

SUDAN BORDER MANAGEMENT AND SECURITY

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Border Management and Security in Africa

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Summary

- Any discussion of border management must start with a definition of key concepts and an understanding of the nature of a country's boundaries, their length, the economic and anthropological characteristics, and how they are defined and marked. It must also be understood from the onset that border management is a joint undertaking of a gamut of governmental institutions, governments and border communities.
- This paper is divided into three parts. The first part will give an overview and analysis of border management, particularly security issues, the second part will focus on addressing African border insecurities, and the third part will be a discussion on enhancing border security through strategy design and building capacities of institutions and personnel.

The views expressed in this briefing are the personal views of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the African Union.

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Key Concepts:

a) Boundary: The term has no clearly defined meanings, and the subject has raised considerable heated debate amongst surveyors. However, it is generally understood as a line that marks the confines or divides two contiguous territories. It defines the physical limits of a state's territorial and physical jurisdiction. Boundary systems may be classified as fixed or general. A fixed boundary is one that has been accurately surveyed such that if one position or beacon is lost, it can be replaced in the same position by accurate survey measurements. A general boundary is one where the precise line of the legal boundary between adjoining land portions is left undetermined.

Hence, an international boundary is mutually agreed upon by two respective countries sharing a common border. A common border is, therefore, jointly owned by the two countries involved. The creation of an international boundary is a process known as delimitation. This is a mutual and consensual process, where the two parties chose to agree on what should constitute a border between them. The agreement will normally translate into codification of a boundary treaty. The boundary treaty is enhanced by determining the survey marks on the ground that will translate the narrative description of the border into a treaty with annexure of border maps

showing the physical ground markings in relation to the surrounding features. A boundary can be marked by natural features or by beacons. The physical boundary markings are used to control persons and goods entering the territory of one state from another.

b) Border: this term, used interchangeably with boundary, is a region or area straddling a boundary or the area adjacent to a boundary. This area may or may not be located exactly on the boundary. In fact some borders such as airports are located hundreds of kilometers away from the boundaries. Borders define a country's sovereignty by determining its territory, and where its administration and jurisdiction ends. All nation-states have boundaries that put people under one entity, define their lifestyles, national culture including language, destiny, privileges (e.g., right to vote, enjoy welfare benefits and certain rights denied non-citizens), etc.

c) Borderland: is a zone adjacent to a boundary in which the lives of the inhabitants are influenced by interactions with their neighbors on the other side of the boundary.

d) Frontier: although is an historical term for boundary, has the same meaning as border and borderland, that is, a zone of an area on either side of a boundary.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston in 1907 called frontiers “the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations.”

e) *Border management*: commonly defined as the government functions of immigration, customs and excise, and policing, with the aim of controlling and regulating the flow of people and goods across a country’s border/boundary in the national interest (particularly security and peace). Border management also includes maintenance of boundary beacons that mark the physical limits of the country’s territory.

An Overview of African Borders

Africa has 109 international boundaries that are approximately 28,000 miles. Of these boundaries, less than ‘25%’ are demarcated. African boundaries are characterised by a high level of porosity/permeability and poor or lack of management. For instance,

- African international boundaries are ‘protected’ by about 350 official road crossing points, or one for every 80 miles of boundary (most control posts are 16-20 kilometers away from the border)
- There are some land boundaries in Africa that are not crossed by road, rail or waterway (e.g., CAR-Congo, Tanzania-DRC)
- 109 international boundaries divide 177 cultural or ethnic groups (Asiwaju)

This high level of porosity has made African borders easily penetrable by smugglers of people, drugs, weapons and contrabands. Furthermore, revenues generated on borders have been used to fund criminal activities and fuelled severe social problems such as prostitution and prevalence of HIV/AIDS and STDs at border crossing points. Organized crime syndicates have also smuggled cars, cigarettes and livestock borders, as have poachers of wild animals.

Borders are also rebel groups’ best friends. Rebel groups such the Lords’ Resistance Army (LRA) has skillfully used porous and unmanaged borders of Uganda, Sudan, the DRC and the CAR to evade military actions for the past 20 years. Insecure borders have greatly contributed to severe security threats such as insurrection, incursion and terrorist activity.

