both resolutions. Recognizing that many states will require technical and financial support in implementing 1373 and 1540, both resolutions include language for assistance mechanisms: states in need request assistance, and states with the relevant capacity provide it. Moreover, a detailed assessment of the capacities necessary to implement both resolutions would suggest that much of the available assistance is inherently dual-benefit. That is, counterterrorism and nonproliferation assistance can provide a significant opportunity for poorer countries to tap into traditional security-related support to help them meet their higher-priority internal-development and human-security



objectives while simultaneously satisfying their international counterterrorism and nonproliferation obligations. The net result is a durable and sustainable partnership that better meets the needs of partner and donor states. For instance:

- Detecting and responding to biological weapons requires a functional disease-surveillance network and a public health infrastructure.
- Preventing trafficking and illicit trade of SALW, drugs, and humans relies on many of the same resources and capacities necessary to detect and prevent nuclear proliferation and combat terrorist activities.
- Trade expansion and business development cannot occur unless borders and ports are safe, efficient, and secure, a key component to prevent the spread of WMD, as well as SALW.
- Denying terrorists safe havens requires an effective and functioning police capacity operating under the rule of law.

Figure 3. How security assistance proffered under Resolutions 1373 and 1540 can meet softer development and human-security priorities that threaten the Global South



Countries in the Caribbean Basin have capitalized on this dual-benefit model. They have gone from being a 1540 black hole to a model for implementation of the resolution around the globe. The Caribbean, as a region, has seen a dramatic rise in state reporting and tangible evidence of pragmatic implementation of UNSCR 1540. This progress is not the result of the Security Council's dictating legal mandates but rather reflects the countries' realization, in a cooperative approach facilitated by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) UNSCR 1540 regional coordinator, that implementing the resolution can also help achieve national priority objectives. It can bring in new streams of assistance to address endemic security challenges related to the flow of drugs and small

arms, as well as promote national plans for economic diversification through port security and other enhancements to trade.<sup>58</sup>

A similar model has been implemented in Central America.<sup>59</sup> The Central American Integration System (SICA), a subregional organization, has hired a full-time regional coordinator to assist members with reporting, devising national implementation strategies, and, where necessary, identifying novel streams of assistance to meet in-country needs related to small-arms trafficking, the drug trade, youth gangs, and other high-priority security and development concerns.

Likewise, dual-benefit assistance opportunities exist in virtually every corner of the globe.<sup>60</sup> In the Middle East, for example, numerous countries are pursuing or at least considering civilian nuclear power to meet the burgeoning energy demand. But international and regional proliferation concerns, and domestic undercapacity in key technical and human sectors, pose challenges to the development of domestic nuclear power capability across much of the region. Through international collaboration under the auspices of UNSCR 1540 and the assistance provision therein, however, Middle Eastern governments could not only fill capacity shortfalls, they could do so while affirming to the international community their willingness to adhere to globally accepted nonproliferation standards.

In Southeast Asia, piracy threatens regional security and prospects for continued economic growth, as it undermines the secure flow of goods. In response, donor nations can use their security-assistance funds and bilateral cooperation to simultaneously address mutual security challenges and regional development needs. Philippine President Benigno Aquino, for instance, recently met with Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda in Tokyo to discuss maritime security issues and economic growth strategies.<sup>61</sup> Japan is considering offering communication systems and ships to the Philippine coast guard, which would help secure the interests of the Philippines and Japan in mitigating maritime security risks. Additionally, the increased safety of regional waterways would benefit economic development by facilitating safe trade routes. Tokyo's collaboration with Manila is merely the most recent example of Japan's approach; Japan has been working with governments around the region to improve the safety of ports and regional waterways.

In East Africa, the virtually unhindered flow of small arms and light weapons poisons opportunities for human security and economic development in the subregion. In this part of the world, a cornerstone of any poverty-reduction strategy includes a commitment to shoring up security capacity at borders. Porous national boundaries and weak infrastructure and institutions are the common denominators for an array of security challenges, ranging from small-arms trafficking and proliferation, to growth in organized crime and terrorist activity with global ramifications. Local populations view these security problems equally as development challenges because they weaken the business climate, threaten a functioning labor market, undermine access to education and health care, diminish revenues from tourism, and imperil foreign direct investment, all of which are crucial for social and economic progress. Resources to deal with this problem have come primarily from traditional development aid. However, as previously noted, those funds are scarcer than those from WMD nonproliferation and counterterrorism accounts, such as the assistance available under UNSCR 1373 and 1540. Indeed, current projects on the ground are looking to take advantage of dual-benefit capacity-building at borders. The value of this approach is perhaps best articulated by Ambassador Ochieng Adala, former Kenyan permanent representative to the United Nations:

