



**Beyond Boundaries  
in Eastern Africa:  
Bridging the Security/  
Development Divide  
With International  
Security Assistance**

By Brian Finlay, Johan Bergenas,  
and Veronica Tessler



The  
Stanley  
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# Beyond Boundaries in Eastern Africa: Bridging the Security/Development Divide With International Security Assistance

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and the Stanley Foundation

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## Preface

For too long, the continent of Africa has been cast as an arena of unending conflict. Although many of the hostilities that plague the region are remnants of, and attributable to, the colonial and Cold War eras, an unacceptably high percentage have been of our own making and should have been prevented. Even the most cursory review of the impact these conflicts have had on the continent and the welfare of its people paints a disquieting picture. When conflict erupts, its potential to turn deadly has grown over time owing to the millions of small arms that are in circulation across Africa, a disproportionate number of which are in private hands. Anyone who witnesses firsthand the devastating consequences of this arms proliferation will undoubtedly conclude that they are the true weapons of mass destruction.

Beyond the immediate and senseless loss of human life, each year governments across the continent also suffer billions of dollars in real losses as a result of violent conflict. One recent study revealed that on average, civil wars alone in Africa have resulted in a net loss of up to 2 percent in the rate of economic growth, and at least a 15 percent reduction in national GDPs. Another study found that Africa loses an estimated \$18 billion per year as a result of civil wars, insurgencies, and other forms of violent conflict combined. In addition to these astonishing opportunity costs, armed conflict has also led to the diversion of funds toward the procurement of the instruments of war and away from the provision of critical social amenities like public health, education, and economic development.

When viewed with the benefit of hindsight, each of these violent conflicts has one common denominator: the widespread and lethal use of small arms and light weapons introduced into underprivileged, and often desperate, populations. A combustible fusion of poverty, ill-health, anger, and despair often plague these communities due to the desperately low standards of living. This is only exacerbated by the availability of weapons and the provocations by terrorist organizations. Once unleashed, armed conflicts in turn reinforce the very conditions that led to their instigation. The vicious circle that these interconnected threats create not only endangers individuals on the African continent but, in an era of globalization, it ultimately challenges the wider planet.

Committed Africans have worked hard to identify workable solutions to address the triple threat posed by the proliferation of, and trafficking in, illicit small arms and light weapons, poor public health, and terrorism. And many governments across the continent have worked closely with international organizations, with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and with others to identify pragmatic steps to mitigate these threats. But we are unlikely to resolve them unless and until we also pay serious attention to what fuels the demand for violence: internal political turmoil, poverty, and a lack of functioning government structures to name but a few. Moreover, because these social and structural challenges are self-reinforcing, they not only hamper governments' efforts to manage them but serve to foment a wide array of national, regional, continental, and international threats that plague humanity, from terrorism to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

For instance, the recent visibility rightly afforded the spectrum of infectious diseases ravaging Africa today has meant that public health issues now feature prominently among the growing nontraditional threats to African security. A healthy nation is a prosperous nation. Thus, public health has become a central pillar of the Millennium Development agenda for all developing countries—not least of all the governments of East Africa. Regrettably, however, the achievement of the laudable Millennium Development Goals (MDG) targets have thus far eluded many governments across the

subregion and, indeed, across the continent. An unacceptably large proportion of Africans still succumb to preventable diseases. Of course, some African governments allocate far more resources in the procurement of weapons than on the promotion of public health. Both a lack of stable and sizable assistance from abroad and the inappropriate allocation of resources from within are situations that are within our competence as Africans and as an international community to change.

Because of the tragic events in New York, Madrid, Bali, London, and elsewhere, terrorism is now regarded as an international concern, warranting the sustained attention of the world community. Yet for Africans, as for much of the world, terrorism was not born on September 11, 2001. The August 7, 1998 Al Qaeda bombings on the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam killed over 200 Kenyan and Tanzanian fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, in addition to the twelve Americans who lost their lives that day. Amid the international rebuke and new programmatic initiatives that prominent acts of international terrorism rightly engender, we cannot lose sight of the human consequences these incidents both leave behind and, at least in part, are attributable to. Bold new initiatives negotiated at the United Nations, while essential, should not overlook the day-to-day conditions on the ground in poverty-stricken regions, whose existence serve as hotbeds for despair at best, and at worst, as venues for terrorist recruitment. Ten years after September 11, 2001, aligning the threat perceptions domestically and regionally in East Africa with concerns and resources available globally remains an elusive goal.

From addressing the scourge of disease, to mitigating the gruesome consequences of the unchecked trafficking of small arms, from the promotion of sound measures for economic growth, to combating violent acts of terrorism, more often than not, Africans possess an indigenous road map for progress. For instance, countries of the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa are proud hosts of the Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA), an intergovernmental agency tasked with the coordination of subregional efforts to prevent, control, and reduce illicit proliferation of, and trafficking in, small arms and light weapons in the subregion. Working closely with the World Health Organization (WHO), governments across the region are striving to implement collaborative disease-surveillance-and-response capacities that meet global standards. And through an innovative public/private partnership, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)—consisting of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda—has launched a Capacity Building Programme against Terrorism (ICPAT) aimed at building national capacity to resist terrorism and promote regional security cooperation. Each of these efforts goes far to not only prevent the unchecked movement and use of small arms, build responsive public health capacity, enhance judicial capacity and border control, and provide joint training and the sharing of information and best practices to combat terrorism, but also to contribute in significant ways to the wider global objectives—including global counterterrorism and the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. By leveraging existing institutions, programs, and activities, and by appealing to the core priorities of recipient partner governments, the international counterterrorism and nonproliferation donor community, organized under the international mandates provided by UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004), has the opportunity to help make mutual advances across a broad spectrum of local, regional, and international goals.

This study, and the initial workshop that informed it, focuses on an array of development and capacity-building needs related to public health, small arms and light weapons, and terrorism. Its intent is to reconcile the immediate on-the-ground needs of Africans with the implementation of UNSCR 1373(counterterrorism) and 1540 (nonproliferation), and the international security assistance that is available under these respective mechanisms. In my humble opinion, Africa is at times ill-prepared to take advantage of innovative opportunities for needed assistance, such as the one

outlined in this study, simply because of lack of capacity. For each of the issues described in this report, from the softest development challenge to the hardest security threat, building that capacity will be central to continued progress in East Africa and beyond. While not a panacea for the challenges of the continent, the model presented herein is one thought-provoking and innovative approach to leveraging assistance and diverse interests in mutual support.

This report must be a beginning, not an end, of engagement in East Africa. 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.

The Stimson Center and the Stanley Foundation deserve our warm and hearty congratulations for helping to identify an innovative new approach to implementation of these international measures. It is now incumbent upon all of us—development and security assistance donors; recipient partner governments; countertrafficking, counterterrorism, and public health specialists; the private sector; regional and subregional organizations across Africa; the United Nations; and all others whose goals can be better leveraged to consider the pragmatic application of the model of engagement described in the following pages—to translate the findings of this study into genuine, tangible activities that will improve the lives of all Africans.

Ambassador Ochieng Adala  
Acting Executive Director  
Africa Peace Forum

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In 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Helsinki offered a seed grant to bring together national governments, regional and subregional organizations, and nongovernmental experts in an innovative effort called The Beyond Boundaries Initiative (formerly known as the Next 100 Project). Our goal was to more effectively and sustainably promote implementation of UN 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, by breaking down the artificial barriers between the “security” and “development” communities, whose goals are often similar but whose methods rarely intersect. Over time, that initiative grew into a successful, multifaceted outreach effort stretching from the Caribbean Basin and Central America to the Middle East and Eastern Africa.

Five years later, the informal consortium of interests born of that effort has helped breathe new life into not only global nonproliferation efforts but an array of citizen-security and economic-development objectives in key strategic regions around the world. In so doing, we believe that we and our partners have helped to initiate a pragmatic series of regional initiatives that promises to advance the cause of sustainable nonproliferation and counterterrorism in corners of the globe that are increasingly viewed as potential links in the proliferation supply chain.

In this report, focused on Eastern Africa, we have expanded our traditional focus on nonproliferation to include wider counterterrorism objectives as encapsulated by UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001). Our hope is to initiate more innovative consideration regarding how international security assistance can make important contributions to bridging the divide between rich and poor countries, and between the security/development communities more generally to the benefit of both donor states’ “hard security” priorities and recipient nations’ development objectives and human-security concerns. The report is the fourth in our ongoing “Beyond Boundaries” series. Previous reports have covered the Caribbean region, Central America, and the Middle East.

In addition to our implementing partners at the United Nations, the authors are particularly grateful to Ambassador Ochieng Adala, who graciously agreed to write the preface to this study and who provided invaluable guidance prior to, during, and after our preliminary workshop in Nairobi, Kenya, on December 6, 2010. We would also like to extend our warmest thanks to all those government officials and nongovernmental experts who participated in our workshop, as well as those individuals we met with during our Eastern Africa trip to Addis Ababa and Dar es Salaam following the Nairobi meeting. Input was also sought from a consortium of East African permanent representatives to the United Nations. We are grateful to these ambassadors and their missions for their important feedback. Additionally, Stimson Center interns Kevin Wickel, Elisa Valbuena-Pfau, and Lovely Umayam provided research and editorial assistance.