Border security:

Border security is a factor of border management. International borders are a security issue for all governments. States are recognized under international law by their capability to maintain their boundaries, secure their territories, and protect their citizens. The ability to secure national borders is one of the criteria used to classify states as strong, weak and failed. A state has a primary responsibility of protecting its citizens from both internal and external threats to their livelihoods. It must be pointed out that the strategic location of a

country determines opportunities for illegal activities that exists or can take place in its border areas. Other countries are more threatened by insecurities or mismanagement of other countries’ borders than their own. Hence, the importance of securing their own as well other countries’ borders in the way the US and European governments have done to African countries.

Border Security means different things: border control, border management, border monitoring, border protection, etc. Usually, border security has been used to mean border control, which seeks “to limit the movement of people, animals, plants, and goods in and out of a country.” Border control is divided into two main categories: borderline control (activities for land, sea and air), and ports of entry control (harbors, border posts and airports).

The purposes of border control are to:

- Impose conditions under which people legally cross borders with documentations such as passport or visa.
- Ensure that animals and plants do not transmit diseases.
- Ensure that goods moved across a border have been paid for (excise tax, levies).
- Eliminate illegal activities (black market smuggling operations) at the borders.

But generally border security entails the following:

- Geophysical control of a boundary through patrol by the military or special border protection force.
- Immigration by internally enforcing laws.
- Migration by controlling the transnational movement of people. Enhancing enforcement of the immigration and migration laws by asking questions that assist in screening people using the border.
- Enhancing inspections through searches to ensure that harmful products or individuals do not enter into a country.
- Enhancing management of institutions and systems that contribute to border security.
- Detecting and preventing criminals, and illegal persons, goods, drugs, and weapons from entering a country. Detecting and preventing criminals, and illegal persons, goods, drugs, and weapons from entering a country.

Border security is about asserting “territorial sovereignty by enforcing the boundary” and by protecting “it through permanent surveillance.... Border enforcement and surveillance include also the systems that allow the state to trace the movement and use of goods and data and especially the actions of people once they are in the national territory¹.”

The management and security of African borders appears to be influenced by a number of trends taking place in Europe and America. The first trend is the increasing “criminalization” of migrants through tightening border controls to keep out criminals and terrorists. In Europe as well, the “fight” against illegal immigration is put on the same level as the fight against organized crime and the fight against terrorism².”

The second trend is the “securitization” or fortifying borders and tightening of controls; which in turn have led to increased spending on border security. For instance, “in the United States, border security funding has more than doubled between 2001 and 2006 from \$4.6 billion to \$10.4 billion. Border security has entailed hiring more Border Patrol officers, putting National Guard on the border, constructing a fence, and installing ground sensors, stadium lights, unmanned aerial drones, and new, 90-foot radar towers produced by Boeing that record images and relay these to Border Patrol³.”

The third trend is the externalization of immigration policies: “the shifting of responsibility for aspects of border control and management of migration to third countries. Some have also talked about a “thickening” or “buffering” of the border⁴.” For instance, “Europe has increasingly pressed countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya to play the role of “policeman” in trying to curb migration coming from sub-Saharan Africa. Spain has had an agreement with Morocco to admit returned third-country nationals who have transited through Morocco to get to Spain. Spain has also sought out “readmission agreements” with a growing number of African countries, as migrants have increasingly come from farther away. These agreements often involve granting sums of money to induce foreign governments both to take back their nationals and to admit migrants from third countries who are apprehended trying to enter Spain. Spain has also enlisted African countries in policing their own coasts and smugglers’ jumping-off points to keep migrants from reaching Spanish shores or waters. Many African countries cooperate reluctantly, in exchange for financial assistance, military equipment, and sometimes, a limited number of temporary work permits for their nationals⁵.”

Border insecurity issues in Africa:

Border security and the management of borders in ways that promotes national security has generally been given low priority in Africa compared to security

provided for political elites and their assets in the national capitals and other urban areas far-flung from the borders. While national security strategies of some countries mention the importance of secure and peaceful borders, few have border security strategies. The negligence of border security and poor, or lack of, management African borders has largely contributed to a prevalence of threats such as cross-border crimes; African border security issues are distinctive, when compared to the other regions of the world, as pointed out below.

