

STIMSON

Beyond Boundaries in Brazil: Innovating for Proliferation Prevention

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Preface

Dear Reader,

I am pleased to present a new study, “Beyond Boundaries in Brazil: Innovating for Proliferation Prevention,” by Brian Finlay, Johanna Mendelson Forman, and Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellow, James McKeon. It exemplifies the creative approach to problems of international security that is the hallmark of the Managing Across Boundaries (MAB) Initiative at Stimson, led by Brian Finlay.

This report examines Brazil’s role as a proponent of more holistic solutions for enduring security problems. Brazilians well know that domestic violence is linked to illicit trade and problems of porous borders. Their responses to security at home address the larger issues of nonproliferation, counterterrorism, and other problems on the international security agenda that require cooperation among states and societies. When Brazil served on the UN Security Council in 2011, for example, its representatives initiated a global dialogue about how the challenges of development and security intersect. That conceptual framework and Brazil’s role in promulgating it are explored in this latest Stimson report.

I hope you will find this latest analysis from MAB a useful contribution to fresh thinking about the complex challenges of international security. We are grateful for the support from Megan Garcia and the Hewlett Foundation that enabled our team to travel to Brazil and engage policymakers and security experts. We are also deeply indebted to the Centro Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (CEBRI) in Rio for their willingness to collaborate in hosting our outreach in country.

Sincerely,



Ellen Laipson
President and CEO
The Stimson Center



Introduction

“We are convinced that purely military or security strategies will not, by themselves, be able to adequately deal with the overwhelming majority of today’s situations of conflict.... Sustainable peace implies a comprehensive approach to security. Without economic opportunity, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in and of themselves rarely lead to the desired results.” —HE Ambassador Antonio Patriota, 2011¹

In the past decade, as an increasingly complex array of challenges confront the international community, world leaders from both the more industrialized North and the Global South have grown fond of pointing to the need to better coordinate security priorities with development needs. The logical connection between these priorities, summarized by the overused dictum “No security without development, and no development without security,” has grown in political popularity but not in popular practice. The systematic failure to better inculcate the positive correlation between these policy silos has led to suboptimal results in both spheres, and left untapped opportunities to better share resources and yield more sustainable results. In the case of some of the most pressing global security threats, failure to recognize their connection with local development objectives has engineered a renewed divide between North and South that imperils success and fosters cyclical mistrust. Nowhere is this more evident than in the global discussion around the nonproliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

The relationship between security and development is a concept that Brazilians have well understood for decades. Throughout its recent history, the country has repeatedly recognized the nexus of both, stressing the need to address the root causes of crime and violence at home and abroad more holistically. Unlike discussions dominating from advanced industrialized states of the North, the view from Brazil as a rising power is that too much emphasis has been placed on the security side of the equation, even when conflicts arise from deep-rooted socioeconomic challenges or related political factors. While Brazilian foreign policy is often a source of frustration to many in the West, their practice of coordinated responses across this artificial policy divide is enviable and worthy of further examination, replication and scaling.

In recent years, Brazil’s approach to the nexus of security and development has gained prominence across the Global South. It has raised some suspicion regarding the political motivations of Brasilia because it is sometimes perceived to be less concerned with global strategic threats that are the focus of many countries in the North. Yet viewed another way, Brazil’s approach provides a unique opportunity to more sustainably address grand global challenges. It is an important point of departure for understanding how the security priorities of the North—including nonproliferation and counterterrorism—might be addressed through a more focused leveraging of “dual-benefit” assistance in adjacent human security and development portfolios. For instance, the coordination of global assistance for counterterrorism to help simultaneously address the local challenge of youth gangs, the rule of law, and travel efficiencies might promote harder security priorities of the North while also addressing immediate concerns of the Global South. Similar investments in addressing the potential for a nefarious biological incident could help build public health infrastructures that would be able to respond to naturally occurring health challenges. This concept of holistic engagement across security and development portfolios is also one that Brazilian foreign policy addresses in all the multilateral venues it uses to promote a Southern vision of security.

For Brazil, there is little question that such an approach serves as a benchmark for conversations within the country regarding how to enhance domestic security and development objectives, as well as provide a way forward in responding to international challenges. As such, while Brazil’s approach to security and development is currently imperfect, it could yield tangible lessons for meeting similar challenges across the Global South, while more sustainably managing some of the more demanding global challenges of our time. It could also do this in a way that would bring together entities of the government, the private sector, and civil society.

1. Mr. Patriota is the permanent representative of Brazil to the United Nations. In 2011, he was the Brazilian minister of external relations.