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## Acronyms

<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>AMISON</b>	African Union Mission in Somalia
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CARICOM</b>	Caribbean Community
<b>CDC</b>	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
<b>CPA</b>	Country Programmable Aid
<b>COMESA</b>	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>CTC</b>	Counter-Terrorism Committee (of the Security Council)
<b>CTED</b>	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
<b>EAPCCO</b>	East African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EXBS</b>	State Department's Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance
<b>FIFA</b>	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
<b>GCC</b>	Gulf Cooperation Council
<b>HIV</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
<b>IAEA</b>	International Atomic Energy Agency
<b>ICPAT</b>	IGAD Capacity Building Programme against Terrorism
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IHR</b>	International Health Regulations
<b>IDSR</b>	Integrated Disease Surveillance and Response
<b>KRA</b>	Kenya Revenue Authority
<b>MDG</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>MFA</b>	Ministry on Foreign Affairs
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGO</b>	Nongovernmental organization
<b>NPT</b>	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
<b>OAU</b>	Organization for African Unity
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>PoA</b>	Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects
<b>RECSA</b>	Regional Centre on Small Arms
<b>SICA</b>	Central American Integration System
<b>SALW</b>	Small Arms and Light Weapons
<b>TFG</b>	Transitional Federal Government (in Somalia)
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNSCR</b>	United Nations Security Council Resolution
<b>UNREC</b>	United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>WMD</b>	Weapons of Mass Destruction



## Executive Summary

Despite the enduring inequities between wealthy developed countries, principally in the North, and struggling developing economies found more commonly across the Global South, the last half century has yielded unprecedented and remarkable progress in improving the quality of life among populations around the globe. At no other time in human history have people lived longer or had greater access to health services or better opportunities to acquire an education. Because of globalization and expanded opportunity, the world is embarking on the most remarkable exodus from poverty in human history. Regrettably, not all have benefitted equally—and no more somber example of this continued disparity can be found than on the African continent.

According to the World Bank, more than half of the people in sub-Saharan Africa live in poverty. In certain regions of Eastern Africa, the poverty rate exceeds 80 percent. Amid such abject poverty, one of the greatest menaces is ill health and societies' inability to care for their sick and to prevent diseases from spreading. Whereas contracting an infectious disease in much of the developed world can mean a difficult life, to many in Eastern Africa it means certain death, followed by a spiral of poverty and deprivation for surviving family members. The World Health Organization reports that 72 percent of all deaths across Africa are directly attributable to infectious diseases, compared to 27 percent in all other of the organization's regions combined. Their wider impact on economic development and grinding rates of poverty is unknowable.

New and festering conflicts also contribute to the shackles of poverty, as widespread violence across several Eastern African countries hampers prospects for economic growth and diversification. Inter- and intrastate violence are made more lethally efficient by the millions of small arms and light weapons in circulation on the continent. Armed conflicts have forced millions to leave their homes, and without shelter, food, and water for significant periods of time, these people become increasingly vulnerable. Compounding this vicious circle of deprivation—and perhaps in part because of it—is the growing threat from terrorist organizations preying upon not only Western targets in the Eastern Africa region, but also upon innocent local populations.

In short, extreme poverty, poor public health opportunities, internal political strife, interstate wars, trafficking in small arms, and terrorism fuel a continuous cycle that prevents large swathes of the continent from participating in much of the positive economic momentum that other parts of the world are either beginning to experience or have been enjoying for decades.

How do we go from this vicious circle to a virtuous one marked by development and increased security and stability? Inarguably, to begin ameliorating the gruesome challenges, a wide variety of novel and increased human, technical, and financial capacity-building measures will have to be put into place. For instance, with regard to public health, it is critically important to:

- Develop a functioning and effective disease-surveillance system and responsive capacity.
- Train an increased number of skilled health care workers, especially in remote areas.
- Improve laboratory capacity to confirm diseases by building skilled labor, instituting more targeted training, and providing equipment and supplies.
- Enhance the capacity of the public health system to respond effectively after a disease outbreak is discovered with an adequate prophylactic and/or treatment regimen.

In the case of meeting the deadly and corrosive menace of small arms and light weapons trafficking across Eastern Africa, governments and experts from the region consistently point to the need for:

- Enhancing human and technical capacity at border points, including more and better-trained and equipped guards, improved arms-detection gear and techniques, as well as enhanced surveillance systems and scanners.
- Reforming the judicial and law-enforcement systems to ensure a rigorous deterrent and adequate prosecutorial capacity in the event of illegal possession of, and trade in, small arms and light weapons.
- Improving regional harmonization of legal and enforcement systems, as well as improving systems for, and frequency of, information exchange and joint strategies to combat the illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons.

And finally, when it comes to the growing threat posed by regional terrorist activity, many governments in the region have sought to:

- Enhance training for police, judges, and prosecutors.
- Advance expertise related to the drafting and adoption of relevant counterterrorism legislation, including formal legal mechanisms for extradition, mutual legal assistance, and information sharing across the subregion.
- Increase awareness among key constituencies, including prosecutors, judges, and law enforcement of national or regional counterterrorism objectives and strategies.

Although a significant amount of international development assistance has been provided to the region to build public health infrastructures, promote the rule of law, and address the underlying conditions that may contribute to terrorist fervor, a wealth of evidence suggests existing resources have been insufficient. Amid the global economic crisis and diminishing streams of traditional aid, identifying novel streams of assistance will be critical to sustaining or building upon the gains that have been made toward improving Africa's condition.

To that end, this report proposes an innovative "whole of society" approach that seeks to better leverage existing resources, identify innovative new streams of assistance, and bridge the unproductive divide between security and development. The model presented within these pages suggests that a great deal of untapped international security assistance is available to states that would not only build counterterrorism and nonproliferation capacity, but would simultaneously combat regional security threats, such as trafficking in small arms, and help address development needs, including improving public health infrastructures.

Considering the dual-benefit applicability of much of our hard counterterrorism and nonproliferation assistance, untapped opportunities for synergy exist to leverage interdisciplinary programs that bridge the gap between North and South, and mutually advance the domestic- and foreign-policy goals in both donor and recipient partner states. When used innovatively, UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 (counterterrorism) and 1540 (nonproliferation) have proven to be effective tools to not only prevent terrorism and proliferation, but also to benefit development and regional security, thus building common ground between the goals of the donor and the needs of the recipient.

Assistance available to implement these UN resolutions offers many dual-benefit opportunities to combat not only international terrorism and proliferation, but also the triple threat posed by small arms, poor public health, and regional terrorism in Eastern Africa. For example, several Eastern African governments and public health organizations have identified a lack of laboratory capacity to confirm diseases as a central cause of countries' public health woes. Given that several key diseases of bioterrorism concern are endemic to the East African subregion, security assistance designed to build laboratory capacity and provide for the requisite training of technicians in laboratory techniques, or the provision of equipment necessary to support a disease-surveillance and responsive infrastructure would be as well suited to be considered by the 1540 Committee as it would be by international aid organizations, national development agencies, or the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Similarly, national public health agencies across the region continue to be hampered by the manual transmission of surveillance information, which has slowed critical response time in the face of a disease outreach. Assistance rendered under Resolution 1540 could provide much needed infrastructure updates that would directly benefit nonproliferation as well as national and international public health efforts.

Likewise, preventing the transit of small arms and light weapons within and across national boundaries in Eastern Africa also has a logical nexus with global efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction. For instance, both require enhanced human and technical capacity at border crossings, including better-trained and equipped border agents and improved arms-detection gear and techniques. International nonproliferation donors have long provided a wide variety of practical assistance tailored to these needs in the area of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) detection and proliferation prevention. This dual-benefit assistance includes the provision of long-term regional advisors, short-term experts, equipment and training to foreign governments in support of mutual nonproliferation, export control, anti-terrorism, and border-security objectives. And in a similar vein, much of the assistance that might be proffered under Resolution 1373 yields direct benefit for improving the quality of life across the board in developing nations. For example, security-sector reform, assistance in developing a functioning judicial system to advance rule of law, improved training of law-enforcement officers, and the overall strengthening of democratic institutions and government bureaucracies to, among other things, limit corruption and prevent radicalization of a country's citizens, directly meet many of the development and human-security needs across Eastern Africa and the wider Global South.

The link between implementing Resolutions 1373 and 1540 and ameliorating development needs and security concerns in Eastern Africa is clear. This virtuous circle reinforces global security through greater implementation of key UN measures against the proliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and terrorism; it builds capacity in the poorest countries of the world; and it leverages the foreign assistance provided by donor countries.

The effectiveness of this model to bridge the security/development divide has been proven elsewhere around the globe, including the Caribbean and Central America, and steps are being taken in the Middle East as well. By building an international security relationship based upon mutual self-interest rather than upon legal mandates, near-term trust will yield long-term buy-in, sustainability, and a strengthening of the counterterrorism and nonproliferation regimes. It is that development and security model that this report seeks to communicate.

# Project Report

## The Security/Development Divide

Despite the enduring inequities between wealthy developed countries, principally in the North, and struggling developing economies found more commonly across the Global South, the last half century has yielded unprecedented and remarkable progress in improving the quality of life among populations worldwide. At no other time in human history have people lived longer, had greater access to health services, or better opportunities to acquire an education. As a result, the last half century has witnessed history's most massive exodus out of poverty. Moreover, the international community has set even loftier aspirations for the future: the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) have targeted the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, making available primary education to all people, and halting and reversing worldwide the incidence of the most devastating diseases, including HIV/AIDS and malaria.<sup>1</sup> Yet despite this progress, not all have benefitted equally—and the most somber disparity can be found on the African continent.