The management of African boundaries/borders is a factor of the nature of African states and how they are governed. For instance, the prevalence of weak or lack government institutions is most pronounced at the border, many of which do not have institutions that have been set up to manage borders.

Another key factor influencing border management in Africa is the lack of integration at different levels: local, governmental and regional. At the local level, most border management efforts do not incorporate or include border communities. Some deployments of security personnel have most often been carried out without including local interests or partnering with locals despite their intimate knowledge of the border terrain. At government level, there is usually little or no integration between different departments such as immigration, customs, police and intelligence. It is a major security failure when personnel, such as police, military and intelligence do not coordinate with each other at the border. At regional level, most governments to do work closely to enhance border security by sharing of intelligence information, undertaking joint border patrols, etc. Effective border security measures require close cooperation among all these levels.

Border insecurity is also a factor of lack of demarcation of African boundaries. Managing African borders is a daunting task. If it requires patrolling them, it usually leads to violation of neighbours’ territories, as one cannot patrol what doesn’t exist. Hence, in the words of Helmoed-Römer Heitman, “one cannot control what one does not patrol⁶.” African maritime borders are even much more insecure due to the lack of resources to patrol them. At the moment, very few maritime boundaries have been marked. This has contributed to the menace of piracy in the Horn of Africa and Gulf of Guinea regions. Besides piracy, African states are threatened from the sea by illegal fishing, dumping of hazardous and toxic wastes, and smuggling.

²See Maria Lorena Cook, “Unauthorized Migration and Border\Control”: Three Regional Views,” ILR Collection Conference Proceedings, Presentations, and Speeches, Cornell University ILR School, March 2008, p. 10. Weblink: <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/conference/5>.

³Ibid, p.17.

⁴Ibid, p. 18

⁵ Ibid, p.19.

⁶See DefenceWeb, “African borders poorly policed. Accessed on 17 March 2010.

A point of departure in understanding Africa's border management agenda is that in the continent, most governments do not know where state borders are, their nature/characteristics, and what is moving across them. Because of this fact, these borders are not monitored, patrolled or controlled. Consequently, these borders have become hubs for smuggling and other illegal cross-border activities. In other words, most, if not all, African borders are transnational crime zones.

- Human smuggling (assisting for clients a fee to cross borders) and trafficking (facilitating crossing of borders and employment, usually exploitative, in foreign lands). Humans are trafficked in Africa by air, sea and land transportation. Victims of human trafficking put their lives at risk to look for better life opportunities in promised lands by using criminal syndicates. War, poverty and flawed or nonexistent birth registration systems are the main factors that contribute to African women and children to be trafficked and forced into prostitution or labor⁷. The most vulnerable are the women and children in refugee camps and those orphaned by HIV/AIDS⁸. 89% of human trafficking is intra-African.
- Criminal syndicates using ships, aircrafts and land transport, particularly in regional conflict clusters of Horn, GLR, and Mano River, also smuggle arms across borders with ease. Some of the arms smuggling is linked to conflict resources such as diamonds that are used to purchase them. The GLR conflicts have particularly been fuelled by natural resources that have drawn in even national armies of Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe and sustained a motley of rebel groups, some of them acting as proxies of these countries.
- Arms smuggling in West Africa has been identified as a major contributor of regional instability. A Small Arms Survey report points out that "countries with more porous borders tend to have lower weapons prices. This is especially the case in Africa, where porous borders allow the supply of weapons to meet demand more readily⁹." However, Amado Philip de Andrés has noted that "cross-border crimes are mostly symptomatic rather than causes of instability" in regions¹⁰.
- Auto theft—in South Africa, more than 100 vehicles, mainly Land Cruisers, four wheel drives, Mercedes-Benz, and BMWs are stolen and smuggled across its borders with Mozambique¹¹. This is done with the assistance of border communities who "hide the vehicles and provide information on local law enforcement patrols" for a fee of between \$150-200.
- Terrorist activities, particularly in the Horn of Africa and the Sahel region have been crossing porous and poorly secured borders with ease while armed with weapons, ingredients for making bombs and radical ideas. Sources of transnational terrorism in Kenya and Uganda have been traced to stateless Somalia.
- Mercenaries have become major players in African civil wars such as those fought in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, the DRC and Somalia. Some mercenaries have fought in most of these civil wars after easily crossing from one Conflict Theater to the other.
- Drug trafficking—Africa has become a major transshipment route of drugs that are carefully disguised to avoid the origins and inspection. Due to low technology to detect harmful substances and goods such as drugs and weapons. In some cases where the border control personnel have been able to seize contrabands, connivance of drug barons with high-ranking government officials has frustrated these efforts. Narcotic such as cocaine smuggling from South America through West Africa to Europe has easily flowed across African boundaries¹².
- There are millions of landmines and UXO contaminating African battle spaces and border areas. They were used as a means of protecting of borders from infiltration by enemies in conflicts or to deter illegal entry by undocumented immigrants. A 2004 UN report pointed out that Sub-Saharan Africa is the Most Heavily Mined Region in the World. The most landmine contaminated African countries are Angola, Chad, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan.
- Population movements across borders caused by armed conflicts have far-reaching security and legal implications. While refugees fleeing armed conflicts have rights and protections guaranteed by international humanitarian laws, among their ranks are armed combatants who could security threats to civilian refugees and the local populations near their camps. There have also been cases where combatants have used refugees as shields and camps to stage cross-border attacks or to regroup for invasion of their countries.