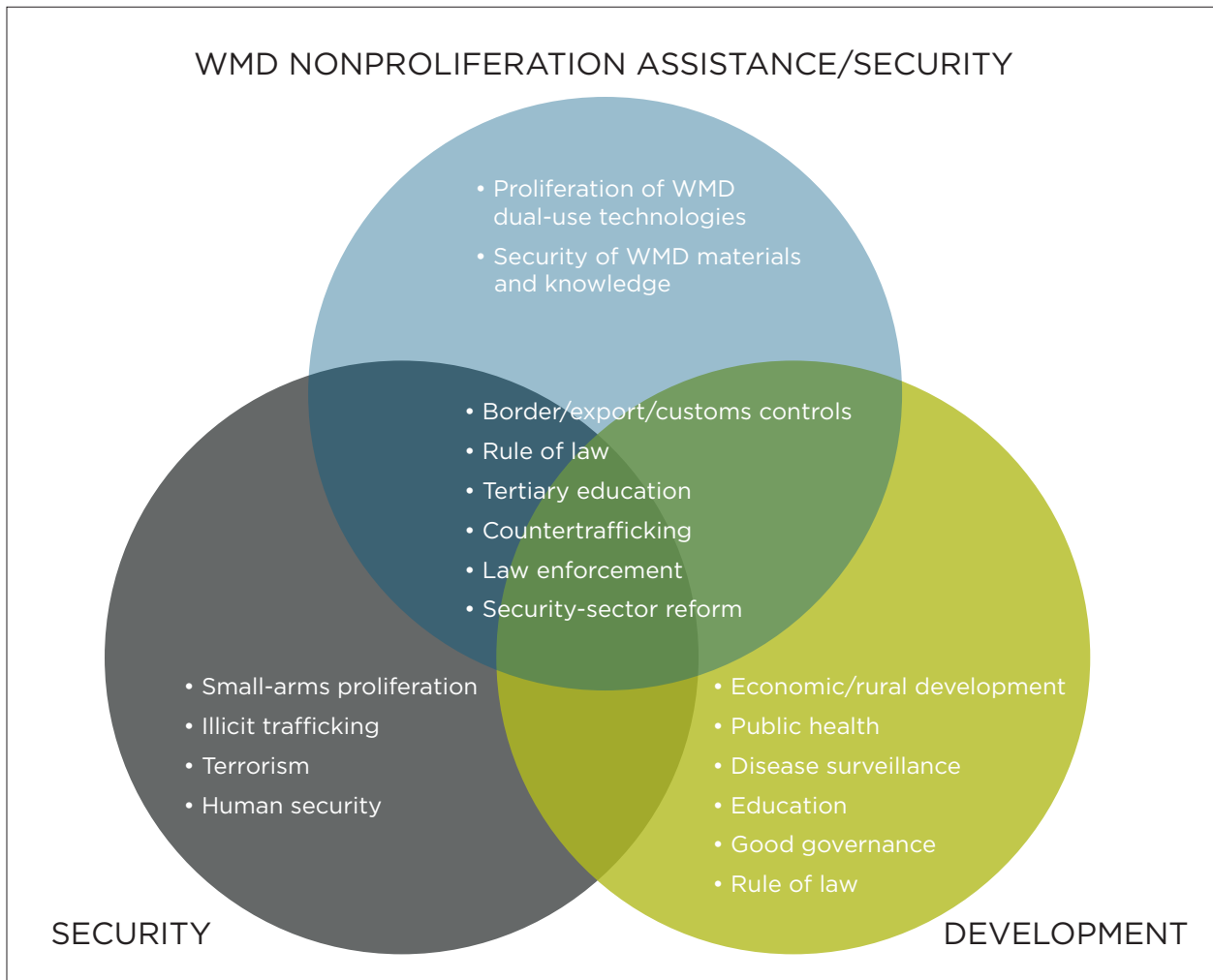


The Intersection of Security and Development

For Western audiences, hard-security concerns—which include the proliferation of nuclear weapons (especially to non-state 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). In each case, the Security Council mandated a set of control measures that each of its member states is bound to implement.

Soon after promulgation of these measures, however, it became clear that asking developing nations of the Global South to divert their attention and resources from more immediate national and regional challenges (such as public health or citizen security) to the seemingly distant threat of terrorism to Western targets was 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.

Nevertheless, there exists a strong if underexploited link between implementing resolutions 1373 (counterterrorism) and 1540 (nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or WMDs) and addressing the main security and development concerns of the Global South. This realization offers a unique opportunity to capitalize on dual-benefit assistance and to leverage international security assistance to promote human security and sustainable economic development.



The effectiveness of this approach has gained traction, most notably in the Caribbean and Central America, and the model is also being implemented in Africa.² Bridging the security/development divide in order to foster collaboration and develop common strategies, ameliorate proliferation concerns, reinforce counter-terrorism 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. This report finds that Brazil is more than a potential beneficiary of this approach; its history suggests that Brazil could also become an extraordinarily effective advocate across the Global South.

The Case of Brazil

As thousands of football fans streamed out of the Estádio do Maracanã in Rio de Janeiro on June 19, 2014, elated after cheering their national team to victory in its first World Cup game, a stray bullet from an unidentified gun struck the neck of a small boy nearby. While the source of that bullet was unknown, the origin of the growing armed violence in Brazil was clear: porous borders that allow for the free flow of illicit arms, people, drugs, counterfeit goods and other contraband, including potentially sensitive dual-use WMD items, across national boundaries. The result is not only physical insecurity but also a cycle of reciprocal underdevelopment that further feeds insecurity and violence.

Although unlawfully held guns and other illicit items cannot be counted accurately, it is estimated that between 3 million and 10 million illicit guns are in circulation in Brazil.³ These weapons help foment one of the region's worst rates of gun violence, foster other illicit trafficking trends, and negatively impact long-term economic prosperity. Although a high percentage of these weapons are from Brazilian manufacturers, a national parliamentary commission found that many of these guns are actually sold for export to countries like Paraguay, and return to Brazil in the hands of organized criminals via Argentina. Illicit European weapons compound the challenge, tracing a route through the Dutch port of Rotterdam, arriving in Suriname, and entering Brazil through an inadequately secured northern border. And finally, American-produced weapons, which flood the Americas in untold numbers annually, also enter Brazil via Panama and Mexico.⁴

In the summer of 2014, with the world's attention focused on Brazil for international soccer's premier event, it was inevitable that the country's struggle with a burgeoning trafficking culture would tragically come to the fore. The incident outside the estádio is emblematic of a growing threat posed by porous borders, set in a neighborhood where drugs, traffickers, arms and cash are able to move seamlessly across international boundaries owing to a toxic combination of a vast geography, vacuums in governance at the frontiers, and ill-equipped and sometimes undermotivated partners on the opposite side of Brazil's border. Beyond the immediate human toll—an estimated 36,000 people are killed in Brazil each year as a result of violent crime—it is further believed that armed violence in Brazil's sprawling cities has potentially dramatic implications for national achievement of the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).⁵

2. For more information see other publications in this series by the Stimson Center and the Stanley Foundation, including: *Beyond Boundaries in Eastern Africa*, *Beyond Boundaries in the Andean Region*, *Beyond Boundaries in the Middle East*, *Beyond Boundaries in South Asia*, and *Beyond Boundaries in Southeast Asia*.