According to the World Bank, more than half of the people in sub-Saharan Africa live in poverty, and in certain regions of Eastern Africa, including for example parts of Burundi and Tanzania, the poverty rate exceeds 80 percent.<sup>2</sup> Disease, food insecurity, and the lack of available and affordable health care and education are just a few shortcomings in Eastern African countries owing often to a lack of resources and inadequate societal capacities to ensure their popular consumption. Today, more than 40 percent of Africans do not obtain sufficient food on a daily basis.<sup>3</sup> Over 50 percent of Africans suffer from water-related diseases such as cholera and infant diarrhea.<sup>4</sup> Every 30 seconds an African child dies of malaria, amounting to more than one million child deaths each year.<sup>5</sup> And more than 40 percent of women in Africa do not have access to basic education.<sup>6</sup>

New and festering conflicts also contribute to the shackles of poverty, as widespread civil violence across several Eastern African countries significantly hampers prospects for economic development. While many parts of the world today see a decrease in wars—both inter- and intrastate—sub-Saharan Africa continues to be a hotbed of violence made more lethally efficient by the millions of small arms and light weapons in circulation across the continent.

As a result of armed conflict, many Africans are routinely forced to flee their homes; sometimes entire villages are emptied out. The net result is that in Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and Uganda alone there are over 2.2 million internally displaced persons.<sup>7</sup> Without shelter, food, and water for significant periods of time, these people are among the most vulnerable in the world, and disease and further abuse while they are displaced ruins any sense of security or, importantly, hope for a brighter future.

Compounding this vicious circle of deprivation is the growing threat from terrorist organizations preying upon not only Western targets in the Eastern Africa region, but also upon innocent local populations. One of the most recent and disturbing developments is that al-Shabaab, the Islamist insurgent group aiming to oust the Somali Transitional Federal Government, has begun carrying out terrorist attacks outside of that country. In July and December 2010, the terrorist group claimed responsibility for attacks in Kampala, Uganda, and Nairobi, Kenya, respectively, killing over 75 people and wounding even more.<sup>8</sup>

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 throughout Eastern Africa and contains the authors' views and recommendations, and not necessarily those of the Stanley Foundation or the Stimson Center.

In short, extreme poverty and poor public health opportunities, internal political strife, interstate wars, trafficking in small arms, and the lack of established structures and processes to promote democracy fuel a vicious circle that prevents large swathes of the continent from participating in much of the positive progress that other parts of the world are either beginning to experience or have been enjoying for decades.

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 global terrorism and proliferation globally, the resolutions were seemingly ill-connected to the daily challenges facing the Global South. In much of East Africa, inadequate national financial systems, porous borders, lack of technical expertise and operative controls over sensitive materials, and occasional reluctance to enact more-rigorous standards for fear of derailing economic and development objectives, have yielded an environment ripe for terrorist groups to flourish and for the nefarious transit of sensitive WMD materials and technologies. At the same time, since the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, the dangerous linkages between terrorists and chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons have time and time again been identified by world leaders, including UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, as one of the gravest threats to international peace and security.<sup>9</sup>

Yet while few can question the disastrous consequences a WMD terrorist incident would yield, requiring developing nations to divert attention from more immediate national and regional challenges to the seemingly distant threat of WMD terrorism is a nonproliferation strategy that is destined to fail—if not for a lack of political will then from a sheer lack of implementation capacity in these countries. Similarly, emphasizing counterterrorism as a global priority while focusing attention on the high-profile groups that seek out Western targets is unlikely to build authentic support in the face of more-pressing challenges to developing world governments. Indeed, in the face of the daily threats to citizen safety and security—both economic and physical—in Eastern Africa and much of the Global South, such pronouncements are not only inaccurate, they are *prima facie* unreasonable to the target audience. In the end, without the sustained buy-in of the Global South, it is infeasible to exercise sufficiently preventative controls both over the movement of sensitive nuclear, chemical, and biological technologies, and the malicious activities of terrorist entities.

Therefore, bridging the divide between the hard security interests (nonproliferation and counterterrorism) of the North and the development and human-security priorities of the South should be a central element to our common global counterterrorism and nonproliferation strategies. Absent participation of those countries viewed as increasingly prominent links in the global 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 sympathies, 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. The consequences of such a scenario will be continued instability and insecurity, and the suffering or death of untold numbers of people. Terrorism, particularly WMD terrorism, will jeopardize the foundations of the global economy, erase gains made by the global-development community, and reverse the forces of globalization already stressed by the worldwide economic slowdown. For donors and recipients alike, strained financial resources and the growing confluence of security and development challenges mean that neither can be treated—nor solved—in isolation. For this reason, bridging the security/development divide in order to build collaboration and common strategies, ameliorate proliferation concerns, reinforce counterterrorism efforts, and provide an agenda of opportunity beyond those countries traditionally viewed as links in the proliferation supply chain will be central to

defending international security in the long term. Our first goal must be a better understanding of the priority concerns of the Global South.

## Development and Security Flashpoints in Eastern Africa

### Public Health and Disease Surveillance

According to the World Health Organization, 72 percent of all deaths across Africa are directly attributable to infectious diseases, compared to 27 percent in all other WHO regions combined.<sup>10</sup> Yet even as the global threat of disease diminishes across most of the world, urbanization and changing lifestyles across the continent of Africa conspire with insufficient public infrastructures to threaten a continuation of these unacceptably high rates of mortality. Currently, for instance, about 37 percent of Africans live in cities, but that proportion is expected to reach 53 percent by 2030, thereby concentrating human interaction and susceptibility to communicable diseases.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, public health agencies across the continent are often challenged by an endemic lack of financial resources, equipment, and human capacity to adequately manage this disease burden.

In Eastern Africa, epidemic-prone diseases include cholera, typhoid fever, meningococcal meningitis, plague, dysentery, neonatal tetanus, measles, yellow fever, and viral hemorrhagic fevers such as Ebola and Marburg. Other diseases considered of primary public health importance include malaria, AIDS, tuberculosis, childhood pneumonia, childhood diarrhea, and influenza. Yet the region is today characterized by uneven and often weak public health systems to address these threats, particularly in Somalia and the south of Sudan. For Kenya and other bordering states of the region, which have invested a larger share of resources in their public health infrastructures, this creates a significant disease-importation threat. Polio outbreaks in Kenya in 2006 and 2009, for instance, were associated with ongoing outbreaks in Somalia and Sudan respectively.<sup>12</sup> The inability to detect these incidents early and institute an effective medical intervention could have yielded much wider public health disasters.

Insufficient public health standards and poverty negatively reinforce one another with disastrous consequences. The prevalence of evidence leaves little doubt that an appropriate, robust, and sustainable health system is essential to reversing worsening trends in health and development status and for breaking the vicious circle of poverty and ill-health in Africa. Of course, even just in recent memory, remarkable progress has been made in the medical sciences and in the application of those advances to the provision of health services across much of the Global South. As the world has gotten wealthier, vaccination and other public health interventions have dramatically reduced morbidity and mortality rates of infectious disease. Awareness of the African public health crisis has grown substantially, leading to increased investment in transferring developed-world resources to addressing ailing populations in the Global South. All UN member states agreed to the MDG, which defined targets to, among other things, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, and combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other major diseases. Because of the incidence of infectious disease on the continent, much of the public health work undertaken as a result of the MDG has focused on sub-Saharan Africa. Although progress has been uneven, in this case the MDG have yielded new streams of assistance in meeting these goals from national development agencies as well as international institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.<sup>13</sup> In some cases, significant progress has been made. For instance, MDG monitoring efforts found that gradual progress has been made in combating tuberculosis in several countries, including Cameroon, where prevalence was reduced from 315,000 cases in 2002 to 236,000 in 2006.<sup>14</sup> In South Africa, malaria deaths decreased by 74 percent from 2000 to 2008.<sup>15</sup> In the eastern part of Africa, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Swaziland, and Zambia have all cut malaria incidence in half in the MDG timeframe, and Tanzania has slashed HIV prevalence and malaria incidence.

Yet even as national governments and international development agencies wrestle with stubborn and often catastrophic public health challenges on the continent, an array of seemingly unrelated economic and policy shifts now threatens the limited progress made around much of the world—including in sub-Saharan Africa. Most notable among these, of course, is the global financial crisis, which threatens to cut deeply into the willingness of traditional donor states to maintain existing levels of foreign-development assistance, much less enhance that support to meet burgeoning needs. Although 2009-2010 aid levels have been largely unaffected by the economic crisis, aid levels in 2011-2012 could decrease substantially.

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's *2010 OECD Report on Aid Predictability Survey on Donors' Forward Spending Plans*, "growth in planned country programmable aid... is decelerating significantly, from an average annual growth rate of 7 [percent] the past three years. Almost all the growth [in aid] was in 2010, with [a] zero-forecast growth rate in 2012." The organization further found that, "Lower actual levels of [country programmable aid] could put at risk the achievement of the MDGs. Future allocations to countries with low MDG status are tailing off. Moreover, allocations to countries with low MDG status but some recent progress and better policy ratings are somewhat lower than to those with lower ratings." This would suggest that the initial investments made toward meeting the MDG may be fleeting.<sup>16</sup> Because much of the success in addressing the infectious-disease burden in Africa since 2000 is directly attributable to a growth in political and financial attention paid to the health challenges on the continent by donors and their recipient partners, those advances may well be similarly fleeting.