⁷Jonathan Fowler, "UNICEF: Human Trafficking in Africa Fueled by War, Economic Hardship, and Lack of Birth Registration," *Associated Press*, 23 April 2004.

⁸United Nations Children's Fund, *Africa's Orphaned Generations* (New York: UNICEF, 2003).

⁹Small Arms Survey 2007, "What Price the Kalashnikov: The Economics of Small Arms."

¹⁰Amado Philip de Andrés, "West Africa under attack: drugs, organized crime and terrorism as the new threats to global security," UNISCI Discussion Papers, N° 16 (Enero / January 2008).

¹¹See APA, "Up to 100 cars smuggled to Mozambique monthly: Parliament," http://www.apanews.net/apa.php?page=show_article_eng&id_article=123317

¹²See UNODC report.

- Illegal border crossings and illegal/undocumented immigrations are experienced in some African countries and in transit to Europe. It costs between 2-4,000 Euros to be smuggled across Africa to Southern Europe.
- Border security is largely focused on ports of entry and not the border line.
- A state inability to secure its borders creates a security vacuum that attracts entrepreneurs of violence, and inevitably border insecurities. Criminal syndicates also take advantage of weak state capacities to control/manage its borders to transact illegal activities.
- Illicit drug trafficking is carried out using cargo containers and offshore drops. Most African countries do not have the capabilities to board and interdict at sea, and inspect their harbors for illegal and dangerous goods.
- Cattle rustling in Horn of Africa region have become a regional security issue due to their transboundary aspects.
- Minerals exploited in Eastern DRC are smuggled across borders with Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, and their proceeds are used to fuel armed conflicts.
- Smuggling of contrabands (untaxed cigarettes and alcohol) is a common occurrence over most borders. Smuggling of undocumented aliens and contraband goods is usually done with the connivance of border personnel (customs & immigration).
- Although armed conflicts over borders have been few, most the violent conflicts have taken place in borderlands. According to Daniel S. Carik, **“unsecured borders allow for the free movement of ... militants and criminal actors who spread violence and insecurity from state to state. Militant groups regularly cross the border with impunity, attacking civilian populations on both sides¹³.”**
- If border communities are uncooperative and **highly secretive, they would “rarely inform government officials on suspicious individuals¹⁴.”**
- Lack of transport and roads along borders to enable patrols.
- Poorly controlled and managed border points due to absence of offices.
- Unclearly demarcated borders, as pointed out above, more than 75% of African boundaries are poorly marked or unmarked.
- **Illegal border crossing points, usually called “mice or rat routes” are used by smugglers who charge a fee ranging from \$15-100 depending on the difficulty of terrain and presence of border security personnel.**
- **Porosity of borders: “The porosity of the land borders is perceived by some as a danger and vulnerability, but for the borderland communities it is an essential part of their very mode of transnational existence, of their social and economic life and of the cultural uniqueness that conform their identity and livelihoods. An indiscriminate attempt at closing up that porosity becomes a threat to the borderland form of life¹⁵.” Daniel Hernández Joseph adds that “the dynamism produced by these borderland communities expands the challenges and demands of border management beyond the traditional issues of law enforcement and surveillance (border maintenance) and into the whole greater agenda of public administration: health, education, infrastructure, social and economic development, culture, arts, and most notably trade and transnational modes of production.”**
- Presence of cross-border communities that are difficult to administer and often uncooperative in managing borders. Some borders, particularly in Eastern African, have become almost unmanageable due to the lifestyles (gun culture) of pastoralist border communities.
- Lack of non-functioning border commissions.
- High-level corruption, on 26 January 2010, Sierra Leonean President Ernest Koroma accused immigration officials of selling passports to foreigners and police of fleecing passengers at checkpoints¹⁶. According to Koroma, **“a Sierra Leonean passport can be bought by any African for \$250 to \$500.”**