3. Pablo Dreyfus, Marcelo de Sousa Nascimento and Luis Eduardo Guedes, "Small Arms-Related Violence in Brazil: Victims and Weapons," in *Small Arms in Rio de Janeiro: The Guns, the Buyback, and the Victims*, Geneva: Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (December 2008), 26-31, accessed July 24, 2014, <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/C-Special-reports/SAS-SR09-Rio.pdf>.

4. Antonio Rangel Bandeira, "Parliamentary Commission of Investigation (CPI) Denounces the Deviation of Arms in Brazil," *Viva Rio* media release, November 29, 2006, accessed July 24, 2014, <http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/citation/quotes/2090>.

5. R. Sérgio de Lima and A. Maura Tomesani, "Armed Violence, Urban Spaces and Development in Brazil," (unpublished background paper, Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2010); and *More Violence, Less Development: Examining the Relationship between Armed Violence and MDG Achievement*, Geneva: Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, September 2010, accessed July 24, 2014, http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/MDG_Process/MoreViolenceLessDevelopment.pdf.

Despite the tragic human and economic toll on Brazil, what is clear is that these prerequisites for insecurity and underdevelopment are not limited to the Brazilian context—or even to within South America. Across the hemisphere and around the globe, there is a growing convergence of transnational security threats—proliferation, environmental crime, counterfeiting, narcotics, dirty cash, arms and human trafficking, and terrorism—with roots linked to an enduring inability of governments to control their borders. The most extreme example is Honduras, the hemisphere's most dangerous country, where homicide rates peaked in 2011 at 91.6 deaths per 100,000 people, according to the Organization of American States.⁶ Meanwhile, Honduras remains the second-poorest country in Central America, with more than two-thirds of the population living in poverty and 5 out of 10 people suffering from extreme poverty. According to the World Bank, in rural areas in Honduras 6 out of 10 households live in extreme poverty.⁷

In spite of growing violence across the region, Brazil has successfully lifted millions out of grinding poverty. Social spending over the last 12 years has reduced the poverty rate by nearly 55 percent, and the government's efforts to curb violence have been closely coordinated with efforts to generate compelling socioeconomic benefits.⁸ In part, this has been due to the meticulous attention that Brasilia has given to the interplay between domestic security and underlying economic opportunity.

In 2011, while serving on the United Nations Security Council, Brazil initiated a global dialogue on the intersection of security and development. The discussion emphasized the role of such factors as public health, education, human rights and governance on a country's ability to manage its growth and protect its citizens. What is unique to Brazil's South-South approach to the issue of security and development is that it, too, could be characterized as a dual-benefit model even though it is not discussed in such terms. Brazil views investments in weak and fragile states in areas such as tropical agriculture, public health and improved infrastructure as building blocks to a more safe and secure society.⁹

For example, Brazil has provided foreign security and development assistance to countries in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Africa, in particular, is the largest recipient of Brazilian foreign aid, receiving 57 percent of the total foreign aid budget, approximately \$22 million. With this money Brazil has invested in the African security sector, through training, as well as in agricultural development, seeing both as directly linked to a more stable societal formation. Brazil also uses a model of trilateral development assistance, which has gone far to support emerging economies in Africa by using a public-private approach to securing resources. It is an important way in which Brazil has used its southern model of development, a soft power approach, to ensure its leadership in emerging markets.¹⁰

Across the government, military, academic and research sectors in Brazil is a shared awareness of the threat that trafficking of illicit substances, persons and materials poses to the overall well-being of the state. By and large, transnational criminal networks are perceived as the most serious extant security priorities in the country—far more so than nuclear proliferation, described by successive American presidents as the greatest threat facing the United States and the international community more broadly. Unfortunately, awareness of trafficking challenges in Brazil—whether vis-à-vis conventional arms or WMD items—have not yet yielded a comprehensive national strategy to address it. Even though the Rousseff government designed a border