For its part, WHO recognized that lasting progress toward the MDG was not achievable without new efforts to address constraints on health systems, including identifying and delivering effective interventions. Adequate surveillance allows for the rapid detection and confirmation of, response to, and control of public health threats, as well as early notification of nefarious outbreaks. Beyond allowing for the rapid reaction to an outbreak, collected disease-surveillance data may also be used to detect sudden changes in disease occurrence and distribution, to monitor trends and patterns, to generate hypotheses and stimulate research, to monitor for changes in infectious agents, to identify changes in health practices, to evaluate control measures, and to facilitate planning more broadly across the public health infrastructure of the country, the region, and the world.<sup>17</sup> Any effective system must also integrate communities with clinicians, laboratories, and other public health and animal health stakeholders in a manner that is routinized and sustainable. Once identified, the surveillance infrastructure must be linked to an effective outbreak investigation, followed by disease-control measures: vaccination/prophylaxis, elimination of the cause, and interruption of transmission.<sup>18</sup> In short, the importance of a reliable disease-surveillance capacity to a healthy society cannot be understated.

Recognizing the limitations of the 1969 International Health Regulations (IHR)—legally binding regulations designed to facilitate international cooperation in the prevention of disease—to meet modern health challenges, WHO helped promulgate updated guidelines that expand the spectrum of notifiable diseases and promote the development of rapid-response plans in the event of disease outbreaks. The new IHR, adopted in 2005, sought pragmatic momentum in implementing the MDG by requiring nations to develop the capacity to detect and respond to disease outbreaks with the potential for global transmission. The result was a new set of obligations for WHO's 193 members and the Vatican, which committed itself to comply with the international measure—and a massive new unfunded mandate for the governments of Eastern Africa.<sup>19</sup>

The new IHR came into force on June 15, 2007, and all UN member states are required to be fully compliant by 2012. The stated goals of the IHR are to “prevent, protect against, control and provide a public health response to the international spread of disease in ways that are commensurate with and restricted to public health risks, and which avoid unnecessary interference with international traffic and trade.”<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, other international instruments were similarly being developed that mandate enhanced security standards in the biological space, including, for instance, UNSCR 1540 (discussed below). Although governments have developed strategies for compliance with each of these obligations, they have done so at varying levels, commensurate with their political will and financial and technical wherewithal.

For Eastern African governments, as with all governments, public health surveillance through ongoing, systematic data collection, analysis, interpretation, and dissemination is a critical component of an effective public health infrastructure, as well as achieving their MDG goals and IHR obligations. Of course, compliance is an extraordinarily labor-intensive and financially onerous endeavor—particularly for a developing economy. In response to the IHR mandate, WHO’s regional office for Africa (WHO Afro) has spearheaded the institution of an Integrated Disease Surveillance and Response strategy in order to strengthen surveillance across all member countries of the region. Again by way of example, Kenya adopted this strategy in 1998, and by 2005 began an active Integrated Disease Surveillance and Response rollout strategy that included eighteen priority diseases. The goals of this strategy are to strengthen surveillance capacity, integrate surveillance systems for efficiency, improve laboratory involvement in epidemic detection and confirmation, increase involvement of clinicians in surveillance, improve surveillance information flow across all levels of the health care system, and emphasize community participation in surveillance.<sup>21</sup> Successful institution of the Integrated Disease Surveillance and Response strategy in Kenya and across Eastern Africa would go far to promote good public health and reinforce economic development. It is therefore a central goal of regional governments.

Implementation of an effective disease-surveillance capacity in Kenya has included district-by-district capacity building, training of individual health care workers, the development of operational databases at the national level, the appointment of focal officers at both national and subnational levels, and the institution of regular communications among all stakeholders. To date, 93 of 149 districts have been trained, including over 6,000 health care workers.<sup>22</sup> Already, 124 of the 149 districts are reporting regularly on a weekly basis, and several disease outbreaks have been detected and responded to as a direct result of surveillance under the Integrated Disease Surveillance and Response strategy.<sup>23</sup> Yet despite the progress that has been made, there are significant implementation challenges, even in Kenya, reputed to be the furthest advanced Eastern African state in developing a functioning and effective disease-surveillance strategy. These challenges include:

- An inadequate number of skilled health care workers, especially in remote areas.
- The volume of health care workers requiring training, and high turnover rates that necessitate constant retraining.
- A lack of laboratory capacity, adequate manpower, training, equipment and supplies to confirm diseases
- The manual transmission of information, which slows critical response time.
- A reduced capacity to respond effectively, even when identification occurs promptly, due to financial, material, and human capacity shortfalls.



Each of these shortfalls is either directly or indirectly attributable to inadequate streams of financial resources and the inherent unpredictability of their continuance. Ultimately, these gaps not only continue to challenge regional governments' ability to provide reasonable care for their citizens, but they also inhibit the effective adoption of international health and security obligations.

With governments struggling to meet internal goals as well as international health benchmarks, and in light of the pressing health challenges faced by all governments across Eastern Africa, it is not surprising that many governments of the region have not enthusiastically embraced international WMD nonproliferation obligations that are seen as more distant threats than public health. According to the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the solutions to many of the public health challenges endemic to Eastern Africa include the development of more focused cross-cutting initiatives aimed at multidisease surveillance systems and, as importantly, sustained funding and support for implementation—even as development dollars threaten to become increasingly scarce. To meet the MDG and other crucial public health benchmarks, it is hence incumbent upon the international community as a whole to think critically about additional opportunities and to reach beyond the traditional funding and human capacity resources to continue to improve health standards in the region and beyond. Progress made will not only improve health standards but also combat poverty, assuage key biosecurity threats, and contribute to the long-term prevention of radicalism and terrorism.

### **Small Arms and Light Weapons**

During Kofi Annan's tenure as UN secretary-general, the hundreds of thousands of deaths across the globe attributed to the use and misuse of small arms and light weapons (SALW) every year led him to aptly label them "the weapons of choice for the killers of our time."<sup>24</sup> Perhaps in no other part of the world does Annan's statement have more merit than in Eastern Africa, where the AK-47 has become the weapon of choice for insurgents, terrorists, organized criminal syndicates, and thugs alike. As has been noted, the aggregate effects of these weapons make them the true weapons of mass destruction. SALW do not only kill and maim: the presence and trafficking of these arms in Eastern Africa undermines all facets of security while diminishing the prospects for economic development throughout the region.<sup>25</sup>

The sheer number of small arms in Eastern Africa is unknown, but out of the 640 million in circulation worldwide, 100 million are believed to be present on the African continent.<sup>26</sup> There exists a plethora of reasons for the wealth of SALW and for the enduring trafficking challenges in the subregion. In the early to mid-20th century, game hunters and poachers supplied the region and the rest of Africa with arms, as did Western governments seeking to shore up their colonies' military capacities. Amid the Cold War in the 1970s and 1980s, Africa became a theater for superpower competition as both the Soviet Union and the United States supplied military equipment to their regional allies.

As a result of the many armed conflicts in Eastern Africa in post-colonial times—for example, between Eritrea and Ethiopia, in Uganda, and in Sudan—the demand for arms has skyrocketed, and foreign influx and domestic production of weapons have similarly increased. The implosion of Somalia in the early 1990s and the enduring instability that followed further contributes to the Eastern Africa SALW trafficking challenge. When the Somali government fell in 1991, many soldiers who had fought in the border regions of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya traded the only goods they had—weapons—in return for food, shelter, and a safe passage home.<sup>27</sup> Because of nonexistent or weak central authority, as well as porous borders, Somalia has become a gateway country for illicit arms flow into Eastern Africa.<sup>28</sup>

When conflict ends—or, at least, when fighting ceases—a surplus of SALW remains present amid fragile nations. Weak government institutions, poorly protected stockpiles, and widespread corruption make the immense stockpiles of SALW easy targets for theft. While in circulation in Eastern African societies, myriad public and private actors contribute to SALW trafficking, including corrupt government and law-enforcement officials, illicit brokers, banks, military and transportation companies.<sup>29</sup>

For the most part, arms sales today are documented and comply with national laws and international regulations, but a massive quantity of SALW that end up in Eastern Africa are illicitly traded.<sup>30</sup> International arms dealers have mastered the global supply chain and continue to supply and facilitate transportation of small arms with relative ease to governments, warlords, and modern-day pirates, among others.<sup>31</sup>

SALW can be trafficked with ease, in part because of permeable borders across Eastern Africa. Many current laws in place to prevent smuggling are too lenient and do not act as sufficient deterrents.<sup>32</sup> National enforcement institutions and personnel also lack capacity, or motivation, to implement the existing legal framework. Traffickers use fuel tankers, animal carcasses, as well as charcoal and travel bags to illegally transport SALW throughout the region. Because AK-47s, for example, weigh 4.3 kilograms and are less than a meter tall, vast numbers of them can be smuggled with little fear of detection.