Sources of African Border Insecurity

- Inadequate personnel
- Inadequate skills
- Poor motivation among border personnel
- Lack of facilities and equipment
- Lack of office spaces & accommodation for border patrol & control personnel (dilapidated houses with collapsing walls and leaking roofs).
- Poor and inadequate communication channels—most of the border management personnel do not have the basic communication means such as radios or even mobile phones.

What is Africa's border management agenda?

- Secure flow of goods and people in the spirit of regional and continental integration.
- Develop infrastructure in borderlands to demarginalise and enhance patrols of the borders.
- Share intelligence on individual activities that might cross borders.
- Manage and maintain borders in ways that do not obstruct trade and the legal movement of people across the boundaries

¹³Daniel S. Carik, “Porous Borders and the Insecurity of Civilians: Cross-border Violence in Darfur and Eastern Chad,” *Policy Brief*, Ford Institute for Human Security, GSPIA, University of Pittsburgh, winter 2009.

¹⁴Sammy Cheboi, “Illegal migration thriving at far-flung border with Somalia,” *Daily Nation*, October 29 2009.

¹⁵Daniel Hernández Joseph, “North America: Managing our Borders and the Perimeter,” presentation made at the American University, Washington, D.C., April 11, 2007.

¹⁶See “Sierra Leone leader lambasts 'corrupt' ministers,” <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8483840.stm>

- Harmonize border management systems, e.g. visa policies. However, countries such as RSA are experimenting with a security perimeter. But this can lead to unfriendly perception by neighbours in region. It also leads to a question: what impact do “fortress states” have on regional integration that is based on free movement of people and goods?
- Minimize border tensions and end long-standing border disputes.
- Increase joint enforcement and surveillance efforts.
- Decrease organized crime activities by drug traffickers in borderlands.
- Generate common understanding of border insecurities (should countries enforce stringent control measures, and erect maximum enforcement and surveillance measures on their borders or seek regional security perimeters? Or would countries prefer concentric security perimeters?)
- Manage borders without turning them into barriers or sources of mutual distrust and tensions between neighbours.
- Create appropriate mechanism for the monitoring movements and illegal activities across the borders.
- Adopt regional and international approaches due to regionalization and internationalization of crimes (by tracking and disrupting criminal activities and movements before they spread out or relocate across borders. Identify sources of regional and international criminal activities, define strategies for addressing them and undertake decisive measures.)

Border Security Measures

- Aims:
 - * Secure territorial sovereignty/integrity
 - * Prevent illegal entries/exiting of people & goods
 - * Keep away criminals (drug/human traffickers, terrorists, etc)
 - * Ensure national security by keeping out arms
 - * Keep out enemies of the state/nation
- Keys to effective border control:
 - * Knowledge of international boundaries
 - * Local community involvement
 - * Capabilities (resources-human, financial, physical)

Operationally, the following activities can be undertaken to enhance border security:

- a. Coordinated Patrols and Joint Patrols with neighboring countries, in frame of bilateral or tri-lateral cooperation. Some countries such as Uganda, South Africa and Rwanda have deployed military personnel to patrol their borders while others such Kenya prefer to deploy police units. Those that use the military assume that the military is less prone to being bribed than the police.