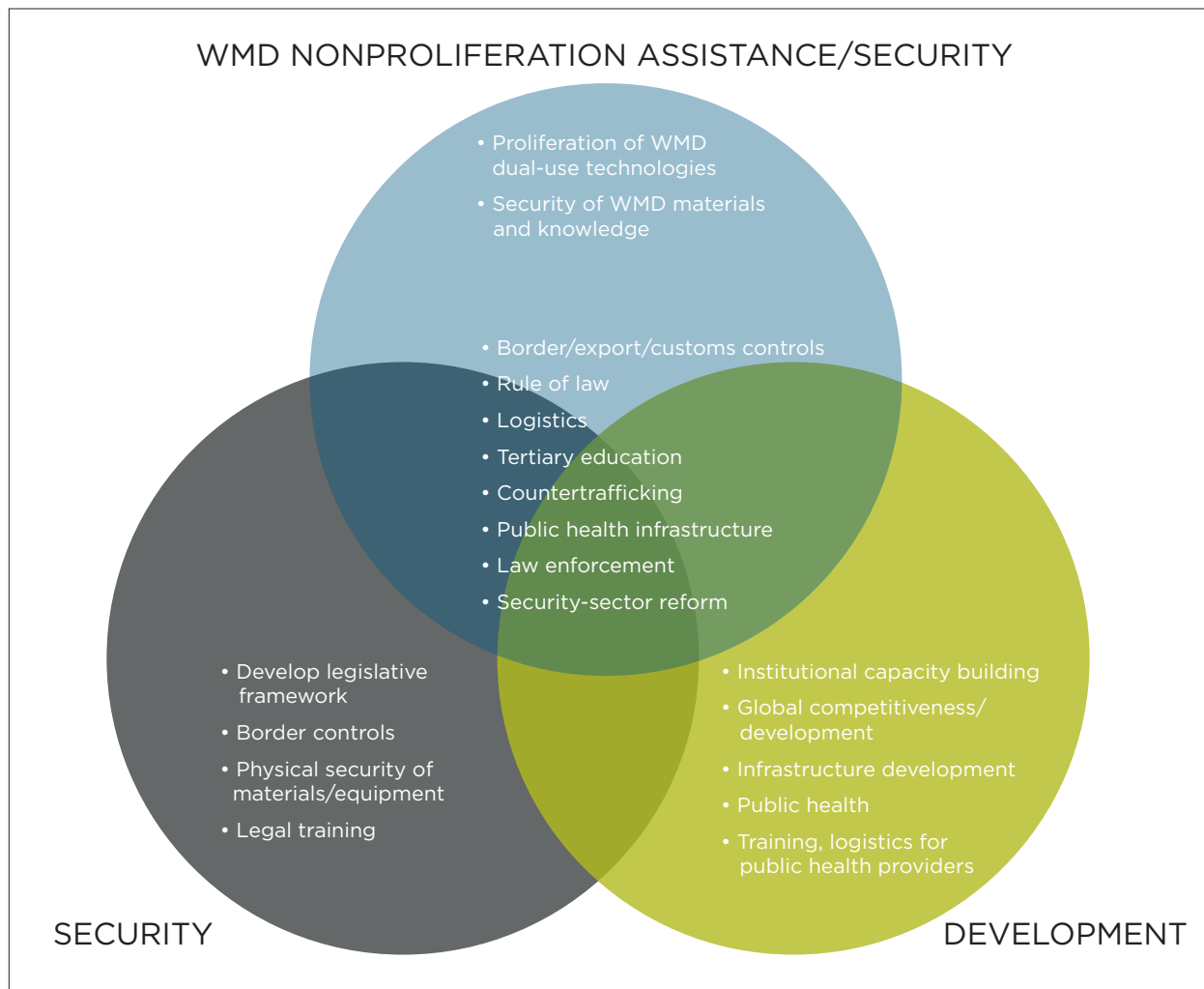
6. Organization of American States, "OAS Observatory on Citizen Security--Data Repository," entry on Homicide (Indicators-Details), in Observatory, Secretariat for Multidimensional Security, last modified 2014, accessed July 24, 2014, <http://www.oas.org/dsp/Observatorio/database/indicatorsdetails.aspx?lang=en&indicator=17>.

7. The World Bank, "Honduras Overview," last modified April 10, 2014, accessed July 24, 2014, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/honduras/overview>.

8. Mark Weisbrot, "Why Dilma Rousseff Could Win Brazil's Presidential Election," *The Guardian*, 2 October 2014.

9. Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Aanilo Marcondes de Souza Neto, "Rising Powers and The Security-Development Nexus: Brazil's Engagement with Guinea-Bissau," *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 9, no. 2 (September 2014): 3.

10. Interview with Joan Tabajara Jr., Minister and Deputy Director, ABC, Brazilian Cooperation Agency, May 29, 2014.



security program in 2011, it has not been applied in a comprehensive fashion, nor have the ministries with related portfolios cooperated on an interagency level.¹¹

Currently, transnational threats are managed not by the foreign ministry but by the justice and interior ministries. The lack of interagency coordination underscores an ad hoc approach to the management of borders, and, more important, a less-than-effective system for dealing with potentially dangerous threats that could arise from the transshipments of nuclear waste or fissile material in the future.¹²

Despite existing imperfections in its policy execution, evidence also suggests that Brazil has the potential to become an advocate for more effective proliferation prevention across emerging markets and the wider Global South. The dual-benefit model identifies pragmatic opportunities for Brazil to pool public and private sector resources to build capacity at the intersection of security and development, already a key feature of Brazil’s foreign policy.

11. Interview with Alcides Costa Vaz, professor, Institute for International Relations, University of Brasilia, May 29, 2014. Professor Vaz expressed concern about the importance of interagency cooperation in Brazil’s efforts to manage its borders. He noted that these types of projects to coordinate activities were just getting started.

12. Interviews at the Ministry of Justice with Alex Jorge das Neves, head of the Estrategia Nacional de Seguranca nas Fronteras (ENAFRON) program, and Alexandre Bastos Peixoto, coordinator of macro-regional programs, Ministry of National Integration, May 29, 2014, Brasilia.