The impact of SALW go beyond the immediate death the weapons create. Their abundance and availability also have a deleterious impact on overall security dynamics. Arms facilitate, increase, and exacerbate violent crimes, carjacking, highway robberies, abductions, extortions, poaching, terrorism, and piracy. Because governments in the region cannot provide adequate security for their citizens, civilians may acquire weapons for personal and family protection, contributing to a gun culture in many Eastern African countries. The introduction of arms into rural communities has had devastating regional-security consequences: the border area of Uganda-Kenya is one case in point. Cattle rustling among pastoral communities were traditionally a low-intensity form of conflict aimed at redistributing wealth, paying bridal prices, and forging alliances.<sup>33</sup> Historically, casualties were low because, for hundreds of years, the activity was conducted with spears, and bows and arrows; women, children, and the elderly were not targeted; and deaths were treated seriously and compensated with cattle.<sup>34</sup> With the tremendous influx of SALW in the last 30 years, cattle rustling has morphed into new forms of murder. Indiscriminate killings are more routine, including acts against women and children, occasionally resulting in the slaughter of entire families.<sup>35</sup>

Gun violence and SALW trafficking in Eastern Africa have also had profound impacts on national development prospects. Over the last 15 years there has been a devastating loss in livestock due to armed violence. In the pastoralist districts of Kenya and Uganda, more than 460,000 cattle, worth over \$75 million, have been killed or have died of disease when forced to move to new areas for security reasons.<sup>36</sup> Health costs for survivors of gun violence have risen, and treatment facilities have closed due to safety concerns. Now, women are left without their husbands and cattle to defend or support themselves. Children become unable to attend school either because it is unsafe to travel, schools have closed, or they are forced to be at home to defend their family property. People fear working in the fields because of raids, and such fears often result in food shortages.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the unsafe environment hampers tourism and foreign investment, and thus inhibits the potential for economic growth.

National authorities are often unable to provide adequate policing and patrolling to come to grips with the SALW trafficking challenge. At the same time, governments are forced to divert scarce resources to this problem, which means fewer assets can be used toward other important development objectives, such as improving markets and roads, and developing and maintaining schools and health care facilities. Because of the security situation, support from and the presence of NGOs is impossible if it is unsafe to deploy personnel on the ground.<sup>38</sup>

A number of international, national, and regional measures are in place to prevent SALW trafficking that, if implemented, promise to mitigate some of the negative consequences of the illegal trading of firearms. At the international level, the 2001 UN Firearms Protocol and Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects outlines steps that nations should take to prevent illicit trade of small arms. These measures commit states to, among other things, criminalize illicit gun production, possession, export, import, and transfer; develop and maintain export and transit controls; identify and prosecute individuals and organizations that manufacture and traffic small arms; establish national coordination agencies on small arms; support regional cooperation; and improve information exchange and enforcement mechanism connected to SALW.<sup>39</sup> Efforts are also under way to conclude an Arms Trade Treaty, which would put forth international standards on controlling the international transfer of arms. Preparatory talks are ongoing, and a negotiating conference is scheduled for 2012.

In 2000, ten Eastern African nations signed the Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit SALW in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, a political statement against the proliferation of these weapons. Four years later the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa was signed by 12 states. This legally binding measure entered into force in 2006. The protocol includes provisions regulating SALW possession, manufacture, transfer, brokering, and enforcement of arms embargoes.<sup>40</sup> It also stresses the importance of regional collaboration among governments and civil society groups in the region. The Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) is charged with coordinating efforts to implement the protocol, including facilitating cooperation among national focal points and other relevant agencies to prevent, combat, and eradicate stockpiling and illicit trafficking in SALW. Some current activities include supporting countries in developing national action plans, harmonizing SALW legislation throughout the region, and developing a regional strategy for stopping the use and trafficking of firearms. RECSA also has programs that aim to build capacities of police and law-enforcement agencies, and the body develops partnerships between governments, civil society, and donor agencies, and raises public awareness about the importance of combating SALW.<sup>41</sup> International organizations, other regional bodies such as the African Union (AU), and NGOs often coordinate their work connected to small arms with RECSA for maximum impact.

One such organization is the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation, which coordinates regional police action to address proliferation concerns.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development has formed a regional partnership with other actors to create a project intended to build capacity to combat the misuse of SALW in IGAD countries.<sup>43</sup> The European Union (EU) has also developed a Code of Conduct and Joint Action on Small Arms, and many EU members work closely with African regional organizations in trying to address the problem.<sup>44</sup>

At the national level, countries have adopted action plans on SALW, which are often linked to other national-security and development objectives. Implementation of Uganda's national strategy, for example, is a priority objective for Kampala's efforts to eradicate poverty. Uganda's action plan on

SALW includes such objectives as improved legislation and public education on SALW, border controls, and training and capacity-building. Other states of the region are active as well. In 2010, Tanzania, with support from RECSA and the Japanese government, destroyed nearly 6,000 firearms in the Morogoro region, and about 1,200 SALW in the Mwanza region.<sup>45</sup> Tanzania has also collaborated with NGOs to develop a plan of action for arms management and disarmament.

In Africa, the SALW trafficking problem is intrinsically linked to a wide range of peace-building/development imperatives and overall security-related capacity-building. Unless a “whole of society” approach is applied, the threats propagated by small arms and light weapons will endure. The following key technical and capacity shortfalls are in dire need of improvement:

- Personnel and technical capacity at border points, such as more and better-trained and equipped guards, improved arms-detection gear and techniques, as well as surveillance systems and scanners.
- Judicial and law-enforcement systems, as current measures many times are too lenient and do not act as sufficient deterrent for illegal possession and trade of SALW.
- Policing and patrolling at key border hot spots.
- Export and transshipment laws and controls to limit the influx of small arms in and to the subregion.
- Arms-stockpile management, protection, and destruction through training and improved technical capacity, as well as coordinated cross-border disarmament activities.
- 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 the illicit trafficking in SALW.
- Research into, and public education about, the perils of SALW.
- Corruption and lack of political will in government, as well as demotivated staff to implement current legal and enforcement structures for small arms.<sup>46</sup>

### **Terrorism**

Large crowds enthusiastically watched the July 2010 FIFA World Cup soccer final at a local rugby club and in a downtown Kampala restaurant when terror struck the Ugandan capital. Athletic suspense and celebration instantly turned to tragedy as bombs ripped through both gatherings, killing 76 people and wounding 85.<sup>47</sup> Al-Shabaab quickly claimed responsibility for the attack, asserting that it was in response to Uganda’s support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISON)—the UN-approved regional peacekeeping mission mandated to support the Somali Transitional Federal Government in restoring order in the largely lawless country. The attack was the Somali-based terrorist organization’s first major assault beyond Somalia, and the deadliest in Eastern Africa since the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi.<sup>48</sup> As such, it signaled a change in al-Shabaab *modus operandi*, which in turn raises fears of increased human insecurity and regional instability, and deals a significant blow to economic-development prospects in an already volatile part of the world.

Prior to the World Cup bombing in Uganda, al-Shabaab had wreaked havoc for years in Somalia targeting AMISON and the TFG. In February 2009, for example, a suicide bomber killed 11 Burundian soldiers, and from June 2009 to June 2010, 556 terrorist incidents were reported to have killed over 1,400 people and wounded 3,400.<sup>49</sup> Since the Kampala terrorist attacks, crossborder skirmishes and the threat of terrorist attacks from operatives based in Somalia have become an ever-increasing concern for governments in Eastern Africa. For instance, shortly after the World Cup attack, a Kenyan border patrol was ambushed by Somali anti-government forces, which wounded one Kenyan border patrol officer.<sup>50</sup> Later in the year, a bomb exploded at a Nairobi bus station, killing 3 people and injuring 39.<sup>51</sup> The bomb was originally intended to go off in Uganda, not Kenya, and al-Shabaab again claimed responsibility.

Terrorist and insurgent violence in Somalia has not only killed thousands and left even more wounded, but by the end of October 2010, the hostility between al-Shabaab and the TFG led at least 20,000 people living in a Somali border town to flee into Kenya.<sup>52</sup> The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees warned of the deteriorating health and security conditions for the fleeing populations, many of whom lack adequate shelter, food, or water.<sup>53</sup> Then Kenya increased troop deployments along the border to counter these emerging threats, al-Shabaab threatened to respond by attacking the capital, Nairobi.<sup>54</sup> The terrorist organization has also threatened attacks against Djibouti, Somalia's northern neighbor, if that country were to deploy troops to Somalia under the AMISON banner.<sup>55</sup> On January 28, 2011, Djibouti indeed announced it would send 450 soldiers to Somalia as soon as the next few weeks to reinforce the 5,000-strong AMISON force.<sup>56</sup>

The ability of al-Shabaab and other terrorist organizations to operate and strike throughout Eastern Africa is in part the result of the region's porous borders, weak government structures, and inadequate judicial and law-enforcement mechanisms aimed at combatting these dangerous and lawless groups.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, the presence of disaffected Muslim groups, and the close proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, have long raised fears that terrorists could exploit weaknesses to conduct planning and operations in Eastern African countries. As terrorist groups, including Al Qaeda, encounter greater operational difficulties in places like Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is feared that they will shift operations to alternate areas where resistance is less. There is emerging evidence that this may already be occurring in Somalia.<sup>58</sup>