We Africans can view our mandates under UNSCR 1373 and 1540 as a burden on our limited resources, or as a blessing—an opportunity to meet our high-priority needs while

simultaneously adhering to our international obligations. The onus is on both the international donor community to think creatively and upon us Africans to act pragmatically. In so doing, we can circumvent many of the North/South challenges that have plagued effective implementation of these international measures by appealing not only to the legitimate concerns of the global community surrounding the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and global terrorism, but equally to the high-priority challenges facing many Africans: the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, poor public health, and regional terrorism. In short, the interconnections between these issues and UNSCR 1373 and 1540 yield not only challenges for the coherent implementation of government policies, but opportunities to identify and better coordinate new streams of financial assistance.<sup>62</sup>

Just as in the Caribbean Basin, Central America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and East Africa, important dual-benefit opportunities exist for win-win progress in South America.

### **Development and Regional Security Capacity-Building in the Andean Region With Dual-Benefit Assistance**

Since 2001, all Andean region countries have complied with the basic implementation step of Resolution 1373 and submitted at least four reports to the Counter-Terrorism Committee.<sup>63</sup> In 2011, the Counter-Terrorism Committee issued the following South American regional implementation assessment, which included the four countries of the Andean region:

The threat of terrorism to the sub-region is considered to be low, but vulnerabilities to terrorism-related activities remain high, particularly in certain areas. The existence of domestic insurgent groups operating in the region, including the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) guerrillas in Colombia, the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) and Tupac Amaru in Peru, and the Paraguayan Popular Army, present tangible security threats. In some cases, proceeds from the production and trafficking of illicit drugs and other transnational criminal activities are being used to finance existing illegal armed groups. Maintaining sufficient border security controls remains challenging, especially taking into account the difficulties posed by the sub-region's geography.

South American States have made tangible progress in implementing a variety of counterterrorism measures in compliance with Resolution 1373 (2001). They have enacted counterterrorism legislation, and most have ratified at least 12 of the international counterterrorism instruments. Efforts have been made to further strengthen regional coordination and cooperation. Law enforcement efforts have been increased to combat transnational crime and could be adapted to counter terrorism as required. Governments have launched several initiatives to raise awareness, among financial institutions, of the requirement to report suspicious transactions.<sup>64</sup>

This assessment was based on an evaluation of five programmatic areas connected to Resolution 1373 compliance: legislation, counterfinancing of terrorism, law enforcement, border control, and international cooperation. The Counter-Terrorism Committee offered priority recommendations on how countries of the region can advance implementation of Resolution 1373, including shoring up the legal framework for counterterrorism offenses and enhancing border security through regional policing and closer coordination.<sup>65</sup>

Similarly, comprehensive implementation of Resolution 1540 continues to be a work in progress in the Andean region. All countries in the subregion have submitted 1540 national reports and demon-

strated varying degrees of compliance. Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador have requested technical assistance in seeking full implementation of Resolution 1540, but Colombia stands out, having taken significant steps to improve border and port security. In February 2012, the 1540 Committee noted that the OAS had supported implementation of the resolution through country-specific initiatives, especially in Colombia.<sup>66</sup>

To ensure effective implementation of both resolutions around the globe, their potential benefits must be demonstrated by linking assistance to urgent domestic concerns of partner states in order to build a foundation for effective and sustainable buy-in. Of course, helping to meet states' national-security and development objectives should not be a quid pro quo arrangement, but a starting point for developing a package of assistance that will strengthen states internally and simultaneously enable them to support broader counterterrorism and nonproliferation objectives.

As outlined in the preceding sections, for Andean region countries, the challenges associated with public health, small-arms and drug trafficking, and terrorism cannot be understated. Together, these scourges inflict relentless levels of violence and suffering and feed perpetual cycles of poverty. Identifying novel means of building capacity to protect and fortify Andean societies will be critical to ensuring regional security and promoting more holistic economic growth.

Assistance proffered under UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 and 1540 is not a panacea for the totality of Andean countries' security and development challenges. But if implemented more innovatively using a whole-of-government approach, the assistance available can be used to develop processes and capabilities that satisfy global concerns over terrorism and proliferation, while simultaneously building national capabilities to combat public health challenges and trafficking problems.