Of course, Brazil is unlikely to fully inculcate a developed nuclear security culture, accede to the additional protocol of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), or transform itself into an overt advocate for proliferation prevention in the traditional Western-oriented mode. Rather, its approach to bridging international development and security priorities might be instructive for other governments who seek to promote nonproliferation or other seemingly distant priorities around the globe. Over time, Brazil can become a driving force across the Global South, encouraging governments to meet their international mandates under UN resolutions 1373 and 1540—but it will do so by revolutionizing how we approach poorer governments with priorities that rightly lie in more immediate objectives.¹³

Brazil's Border Strategy: Forward-Thinking, Room for Improvement

The global nonproliferation regime rests upon the presumption that national governments can and will successfully erect supply-side barriers to the cross-border flow of weapons and items of mass destruction. The ability to prevent this transboundary flow parallels, and is supported by, corresponding efforts to prevent the general flow of contraband in and out of a given country.

Brazil's ten-nation border, the “faixa de fronteira,” is a remarkable space that embraces large parts of the Amazon and areas of more populated regions in the south.¹⁴ After Russia and China, Brazil has the longest frontier, totaling more than 10,400 miles, or 27 percent of its national territory. Ten million people live along the border areas, including many of Brazil's protected indigenous groups, which are concentrated in the Amazonian region. The security dimensions of such a vast frontier are manifold. Transnational crime (including drug trafficking, arms trafficking, natural resource exploitation and illegal migration, as well as environmental challenges such as deforestation from land grabs for agriculture and illegal logging, the disruption of biodiversity, and managing the insurgency from Colombia) presents a complex set of issues that the Brazilian government is compelled to address.

In 2005 Brazil started a process of rethinking its borders, with a focus on integration, cooperation, articulation of specific issues and collaboration with its neighbors on shared security and development issues. It established the Ministry of National Integration, with its Secretariat for Regional Programs.¹⁵ In 2011, the main objectives of the border strategic plan were prevention, surveillance and prosecution of cross-border crimes. According to the new strategy unveiled by President Dilma Rousseff, a Development Program for the Frontier Strip was established along the border between Brazil and its 10 neighbors. This frontier strip is now considered a priority area for regional development instead of an area of national defense.

Under the revised policy the border has been divided into three zones—north, central and south. Each area has its own specific characteristics with challenges for security. For example, most drug traffic comes through the central zone, but more recently that zone has become a hub of illegal migration, especially from Peru and Ecuador. Arms, cigarette smuggling and other contraband come through the south, in the region close to Paraguay and the tri-border area. The north is also a zone of illicit arms transfers, and where armed insurgents frequently work across the border.

Such a large frontier also creates the difficulty of securing national territory when Brazil's armed forces alone are not able to cover all of the terrain. The integrated border monitoring system, known as SISFRON, is a

13. Brazilians are at an inflection point in terms of how they view their own role vis-à-vis northern powers, including the United States and Europe. A generational divide exists between many who look at the United States with suspicion and those who see both Brazil and the United States as part of a larger globalized and dynamic world. The generation that lived through the military dictatorship is more likely (with good reason) to be concerned about how Brazil works with its northern counterpart.

14. French Guiana is an overseas territory of France and is thus not recognized as a country.

15. Federal Government of Brazil, *Proposta de Restructuracao do Programa de de Desenvolvimento da Faixa de Fronteira*, Ministry of National Integration, Secretariat for Regional Programs, Development Program of the Border Strip, Brasilia, 2005.

network of radars managed by Brazil's Ministry of Defense that ultimately will create an electronic fence with Brazil's ten neighbors. (It is already operational in the southern arc, but full completion is not anticipated until 2015.) In the last few years the Brazilian army has been deployed to the northern frontier, with 35 brigades and 49 platoons currently operating along the border. SISFRON will help the Brazilian military detect smuggling, terrorism and drug trafficking activities by enabling coordination with all organizations and government agencies responsible for monitoring and surveillance of the land borders. Over the last 30 years, Brazil has also complemented its military presence with technical support, radars and other forms of observation to deal with homeland security.

Since 2011, the challenge for Brazil's military is that increased responsibility at the border has given the armed forces a traditional policing role. That year, the Brazilian government implemented military operations Ágata I, II and III, all of which combated organized crime in border areas (including illicit drugs, weapons, contraband and other activities). The three operations required more than 15,000 soldiers and spanned the borders with Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. Since 2011, operations Ágata IV, V, VI and VII have been put into place, the latter involving more than 30,000 members of the military and covering the entire border, with focus on the northern region.¹⁶ Although the military is reported to be performing well, this mission has not been well-received. Some Brazilians still harbor levels of distrust toward the military's performing policing functions anywhere in the country within 150 kilometers of the border.

Along Brazil's extensive border, 28 "twin cities" exist, creating a separate challenge. Mostly in the southern part of the country, these are places where two cities, one in Brazil and one in another country (Uruguay, Bolivia or Peru), operate independently from each other but within close proximity to the border.¹⁷ Both sides have separate police forces, and the necessary coordination of policies to address transnational crimes is difficult because in many cities no formal border agreements are in place. Nevertheless, there is an ongoing effort to rectify this situation, especially as Brazil seeks to support economic development and regional integration with its neighbors.

Experts on border policy note that Brazil's transition from a security-only approach to one that includes development has not been easy, and some have offered harsh analyses. The lack of interagency coordination makes implementation of projects very difficult, mainly because the National Integration Commission relies on the willingness of other ministries to engage in a country where a strong tradition of independent action characterizes the way ministries operate. Similarly, a border caucus, which operates in Brazil's congress, lacks strong influence in border management because its members represent states, not cities. Action only takes place at the mayoral level because those officials have the resources to implement meaningful actions in border zones.

The Ministry of National Integration and Commerce often attempts to address cross-border questions, but national legislation is sorely needed to create a strategy for better coordination. For example, the ministry asked for the creation of a regional border fund, but this has yet to be funded by congress. In the meantime, the asymmetric funds and capacities of Brazil (compared to some of its neighbors in border cities) create additional problems in terms of governing these regions, particularly regarding the management of transnational threats.