Because of its territorial proximity to Somalia, as well as the current lack of border security and resources to carry out a concerted counterterrorism offensive, Kenya is perhaps most susceptible to further terrorist attacks. At present, as one study noted, because of resource constraints, as well as the practical challenges in monitoring the 400-mile border between the two countries, terror groups operating in Somalia "can essentially enter and leave Kenya freely, opening the door to hit the country's soft targets more or less at will."<sup>59</sup> Other countries are also at risk, for example Ethiopia, whose border with Somalia is practically void of security. Addis Ababa has also found itself on al-Shabaab's target lists.<sup>60</sup>

But al-Shabaab is not the only nonstate actor that has posed, and in some cases continues to pose, a regional terrorist threat in Eastern Africa. Over the years, numerous terrorist attacks can be attributed to groups such as the Janjaweed, the Sudan People's Liberation Army, the Justice and Equality Movement, the Lord's Resistance Army, and terrorist groups in Ethiopia.<sup>61</sup> Since the 1990s, Al Qaeda also has been active in the region, but it has had greater success in Kenya than in Somalia because of the greater presence of Western targets, including embassies and places associated with the tourism industry.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the government is challenged by capacity shortfalls in the areas of security and the criminal justice system.<sup>63</sup> Tanzania and Uganda also share these char-

acteristics. Of course, Al Qaeda's ability to establish cells in Kenya and Tanzania throughout the 1990s, as well its ability to procure weapons and explosives from neighboring Somalia, culminated in the 1998 dual bombings of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Despite the Western target, the majority of the more than 220 dead and thousands wounded were Tanzanians and Kenyans. And to this day, Kenya remains an important Al Qaeda target in the Horn of Africa.

Not only does the terrorism challenge in Eastern Africa threaten the basic security of local citizens, it also derails economic development initiatives and damages the region's tourism industry. In 2002, the alleged mastermind behind the embassy bombings, Abdullah Muhammad Fazul, along with several other Al Qaeda operatives, again exploited porous borders to reenter Kenya from Somalia, integrate into a small village along the coast, launch two separate attacks, and quickly escape into Somalia.<sup>64</sup> One cell narrowly missed hitting an Israeli passenger plane taking off from the Mombasa Airport with surface-to-air missiles that had been purchased in Yemen and smuggled through Somalia. Another cell killed 15 and injured 35 when it detonated a bomb outside of the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel in Mombasa on November 28, 2002. Yet again, most of the casualties were local citizens. The hotel bombing also had a devastating effect on regional economic development efforts across Eastern Africa.<sup>65</sup> Governments rightly worry that additional attacks and the resulting fear that would be generated could hinder international business investments and yield grave implications for regional tourism and, by extension, regional economic growth.

The potential convergence between dangerous biological agents and terrorist groups with a propensity to commit acts of mass violence unmistakably also poses a serious threat to regional and international security. In November 2010, US Senator Richard Lugar and a team of Pentagon officials traveled through Kenya, Burundi, and Uganda and identified many glaring vulnerabilities at biological research sites, including both the Kenya Medical Research Institute and the Uganda Virus Research Institute.<sup>66</sup> These types of facilities conduct invaluable research, yet they also contain deadly pathogens such as the Ebola virus and anthrax. The possibility for the accidental or malicious release of these materials increases if any actor—a terrorist group, criminal group, or an opportunistic individual—with little or no experience handling biological agents attempts to steal and transport them to an off-site location. And if a terrorist group obtained a biological agent and used it against a Western target in the region, local citizens would again undoubtedly fall victim to the attack.

To combat the terrorism threat in the region, countries have, to varying degrees based upon political will and local capacities, enacted an array of counterterrorism measures. Uganda passed the Suppression of Terrorism Act in 2002, while Tanzania passed its Anti-Terrorism Law in 2003.<sup>67</sup> Due to the threat posed by al-Shabaab and Al Qaeda, Uganda recently enhanced security at many government sites and popular civilian locations, and it allowed the US Antiterrorism Assistance Program to conduct an assessment of the country's counterterrorism capabilities.<sup>68</sup> Tanzania has established a National Counterterrorism Center, which participates in several programs aimed at strengthening law-enforcement and military capacities, improving border and aviation security, and targeting terrorists' financing. The passage of an anti-terrorism bill met stiff resistance in Kenya's Parliament, but in comparison to many other states, Kenya has received substantial amounts of foreign assistance for its counterterrorism programs, and it too operates a National Counterterrorism Center.<sup>69</sup>

Despite progress made by each of these countries, there is still concern that anti-terrorism laws remain inadequate and, more importantly, that capacity shortfalls in law enforcement, intelligence gathering, the judicial process, and the sharing of information may hinder the effectiveness

of newly implemented initiatives and leave local residents vulnerable to the persistent terrorist threat. Nonetheless, where political will has been matched with available resources, there have been positive signs toward enhanced regional counterterrorism cooperation. For instance, following the December 2010 bus bombing in Nairobi, where Uganda was the primary target state, Kenyan and Ugandan anti-terrorism officials vowed to increase information-sharing designed to prevent future attacks.<sup>70</sup>

Counterterrorism measures have, however, come under criticism for leading to major human rights violations by government security forces in the region.<sup>71</sup> This is a major problem, since overly aggressive counterterrorism policies could potentially worsen the terrorist threat by alienating local Muslim communities. Public support toward counterterrorism initiatives has declined as a result of these human rights violations, and when confronted with more pressing daily challenges such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, widespread local crime, trafficking of SALW, spending on counterterrorism has at times been viewed as an unnecessary diversion of scarce resources.<sup>72</sup>

At the international level, adherence to the September 2006 UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy could address many of the aforementioned areas of concern. The strategy calls for a more holistic approach to counterterrorism that would build capacities in critical areas, address local human-security challenges, and ensure that counterterrorism measures do not violate respect for internationally recognized human rights.<sup>73</sup> Regional organizations could be extremely useful vehicles for implementing the UN strategy, and they have already played an important role addressing the terrorism threat in Eastern Africa (discussed further below). In addition, a number of civil society actors, such as the African Resource Network on Terrorism and Counter Terrorism and the Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, have made contributions toward implementing counterterrorism initiatives.<sup>74</sup>

Innocent civilians in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have been victimized by terrorist attacks in the past, and the threat of future attacks remains high. However, confronting this challenge, promoting economic development, and respecting human rights are not mutually exclusive. IGAD has stated explicitly that members' geographic location, the persistence of conflict, the absence of state structures, despair resulting from the loss of hope, and growth in extremism make Eastern Africa a breeding ground for terrorist activity.<sup>75</sup> As a result, governments across the region have displayed not only a willingness but a pragmatic intent to address the threat of terrorism. But sustained progress against both regional and globally minded terrorist organizations operating in Eastern Africa is challenged by an array of financial, legal, and technical hurdles, 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 awareness among key constituencies, including prosecutors, judges, and law enforcement of national or regional counterterrorism objectives and strategies.
- Lack of interdepartmental cooperation at the national level or sufficient coordination at the subregional and international levels.

- Inadequate communications infrastructures.
- Scarcity of technology and other hardware necessary to support the above deficiencies.
- Insufficient support for ameliorating the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including most core development priorities of regional governments and international donors such as health, education, and transportation infrastructures.<sup>76</sup>

To that end, increased streams of funding could be used to simultaneously address terrorism concerns, improve governmental capacities in critical areas, and improve the region's security as a whole. While this would help prevent further loss of life due to acts of terrorism, it would also promote greater stability throughout Eastern Africa, provide incentives for increased regional business investment, and ensure that tourists are safe.

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

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and subsequent revelations that rogue Pakistani nuclear scientist A.Q. Khan was operating an illicit nuclear network supplying states and nonstate actors with technologies for weapons of mass destruction, dramatically altered the global security landscape. For many governments, significant new resources were allocated toward denying safe havens and cutting off financial streams of assistance to malevolent nonstate actors. New initiatives designed to promote the sharing of relevant information among governments on any groups practicing or planning terrorist acts have been promoted. An unprecedented degree of cooperation among governments in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition, and prosecution of those involved in acts of terrorism is being sought. And new mandates on all governments to criminalize active and passive assistance for terrorism in domestic law and bring violators to justice have been promulgated.

The Khan affair demonstrated that there is a growing number of countries especially in the developing world, capable of innovating, manufacturing, financing, transshipping sensitive dual-use resources; the risk of these states being taken advantage of by a proliferating state, or victimized by a WMD, has also become a more broadly recognized danger. Beyond programmatic efforts and global mandates, significant new financial resources have been levied to ensure the nonproliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction. Annually, the G-8 partner governments (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) allocate over \$3 billion on targeted nonproliferation programs in the states of the former Soviet Union alone, a region traditionally considered to be the epicenter of the proliferation challenge.

But while these hard security challenges—including terrorism and WMD proliferation—have seemingly taken priority over so-called softer security challenges—such as those outlined in this report—even a cursory examination of the facts would suggest a stark North-South divide regarding national priorities. This is especially well evidenced when considering the disparity between global security and development spending. Annual military spending and foreign security assistance totaled \$1.3 trillion, compared to the \$120 billion allocated toward global development assistance.<sup>77</sup> The latter number represents a mere 9 percent of the former, despite the fact that over one-sixth of the world's population lives in poverty, or that millions of children every year die of preventable ailments such as pneumonia, diarrhea, and malaria.<sup>78</sup>



It has become a cliché to point to the North's security obsession as the principle cause for this disparity and lament the perceived hypermilitarized approaches to foreign policy. Yet our failure to address the cleavage between the security and development arms of policy breeds implications that go far beyond the immediate unmet needs of the Global South. Our inability to more effectively reconcile supply and demand has yielded a growing plethora of governments unwilling or unable to fully participate as active partners in global nonproliferation and counterterrorism efforts.