Consider, for instance, the strengthened border capacity necessitated by 1373 and 1540. Meeting this objective requires improved personnel and technical capacity, such as more and better-trained and equipped guards and police, surveillance systems, and scanners—all of which can check the illicit flow of arms and drugs. Similarly, requisite training for police, judges, and prosecutors to address the regional priority issues identified in this report would provide clear knock-on benefits to overcoming the challenges of terrorism and proliferation.

Public health capacity-building assistance is also widely available under UNSCR 1540. To access these funds, governments in the Andean region could develop requests for assistance to the 1540 Committee that enhance disease surveillance and laboratory capacity to detect, diagnose, and ultimately treat infectious disease, support domestic health priorities, promote full adoption of the International Health Regulations (2005), and meet the nonproliferation goals of UNSCR 1540. Not only would such a strategy simultaneously address multiple demands on these governments, but by appealing to the security agencies of donor states via the committee, innovative new streams of financial and technical assistance could be identified, thus relieving intense pressures on the existing foreign donor base for public health emergencies in the region.

The fact is, today, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru have comprehensive action plans to combat the region's higher-priority concerns.<sup>67</sup> Committing some time and resources in order to tailor those strategies into 1373 and 1540 requests for assistance would significantly increase the flow of technical, human, and financial assistance to implement them via a dual-benefit approach. To some extent, Andean region states have already begun taking advantage of this dual-benefit approach. Following a March 2012 conference, "Seminar for the Andean Region States: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540,"

hosted by Colombia, Canada announced its interest in responding to a technical assistance request Colombia submitted in 2011 related to the training of police and specialized security personnel.<sup>68</sup> This type of assistance is equally beneficial to combating the small-arms and drug-trafficking problem as it is to building nonproliferation and counterterrorism capacity. The other participating countries demonstrated an interest in further engaging the 1540 Committee's group of experts in national visits, which are key to the implementation process and achieving a dual-benefit capacity-building outcome.

### **Prospects for Andean Region Burden-and Capacity-Sharing<sup>69</sup>**

Resolutions 1373 and 1540 stress the value of region-wide implementation efforts. Support for such an approach to both resolutions resides in the Counter-Terrorism and 1540 Committees, and there is a record of endorsement among many UN member states and the Secretariat. For instance, in 2006, then-Secretary General Kofi Annan emphasized that implementation of Resolution 1540 was part of the burden-sharing concept between the UN and regional organizations.<sup>70</sup> The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, independently and in cooperation with other organizations and governments, has organized regional workshops in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. For its part, the Counter-Terrorism Committee has worked directly with a number of regional organizations, including the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the European Union, the Pacific Islands Forum, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

Regional implementation is logical because of the transnational nature of the threats and of many of the resolutions' provisions, which necessarily entail cooperation among neighboring countries. The regional perspective can ensure consistency so that efforts are not duplicated, already scarce resources do not go to waste, and one country's advances are not immediately undercut by a variance in its neighbor's implementation. Lastly, the regional context provides an opportunity for states to, among other things, settle and establish cost-sharing plans, exchange model legislation, and collaborate on enforcement mechanisms.

For any given regional organization to be able to assist its membership with implementing Resolution 1373 and 1540, it is advantageous if (1) the body's scope and work include a mandate for international and/or regional security, (2) the regional organization has, or is willing to build, infrastructures to support 1373 and 1540 implementation work, and (3) the regional organization has some experience connected to the work required to implement Resolution 1373 and 1540—most notably in the areas of nonstate actors or the proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons, although capacities related to public health, legal development, financial networking, or any other of the array of dual-benefit capacities relevant to 1373 and 1540 are clearly beneficial.

There is no one-size-fits-all template when considering a regional approach, but as previously noted, there are important precedents in the Caribbean Basin and Central America. The success of CARICOM and SICA can to a large extent be attributed to the 1540 regional coordinators, who have been instrumental in raising awareness, organizing workshops and seminars, and identifying novel streams of assistance for countries in their respective regions.

To complement and further support the work of these two coordinators without duplicating their work, an OAS 1540 regional coordinator should be considered. While this coordinator would ultimately be responsible for reaching out to the entire OAS membership, he/she would be most effective by focusing on subsets of countries, which has been the modus operandi in the cases of CARICOM and SICA. For example, a natural first subregion to focus on could be Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. As noted above, dual-benefit capacity-building is already underway

in the region, and two additional countries have demonstrated interest in having an expert from the 1540 Committee plan a national visit. An OAS regional coordinator, taking a subregional approach, could play a major role in establishing similar capacity-building programming and facilitating dual-benefit application of hard international security assistance with other higher-priority concerns related to human security and development.