One of the economic priorities at the border is electricity. Investment in electricity is slowly starting to take hold as planning begins to manage the natural resources at the border. Hydroelectric power has great potential for expansion.

16. Robert Muggah and Gustavo Diniz, "Securing the Border: Brazil's 'South America First' Approach to Transnational Organized Crime," Igarapé Institute, October 2013.

17. Sergio Duarte de Castro, "Cross-border and Inter-regional Cooperation: New Actors and Institutions in Brazil," in a presentation, Secretary of Regional Development, Ministry of National Integration, 2011.

According to scholar Alcides Vaz, the border strategy yields the following seven lessons:

1. Integration must take place at the local level, not on a national platform.
2. There is no relationship between border policy and broader national development objectives.
3. There is no mandate to work the development side of the border, and thus initiatives are effectively done piecemeal rather than from a strategy that integrates security and development.
4. Given the lack of infrastructure, the private sector is ambiguous about what the borders mean in terms of investment. Some even believe that these areas are a constraint to investment.
5. There has been little effort to integrate the private sector into the policy dialogue—agribusiness, defense and energy sectors could all play a role, but have not as of this writing.
6. Great potential exists for triangular cooperation at the border, with international cooperation the missing link in developing the border space.
7. Civil society actors at the local level could be more involved in communities when it comes to discussions about the border. To some extent, the Justice Ministry, through ENAFRON, is working on this dimension of the problem.¹⁸

Multilateral forums such as the South American Defense Council, part of the Union of South America or UNASUR, have little interest in border security. In spite of the opportunity in the region to coordinate border management with regard to security and trade through international mechanisms, Brazil prefers to manage its border through country-by-country agreements. This tends to limit opportunities for a more strategic approach that would address the types of transnational issues that affect both Brazil and its neighbors. It does, however, give Brazil the ability to dominate the policy agenda given the asymmetries of its resources compared to its neighbors.

Brazil has an interest in managing drug trafficking given its rank as the second-largest cocaine-consuming nation in the world (the United States ranks first). The Brazilian government should also be interested in protecting its homeland from becoming a base for illicit transfers of arms. Building responsive capacity to address these challenges, both domestically in Brazil and internationally through targeted foreign assistance, will aid both the prevention of conventional counter-trafficking and better screening for contraband WMD items and the irregular movement of people (terrorists), along with building efficiencies at border crossings that facilitate the enhanced movement of legitimate goods and persons.

In sum, while Brazil may currently be an imperfect example of integrated counter-trafficking—much less coordinated nonproliferation—its internal efforts to better integrate development objectives with security policies is enviable, and worthy of further examination by governments across the Global North who seek to press a nonproliferation agenda onto developing states of the South.

Challenges and Potential Solutions to Border Management

The image of Brazil as a peaceful, nonaggressive neighbor will not be sufficient to prevent its porous frontier from being a zone where transnational actors operate. Nor can Brasilia effectively meet its security and development policy objectives without enhanced coordination with its neighbors and partners across the Global South. While progress continues to be made with Brazil's border-management strategy, inevitable challenges continue. Stimson identifies several major issues that must be addressed in order for Brazil to

18. Interview with Professor Alcides Vaz, University of Brasilia, May 29, 2014.

sharpen its domestic ability to bridge the divide between security and development in the protection and promotion of its own borders, while also exporting an innovative brand of assistance more widely across the Global South. If Brasilia can be successful in honing this toolkit internally, the prospects are virtually limitless for the international community to learn from and ultimately disseminate this approach to address grand global challenges, from terrorism to proliferation.

1. Lack of interagency coordination, in spite of a commission to address the problem.

Some ministries in Brazil—such as the Justice Ministry—are very strong and serve as model examples for Brazilian bureaucracy. But at times, a frustrating lack of interagency coordination allows many problems at the border to persist. The task of securing borders has been relegated to the armed forces, especially the army. Their strategy, known as *presencia*, is based on the reality that the military's remote border bases are the only presence of the Brazilian state in some areas. Brazil's foreign ministry, Itamaraty, is less engaged with border issues, leaving it to the military to perform both the security and development needs of the country's extensive frontier zones. New attention is needed if Brazil is to develop the appropriate infrastructure that will help integrate frontier cities into the rest of the country. In addition, better coordination is needed between the local and regional governments. Furthermore, coordination will also require effective civil-military relations to manage the borders going forward.

2. A visible disconnect between security and development with border management.

The dual-benefit model of security and development works as a guarantor of the greater integration of civilian and military needs. Brazil's approach to foreign assistance, using trilateral arrangements between public and private entities, is missing in the management of the country's own vast frontier. Some recent efforts to help pilot projects at the border have occurred through Brazil's development program, ABC; these programs are relatively new. Although Brazil's national development bank has invested in some infrastructure for roads and electricity, it has not been enough. Overall, the private sector has not yet been engaged in a systematic strategic plan to help develop the borderlands. The lack of development of zones, especially in more populated areas, also creates a vacuum for illicit activities to continue to flourish. Quite simply, more investment is needed.

3. A generational divide in the way Brazilians look at the risks of proliferation.

The generation that created the bilateral Brazilian Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Material (ABACC) Commission is much more resistant to changing things that are not working. Nonetheless, a younger group of academics and professionals believe that there is a need to be part of the multilateral arrangement that the additional protocols of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty require. An opportunity to manage the additional protocol issue may arise if the election changes the political dynamics in the nation, bringing new ideas and a generational shift to the political environment.¹⁹ Given the dangers of a more complex world where illicit activities remain the lifeblood of insurgencies, it is reasonable to think that Brazil is not immune from these types of threats, despite the national commitment to remain a peaceful, non-nuclear state.