Over time, government policy and organizational structures themselves have further exacerbated the bright line between security and development. Indeed, despite a few promising innovations and pilot projects aimed at better integrating these components of national policy, a survey of these “whole of government” approaches finds that governments across the developed world continue to struggle to promote policy integration, formulate a cohesive strategic vision, create robust structures of coordination, and initiate new funding streams to ensure sustainability of effort.<sup>79</sup>

With regard to nonproliferation policy, for instance, even prior to the exposure of the Khan network, strategies to address the spread of weapons of mass destruction became evermore focused on technology denial efforts—including export controls, strengthened and expanded safeguards, sanctions, and even regime change. In the eyes of many recipient partners, little thought was given by donor governments to the need for a more comprehensive outreach that satisfied regional security concerns and development needs. In short, although donor governments organize foreign assistance into distinct streams of “security” and “development,” for much of the Global South, it is received as an agglomeration with greater political and often financial attention paid to the former at the expense of the latter. Thus, much of our well-intentioned nonproliferation assistance has been mistakenly viewed as an effort to stymie economic and technological development, rather than an effort to prevent the diversion of sensitive WMD technologies. The 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 will ensure sustainability of effort to combat the next generation of potential terrorists and proliferators.

The preponderance of evidence suggests that the 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 a delicate balance of financial and human capacity priorities. To divert scarce resources that only assuage the terrorism and WMD threat—in many instances with merit seen as more-distant challenges—does not make sense for leaders in the developing world. In this light, convincing these governments to make greater and more sustainable investments in counterterrorism and nonproliferation activities is not an easy—or even reasonable—task.

Considering the dual-benefit applicability of much of our hard nonproliferation and counterterrorism assistance, untapped opportunities for synergy exist to leverage interdisciplinary programs that bridge the gap between developing and developed states and mutually advance domestic and foreign policy goals in donor and recipient states. UNSCR 1373 (counterterrorism) and 1540 (nonproliferation) offer opportunities to leverage international security assistance to also benefit development needs and regional security priorities, such as public health, the trafficking in small arms and light weapons, and broader economic development concerns in the Global South.

Resolution 1373, adopted unanimously in September 2001, aims to deny safe havens to those who finance, plan, support, or commit acts of terrorism.<sup>80</sup> As such, the resolution is an important tool

for states to use as a benchmark in placing barriers on the movement, organization, and fundraising activities of terrorist groups. Specifically, Resolution 1373 mandates that all UN member states:

- Criminalize the financing of terrorism.
- Freeze without delay any funds related to people 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.

In April 2004, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1540. It mandates that all member states implement a set of supply-side controls related to the nonproliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Criminalization and enforcement provisions vis-à-vis proliferant activities within national territories are also key components of Resolution 1540. Specifically, this legally binding resolution calls upon 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 effective 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>81</sup>

Resolutions 1373 and 1540 also established two Security Council committees—the Counter-Terrorism Committee and the 1540 Committee—as well as groups of experts—the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) Experts and the 1540 Committee Group of Experts—to execute decisions made by the committees and to facilitate technical assistance to countries in need. To aid the committees' and the experts' work, the resolutions mandate all UN member states to submit a report,

three and six months after the resolutions' passage respectively, on steps they have taken or intend to take to implement the measures.<sup>82</sup> The 1373 and 1540 committees recognize the inherent overlap in their work and cooperate in various ways, including holding meetings between their experts, exchanging information, and participating jointly at formal UN workshops and regional and subregional meetings.<sup>83</sup>

Although significant progress has been made in the implementation of both measures, it is widely recognized that neither resolution has even come close to achieving global compliance.<sup>84</sup> An assessment of the causes of this lay bare the underlying North/South divide that has inhibited effective implementation of both resolutions. For instance, one survey commissioned to provide a comprehensive consideration of CTED's work 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 UN's commitment to human rights and the rule of law while countering terrorism—which unfortunately remains much doubted in some corners of the globe.<sup>85</sup>

Similar criticisms have been leveled at the 1540 Committee at UN headquarters in New York.<sup>86</sup>

Although the causes of the North/South divide on counterterrorism and nonproliferation may be myriad, previous examples of effective engagement suggest that common ground can be found beyond rhetorical commitments to the broad aims of both resolutions. More often than not, tangible progress hinges on the pragmatic links made through technical and financial assistance. Recognizing that many states will require support in implementing 1373 and 1540, both resolutions include language that encourages states with the capacity to do so to assist other countries' implementation efforts. In turn, the resolutions urge states in need to request any help they deem necessary to comply with the demands of these measures.

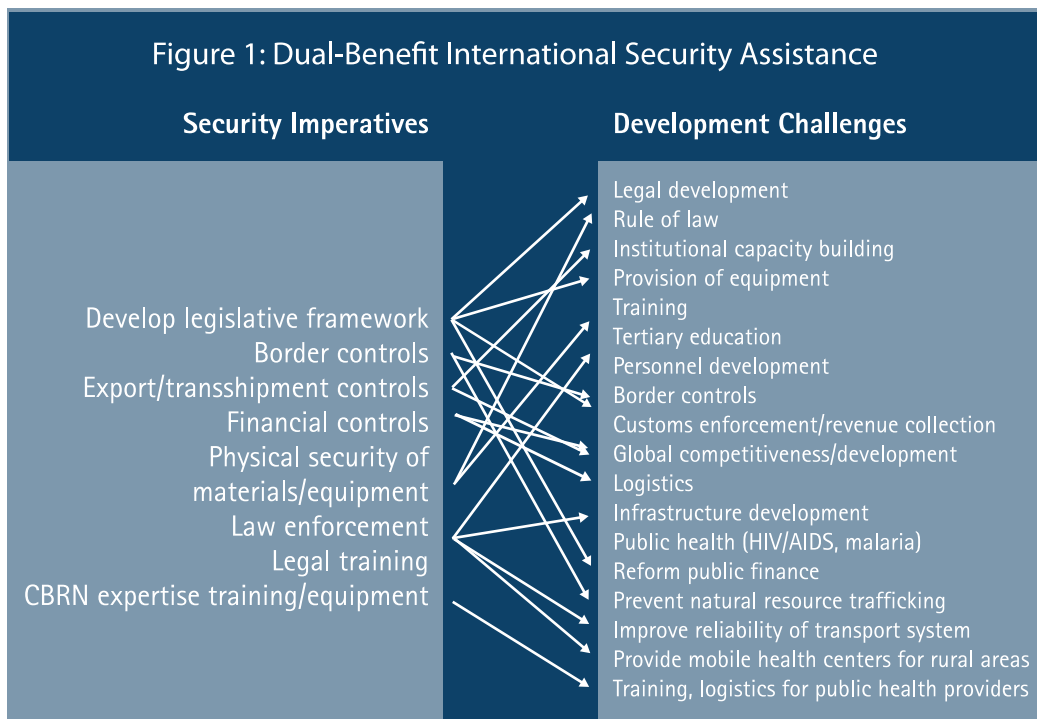
In the case of Resolution 1540, the committee in New York has received sporadic requests for assistance with implementation of 1540, but many lack sufficient specificity to be actionable.<sup>87</sup> Country reports required by Resolution 1373 have not been made public since 2006, but the recent three-year extension of CTED's work seems to suggest that the Counter-Terrorism Committee's proactive approach is having a positive impact on implementation. In addition to a relatively large committee staff with legal expertise, the committee's establishment of best-practice guides, facilitation of technical assistance by member states and other entities, and close cooperation with international, regional, and subregional organizations are evidence of a seriousness among assistance providers to support the mandate set out by Resolution 1373 through concrete actions.<sup>88</sup>

A more detailed assessment of the capacities necessary to implement UNSCR 1373 and 1540 would suggest, however, that available assistance is inherently dual-benefit. That is, counterterrorism and nonproliferation assistance can provide significant opportunities for poorer countries to tap into traditional security-related support to help them meet their higher priority internal development goals and human-security priorities—from the prevention of SALW trafficking to disease surveillance—while simultaneously satisfying their international counterterrorism and nonproliferation

obligations. The net result is a durable and sustainable partnership that better meets both recipient and donor state objectives. For instance:

- Detecting and responding to biological weapons requires a functional disease-surveillance network and a public health infrastructure.
- 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.
- Preventing trafficking and illicit trade of humans and drugs relies upon many of the same resources and capacities necessary to detect and prevent nuclear proliferation and combat terrorist activities.
- Denying terrorists safe haven requires an effective and functioning police capacity operating under the rule of law.

Figure 1 illustrates how security assistance proffered under Resolution 1373 and 1540 can help meet “softer” development and human-security priorities that threaten the Global South:



One part of the world that has seen a dramatic rise in state reporting and tangible evidence of pragmatic implementation of UNSCR 1540 is the Caribbean Basin. In one year, the Caribbean as a region went from a 1540 black hole to a model for implementation of the resolution around the globe. This progress was not a result of dictating legal mandates from the Security Council, but rather is a reflection of the countries’ realization that 1540 implementation is in their best interests because it not only helps to address endemic security challenges related to the flow of drugs and small arms, but also promotes their plans for economic diversification through port security and other enhancements to trade.<sup>89</sup> As a result, new streams of assistance are flowing into the region to meet pressing security challenges and to promote economic development and diversification. At the same time, important steps to implement Resolution 1540 are being taken.