## Conclusion

In March 2012, heads of state from over 50 countries came together in Seoul, South Korea, for the second Nuclear Security Summit to continue to build momentum and take action against the illicit proliferation of materials and technology that can be used to build nuclear weapons or radiological “dirty bombs.” While this is a laudable initiative for an important cause, the problem with these and other efforts, including the Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, is that they claim to be global but are too narrowly focused for worldwide reach. In contrast to the Cold War, as this report sought to demonstrate, current global affairs are not defined by a single or a few large threats stemming from the splitting of the atom. Instead, today’s international security and economic prosperity is challenged by a horizontal portfolio of problems that transcends borders and governments. They include everything from the trafficking of small arms, drugs, and humans to the counterfeiting and smuggling of cigarettes. These activities fund terrorist organizations, threaten the global economy, and fine-tune trafficking routes, including those potentially used by nuclear smugglers.

The Andean region is struggling with the negative impact of these softer security and underdevelopment challenges. It is therefore incumbent on the donor community, which emphasizes counterterrorism and nonproliferation, to design innovative models of capacity-building that assist in ameliorating not only these core concerns, but a broader range of security and development challenges. In this era of more complex and interconnected threats, the inability to think holistically about security and development challenges—including the threat from WMD proliferation, and connecting the resources to capacity-building programs to a wider spectrum of issues, such as public health and illicit trafficking—hinders our ability to take comprehensive action to limit their impact on global security and development. In turn, because of the narrow and one-dimensional prisms through which we often view WMD nonproliferation and counterterrorism, siloed responses to what are horizontal security and development challenges are, unfortunately, the norm among governments, multilateral organizations, and civil society.

This report presents an alternative view of how donor governments can approach implementation of Resolutions 1373 and 1540 more holistically. The model has been successful elsewhere, and it is already taking root in the Andean region. Employing a UNSCR 1540 regional coordinator at the OAS is the natural next step in the Latin American region.

The coordinator can seize the opportunity that comes with the 10-year extension of Resolution 1540’s mandate in April 2011. Also, shortly after that decision was made by the UN Security Council, it was also announced that the G-8 Global Partnership would be renewed and extended geographically beyond the traditional boundaries of the former Soviet Union. Along the lines of dual-benefit capacity-building, if the Global Partnership is to be successful in providing implementation assistance under this expanded mandate, it would do well to target relevant human-security and development needs of potential recipients, rather than focusing impractically and exclusively on a Northern agenda of counterterrorism and WMD nonproliferation. Many of the aforementioned areas where these laudable objectives coincide with security and development ends—including countering drug and small-arms trafficking, and disaster mitigation—have been identified at recent G-8 summits as important priorities of member states with regard to development assistance.<sup>71</sup> Therefore,

the G-8 should leverage funds it has earmarked for security assistance to meet its identified development priorities, in concert with the assessment of needs categorized by countries seeking assistance. Unless and until we can tailor our nonproliferation and counterterrorism programming to recognize, validate, and respond to a broader set of softer security and development concerns, our engagement will not only be unsustainable, it will be doomed to failure.

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## About the Project

The goal of this project is threefold: (1) to identify new sources of assistance to address endemic threats in the developing world, such as poverty, corruption, infectious diseases, and economic underdevelopment; (2) to expand a successful new engagement model that treats the root causes of proliferation, rather than its symptoms; and (3) to reinforce the legitimacy of the United Nations as an effective mechanism to address transnational issues. A joint initiative of the Stimson Center and the Stanley Foundation, it aims to develop scalable, sustainable, and replicable pilot efforts that pragmatically pair states in need of development assistance with those states willing to offer such assistance under the auspices of national security.

Unlike traditional assistance measures, this effort helps bridge the gap between “soft” security (development) and “hard” security (nonproliferation) objectives, thereby addressing identified in-country needs of the Global South while building state capacity to manage and ensure the sustainability of nonproliferation and global security efforts. The result is less duplication of effort and more efficient utilization of limited resources for the global good. Further information can be found at [www.stimson.org/mab/next100](http://www.stimson.org/mab/next100).

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The Managing Across Boundaries program works to address an increasing array of transnational challenges—from WMD proliferation and the global drug trade, to contemporary human slavery, small-arms trafficking, and counterfeit intellectual property—by looking for innovative government responses at the national, regional, and international levels, and for smart public-private partnerships to mitigate these threats. Our experts and researchers work to conceptualize and catalyze “whole of society” solutions to the most pressing transnational challenges of our day.

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## About the Stanley Foundation

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