4. Breadth and complexity of the maritime border.

Transnational threats continue to arise from Brazil's maritime border, the Blue Amazon. This area is still uncharted in terms of how the dual-benefit model can create a more cohesive approach to a vast and important area, given the mineral resources that are part of Brazil's continental shelf. The South Atlantic border will require a new ap-

19. Brazil's National Strategy of Defense states that Brazil will not sign up for an IAEA additional protocol until the nuclear states disarm. As Travis Stalcup points out, "If the US and Russia are unable or unwilling to disarm, Brazil feels no responsibility to take further steps to tie its hands by acceding to the Additional Protocol." Travis Stalcup, "What is Brazil Up to with its Nuclear Policy?," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (October 2012), <http://journal.georgetown.edu/what-is-brazil-up-to-with-its-nuclear-policy-by-travis-stalcup/>.

proach to security that will need to embrace international agreements such as UN Security Resolutions 1373 and 1540. Both resolutions provide potential areas of cooperation and resources in coming together with a strategy.

Effective Border Management in the Future

Brazil needs a change to not only help itself manage its borders more effectively, but to help assist the international community in reworking its own outmoded approaches to both security and development threats. Stimson identifies three specific areas where improvements can and should be made.

A. Public Health

The drug trade is a major problem for Brazil, and its borders remain a major trafficking route for illegal substances to travel along its rivers and within the Amazon jungle to users inside the state, and also as a transshipment point to Europe. Given Brazil's history as the world's second-largest consumer of cocaine, a public health approach to the border may be one important area where cooperation among its neighbors—and with international organizations—could be beneficial. This approach, in particular, would be best served through public-private partnerships that advance local economies (through more stable employment) while simultaneously combating substance trade and abuse with effective government programs and law enforcement initiatives.

The potential spread of infectious diseases is a concern, as so many African migrants transit to Brazil illegally from Peru, Ecuador and Central America. This potential makes regional and bilateral cooperation in public health more urgent to avert a greater crisis.

B. Cooperation to Address Illicit Arms Trafficking Along the Border

Arms trafficking through Brazil is well-known. Brazil receives large amounts of handguns and automatic weapons via cross-border transfers. Not only is this trade a source of funds for drug traffickers, but it also presents a major public health issue in terms of human costs. Urban violence through the use of illicit weapons is a major problem in virtually all cities of Brazil. Cooperation along the border with Brazilian government agencies, with neighboring states, and with the evolving international mechanisms that address illegal arms transfers would go a long way to help address this ongoing problem. What is needed is a determination of how best to coordinate a campaign that brings both public and private sectors together to address the importance of security as a public good.

C. Multilateral Cooperation for Twin Cities

Each of Brazil's 28 twin cities located along the border presents challenges to local authority in terms of how the rule of law in one country impacts the other. Because Brazil has far more resources than most of its border states, save for Colombia and Peru, these cities often create jurisdictional problems when it comes to addressing transnational threats that impact two countries. A multilateral approach would address some of these situations. Stimson recommends an international commission, with representatives from Brazil and the ten states along the Brazilian border, that could specifically focus on the way twin cities may form a common agenda to address transnational crimes. This is especially timely since the subregional forum, UNASUR, has yet to engage on border security issues.

Conclusion

Stimson has argued that an augmentation of the dual-benefit approach to domestic security and development objectives would benefit Brazil on a number of levels, including the Global North's main goal of proliferation prevention and counterterrorism. Moreover, we have maintained that a wider dialogue of the

dual-benefit approach—especially on the Brazilian border—would yield tangible lessons that could be wholly beneficial for facing other similar changes in the larger Global South.

Thus a dual-benefit model approach presents a crucial step for bringing the Brazilian government, neighboring states and the private sector together to consider the importance of working jointly to help reduce the risks of illicit activities at the border. This approach will benefit the government, private industry and civil society in the region. Specifically, the dual-benefit model will allow for strong local industry development and the economic growth that comes with it, along with a more stable, safe society for private citizens and the government it tasks with everyday protection. Reducing illicit activity and increasing economic growth will help cities and areas near the Brazilian border to flourish. Put simply, the dual-benefit model will continue to help Brazil thrive and move toward a brighter and more secure future if the government ensures that public safety and security are treated as public goods for all its citizens.

The Brazilian government has already proven itself as a key player in promoting the nexus between security and development. Nevertheless, much more must be done to fully capitalize on the benefits of this interplay—both for Brazil, and by extension for Brazil’s international partners abroad. Stimson believes that Brazil will maintain, and indeed push further, its status as a global leader for the dual-benefit model, proving the successes of the approach to its domestic sphere, neighbors and the wider Global South.

Appendix A

We would like to thank our partners at CEBRI, the Centro Brasileiro de Relacoes Internacionais, for their efforts to bring together an expert's group to help consider issues of Brazil's border as a model for the dual benefit model. Special thanks go out to Leonard Paz, Study and Debate Coordinator, for his efforts to organize our program in Brazil. On May 5, 2014 we convened a workshop that included representatives from academia, think tanks, and the Brazilian government. Below is a list of individuals who participated, and also additional persons who participated in the interviews we conducted during a field visit to Brazil in early May 2014.