- b. The establishment of Joint Border Posts (JBPs)/ Border Liaison Offices (BLOs) to increase cross-border communication and sharing of crucial intelligence information. This would build trust and dialogue between the opposing border control agencies and increase the spontaneous information exchange about the movement of goods, suspects and vehicles across common borders. The EU in February 2011 offered to construct JBPs at Seme (Nigeria/Benin), Noepe (Ghana/Togo) and Malanville (Benin/Niger) borders at a cost of 37 million Euros.
- c. The installment of surveillance equipment in border regions. Such equipment as usually expensive to procure and maintain. It should also be noted that peddling of border security gadgets have become a growth industry worth billions of dollars.
- d. The deployment of Mobile Interdiction Teams (MOBITs) to guard long, porous borders that are often crossed with ease.
- e. The creation of an intelligence-led border control capacity that aims at cross-border crime control. This approach will focus on the identification, analysis, management and sharing of cross-border criminal activities.

Strategically and politically, the following measures can be undertaken by states to secure their borders:

1. Clear demarcation of all borders.
2. Establishment of border management agencies.
3. Cross-border cooperation through economic activities and security management.
4. Incorporation of local communities in managing and securing borders.
5. Use of border security management strategies incorporating concepts such as IBM.

Border management & border maintenance

Overall strategic plan relating to border security/management that aims at, among other things, enhancing inter/intra-departmental/agencies cooperation.

- Border security threat assessment/analysis focusing on matters such as trafficking trends, patterns, **tactics, routes and traffickers’ methods**. This assessment should also include needs for equipment and skills.
- Understanding border characteristics and their impacts on management.
- Involvement of local communities in securing and maintaining borders.
- Implementing the smart border agreements that enhance international cooperation in border management.
- Balancing development and national security priorities.

- Creation of bilateral institutional framework that allows joint border management.
- Movement from simple border maintenance through enforcement and surveillance to comprehensive border management that involves borderlands communities and enhances integration.
- Building borders and borderlands management institutions.
- Controlling and regulating cross-border activities as a way of ensuring peace and stability, and enhancing regional and continental integration.
- Specialized operational support structure for border crime intelligence.
- Improve land and sea surveillance by acquiring equipment to detect low flying aircraft used to smuggle goods between countries, helicopters, horses or ATV to patrol high seas and areas inaccessible.
- Develop radio networks to improve communication between border management/security personnel.
- Provision of radios, cello phones and uniforms to border security personnel.
- Creation and maintenance automated data bases and information systems (both national, regional & international) on cross-border crimes, illegal movements and crime syndicates.
- Setup border criminal investigation units and equip border security personnel with criminal investigation techniques.
- Enable border patrols to operate throughout country.
- Militarize or actively patrol border crime hotspots.
- Specialized and continuous training on border management personnel; through advanced courses on diverse law enforcement topics such as informant handling, suspect profiling techniques and drug and precursor identification and testing.
- Develop and adopt border management legislations and align them to regional standards.
- Standardize, realign and harmonize border management techniques to meet regional border standards/guidelines.

Concluding Remarks

In view of the fact that border insecurity is to some extent a factor of lack of strategies and of weak state institutions it follows that the first steps to confront it is through adoption of national border management strategies and building state capacities in border security.

Although African boundaries are difficult for traded goods to cross and easy for cross-border crimes, they can be transformed into secure areas where people earn decent living, states are not denied revenues, and nations peacefully coexist. Currently, African borders freely allow arms and criminals to across them. Poor or lack of management of these borders mainly causes this insecurity. In order to enhance African border security, a number of far-reaching measures must be undertaken. These include adequately training border personnel with relevant skills, and motivating them to professionally perform their duties by paying them well. Additionally, they must be provided with proper facilities (offices) and equipment, transport to patrol borders, adequate communication channels, and proper accommodation. Other measures that states need to take are building border posts and surveillance posts, setup functioning border commissions, and clearly demarcating their borders. Most critically, concerted efforts must be made to enhance the capacities of cross-border communities in border monitoring, administration & management.

¹⁸See Daniel Hernández Joseph, "North America: Managing our Borders and the Perimeter," presentation made at the American University, Washington, D.C., April 11, 2007.

¹⁹Amado Philip de Andrés, "West Africa under attack: drugs, organized crime and terrorism as the new threats to global security," UNISCI Discussion Papers, N° 16 (Enero/January 2008).