1. Adriana Abedenur, BRICS Policy Center and the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
2. Anna-Karine Asselin, Minister Counsellor, Head of Political Section, Embassy of Canada to Brazil
3. Yvan Boilard, Colonel, Defense Attache, Embassy of Canada to Brazil Chagas
4. Daniel Edler, Fundacao Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro
5. Conor Foley, Attorney-Consultant, Brasilia
6. Shepard Forman, Center for International Cooperation, New York University
7. Monica Herz, BRICS Policy Center, Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
8. Brun Langeani, Sou da Paz, Rio de Janeiro
9. Robert Muggah, The Igarapé Institute, Rio de Janeiro
10. Alex Jorge das Neves, Director, ENAFRON Program, Ministry of Justice, National Secretariat of Public Security
11. Leonardo Paz, Centro Brasileiro de Relacoes Internacionais
12. Alexandre Basto Peixoto, Coordinator General, Macro-Regional Programs, National Integration Ministry
13. Pedro Pessoa, (ret.) Former Commander, Brazilian Peacekeeping Institute
14. Thiago Rodrigues, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Rio
15. Gregory Ryan, Konrad Adenauer Foundation
16. Benjamin Salgado, Police Attache, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Embassy of Canada to Brazil
17. Marcio Scalercio, International Relations Center, Catholic University, Rio
18. Thais Severo, National Committee for Refugees
19. Joao Tabajara Jr., Minister, Deputy Director, Brazil Cooperation Agency
20. Marcelo Valenca, University of the State of Rio de Janeiro
21. Alcides Costa Vaz, Professor, Institute for International Relations, University of Brasilia

Appendix B

List of individuals who participated in the Conference on the Dual-Benefit Security Model at Centro Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (CEBRI).

1. Adriana Abdenur, Professor, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
2. Gustavo Barreto, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
3. Carlos Chagas, Brazilian Navy
4. Daniel Edler, Fundação Getulio Vargas
5. Brian Finlay, Managing Director, the Stimson Center
6. Shepard Forman, Professor Emeritus, New York University
7. Kai Kenkel, Professor, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
8. Bruno Langeani, Coordinator, Sou da Paz
9. Ana Margheritis, Professor, University of Southampton
10. Johanna Mendelson Forman, Senior Advisor, the Stimson Center
11. Robert Muggah, Specialist, The Igarapé Institute
12. Leonardo Paz, Coordinator of Studies and Debate, CEBRI
13. Pedro Pêsoa, Exército
15. Thiago Rodrigues, Professor, Fluminense Federal University
16. Thaís Severo, Brazilian National Committee For Refugees
17. Marcelo Valença, State University of Rio de Janeiro

Appendix C

List of individuals interviewed in Washington, DC.

1. Benoni Bello, Political Counselor, Embassy of Brazil
2. Bruce Friedman, Director of Brazilian Affairs, Western Hemisphere Bureau, Department of State
3. Togzhan Kassenova, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
4. Filipe Nasser, Political Counselor, Embassy of Brazil
5. Ana Janaina Nelson, Southern Cone Regional Officer, Department of State
6. Joao Castro Neves, Eurasia Group
7. Tim Ridout, Wider Atlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund
8. Paulo Sotero, Director, Brazil Program, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars
9. Matthew Taylor, Associate Professor, School of International Service, American University
10. Harold Trinkunas, Director, Latin America Program, Brookings Institution

About Stimson

The Stimson Center is a nonprofit and nonpartisan think tank that finds pragmatic solutions to global security challenges. In 2014 Stimson celebrates 25 years of pragmatic research and policy analysis to:

- Reduce nuclear, environmental and other transnational threats to global, regional and national security.
- Enhance policymakers' and the public's understanding of the changing global security agenda.
- Engage civil society and industry in problem-solving to help fill gaps in existing governance structures.
- Strengthen institutions and processes for a more peaceful world.

Stimson is effective and innovative. It develops path-breaking approaches to non-conventional challenges such as water management, wildlife poaching and responses to humanitarian crises. At the same time, Stimson plays a key role in debates on nuclear proliferation, arms trafficking and defense policy. The MacArthur Foundation recognized Stimson in 2013 with its “institutional genius” Award for Creative and Effective Institutions. Stimson is funded by research contracts, grants from foundations and other donations. For more information, visit www.stimson.org.

About the Managing Across Boundaries Initiative

Transnational challenges—from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and illicit trafficking to terrorism, the spread of disease, counterfeit intellectual property and environmental crime—threaten geo-strategic stability, people, and socioeconomic development worldwide. The Managing Across Boundaries Initiative develops innovative government responses at the national, regional and international levels, and identifies pragmatic public-private partnerships to mitigate these threats. Unlike traditional assistance measures, the “dual-benefit” approach to security and development helps bridge the gap between “soft” security (development, human security) 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 <http://www.stimson.org/programs/managing-across-boundaries>.

Beyond Boundaries in Brazil: Innovating for Proliferation Prevention

Beyond Boundaries in Brazil: Innovating for Proliferation Prevention examines Brazil's role as a proponent of more holistic solutions for enduring security problems. Brazilians well know that domestic violence is linked to illicit trade and problems of porous borders. Their responses to security at home address the larger issues of nonproliferation, counterterrorism, and other problems on the international security agenda that require cooperation among states and societies.

The nexus between security and development is one that Brazil has highlighted on numerous occasions on the international stage. This report identifies and analyzes Brazil's current approach to border security. While forward-thinking, Brazilian policy makers could make tangible improvements by further augmenting its policy of security and development to its own borders. This report identifies the current challenges to Brazil's border management strategy, along with Stimson's proposed solutions to address the shortcomings and prevent proliferation.