### **Dual-Benefit Assistance in the Caribbean Basin: A Model for Success**

In the 1990s, governments of the Caribbean recognized the need to diversify their tourism-based economies. Considering their strategic location at the mouth of the Panama Canal, and occupying the “third border” to the world’s largest market, the United States, governments of the region began making significant investments in their port and related transportation infrastructures in an effort to capitalize upon global trade flows as a central component of their economic development strategies.

However, in the wake of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, these plans were immediately put into doubt when the international community elevated mandatory security standards for cargo traffic. As a result, Caribbean governments, whose ability to invest in yet further infrastructure enhancements was exhausted, saw their economic development strategies eviscerated by a changing international security environment.

Assistance available under UNSCR 1540 has provided governments with new access to capital that is not only beneficial to implement the resolution, but also crucial to salvage their economic development plans. New streams of nonproliferation funding promise to help provide much-needed infrastructure support in an era of fiscal restraint, thus allowing them to remain internationally competitive.

A similar model has been applied successfully in Central America.<sup>90</sup> There, the Central American Integration System (SICA), a subregional organization, has successfully requested assistance to hire a full-time regional coordinator to help members with reporting their countries’ progress on implementing measures under UNSCR 1540, 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. These activities would also go far toward building the necessary regional infrastructure to implement UNSCR 1373.

Similar dual-benefit assistance opportunities exist in virtually every corner of the globe.<sup>91</sup> In the Middle East, for example, to meet budding energy demands, numerous countries are pursuing or at least considering civilian nuclear power. Yet international and regional proliferation questions, and domestic undercapacity in key technical and human sectors, pose direct challenges to the development of a domestic nuclear power capability. However, through international collaboration under the auspices of UNSCR 1540 and the assistance provision therein, Middle Eastern governments could not only backfill shortfalls in pursuit of nuclear power, they could do so while simultaneously providing affirmation to the international community of their willingness to adhere to globally accepted nonproliferation standards. Regional 1540 implementation cooperation has also begun in the Middle East, most recently during a December 2010 meeting hosted by Saudi Arabia in the framework of the Gulf Cooperation Council.<sup>92</sup>

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

### **Development and Regional Security Capacity-Building in Eastern Africa With Dual-Benefit Assistance**

Since 2001, all Eastern African countries have complied with the most basic implementation step of Resolution 1373 and submitted at least one report to the Counter-Terrorism Committee on steps taken to implement the resolution (and numerous states have submitted several follow-up

reports).<sup>93</sup> In 2010, the Counter-Terrorism Committee made the following Eastern Africa implementation assessment:

East Africa remains a victim of terrorism, and the terrorist threat to the sub-region is high because of continued political instability. Few States have taken legislative and practical counter-terrorism measures to ensure that their international human rights obligations are fully respected. All States have cash-based economies, and this increases the risk that terrorist financing will occur via physical cross-border transportation of currency and other bearer instruments or via informal transfers of money and value through alternative remittance systems. In view of the political instability in some parts of the sub-region and the increasing threat of piracy, more stringent measures are required to control maritime and land borders and cooperation among law enforcement agencies should be enhanced. Lengthy land and maritime borders will continue to pose a serious challenge to Governments of the sub-region. In view of the sub-region's porous borders and the impact of armed conflicts, all States should strengthen cooperation and take more stringent measures to implement the latest international best practices and arms control standards.<sup>94</sup>

This subregional assessment was based upon 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 community policing to prevent illegal cross-border movement of people, currency, and cargo, as well as SALW trafficking.<sup>95</sup>

Similarly, comprehensive implementation of Resolution 1540 remains a challenge in Eastern Africa. Several countries are yet to submit a first report, and the lack of specificity in several existing submissions has made it difficult to determine the degree to which states have implemented the resolution and where additional gaps may exist.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, the 1540 Committee itself is said to be underresourced for the herculean task it has been assigned.<sup>97</sup> And perhaps most importantly, the tangible political will needed to turn 1540 from a multifaceted mandate to a pragmatic instrument of nonproliferation has more often than not been lacking on the part of potential donors and states needing assistance, where the potential for proliferation has been growing for decades.

To ensure effective implementation of more-rigorous counterterrorism and nonproliferation around the globe, a first priority must be to correct the misperception on the part of all governments that the recitation of legal mandates will instinctively elevate the issue among the target community of either governments or the private sector. Neither will financial assistance, one-off trainings, nor high-tech equipment yield enduring solutions or long-term commitment—particularly where there are competing demands that may or may not be commensurate with instituting and maintaining the instruments of counterterrorism and nonproliferation. Due to the overwhelming barriers to implementation, both political and economic, targeted states must begin to experience the value of receiving counterterrorism and nonproliferation assistance beyond meeting the security priorities of the donor state.

In the case of UNSCR 1373 and 1540, there is a need to demonstrate the potential benefits of the resolutions by first pairing assistance to urgent domestic concerns to build a foundation for effective and sustainable counterterrorism and nonproliferation measures. In short, appealing to the enlightened self-interest of recipient states will help foster the conditions for sustainable implementation of

the resolutions and provide a viable approach for holistically addressing states' political will and capacity needs, while building requisite long-term buy-in for the assistance being offered. Of course, helping to meet the states' security and development priorities should not be presented as a *quid pro quo* arrangement, but as a starting point for developing a package of assistance that will strengthen states internally and enable them to simultaneously support broader counterterrorism and nonproliferation goals.

As discussed above, for Eastern African governments, the triple threat posed by small arms, poor public health, and terrorism cannot be understated. Together, these scourges inflict incorrigible levels of suffering and death, in addition to feeding a perpetual cycle of poverty. Although international development assistance has gone far, particularly in recent years, to address these challenges, it is clear that not only is additional financial and capacity-building assistance needed, but that that assistance is threatened by the global economic downturn. Identifying novel new streams of assistance will be critical to sustaining or building upon the gains that have been made in ameliorating Africa's security and development challenges.

### **Security Assistance: Public Health and Disease Surveillance**

Building upon the tangible need for enhanced disease surveillance and laboratory capacity to detect, diagnose, and ultimately treat infectious disease, governments of the region should develop tangible requests for assistance to the 1540 Committee that meet these domestic health priorities, promote full adoption of the IHR, 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. Meanwhile, donor governments would benefit by breaking down the institutional stovepipes between foreign security and development objectives by pragmatically pairing international security assistance dollars with existing streams of development assistance. The net leveraging would mean that assistance dollars could be stretched further and accomplish more.

More specifically, several Eastern African governments and international public health organizations have identified a lack of laboratory capacity to confirm diseases due to inadequate manpower, training, equipment, and supplies in the region. Given that several key diseases thought to represent a bioterrorist concern are also endemic to the Eastern African subregion, security assistance designed to build laboratory capacity by providing requisite training of technicians in laboratory techniques, or the provision of equipment necessary to support a disease-surveillance-and-response infrastructure would be as well suited to be considered by the 1540 Committee as it would be by international aid organizations, national development agencies, or the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, national public health agencies across the region continue to be hampered by the manual transmission of surveillance information, which has slowed critical response time in the face of a disease outreach. Assistance rendered under UNSCR 1540 could provide much-needed infrastructure updates that will benefit nonproliferation as well as national and international public health.

For donor governments, care must be given not to feed inaccurate perceptions regarding Western preoccupations with issues of national and international security over the implications of the public health goals of such assistance. In Eastern Africa for instance, there has emerged a growing interest among international security specialists in the perceived threat of bioproliferation on the continent. In 1996, a yellow fever outbreak was reported in seven countries of the region. And from 1996 to 1997, Gabon suffered a serious Ebola outbreak, with fatality rates measuring 68 to 75 percent.<sup>99</sup>

These diseases are of acute interest not only to public health officials but to terrorists and security specialists alike for their ability to be harnessed for nefarious purposes.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, according to some analysts, key laboratories with inadequate security standards that harbor pathogen collections across the region are prime targets for terrorists bent on developing biological weapons of mass destruction.<sup>101</sup>

Senator Richard Lugar, cofounder of the US Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, noted at the end of 2010 that deadly diseases, including Ebola, Marburg, and anthrax, are common in Africa and that “[t]hese pathogens can be made into horrible weapons aimed at our troops, our friends and allies, and even the American public. This is a threat we cannot ignore.”<sup>102</sup> He went on to suggest that, “Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups are active in Africa, and it is imperative that deadly pathogens stored in labs there are secure.”<sup>103</sup> While there is reason for concern given the breadth of the public health challenge across the continent, it is also clear that the motivations for engagement among African countries reside not over concern with the potential terrorist misapplication of pathogens, but in the ancillary effects security cooperation could have on national public health infrastructures. Indeed, the senator did concede that “[b]uilding cooperative programs with African countries is in our mutual security interests, and will also have the humanitarian effect of identifying and controlling new diseases that could quickly spread around the world.”<sup>104</sup>

However, we are unlikely to achieve sustained effect by building cooperative engagement outside of the immediate—and eminently reasonable—interests of the recipient partner. Although Senator Lugar’s proposed engagement has the potential to create new opportunities, Africans seem rightly concerned that the securitization of development will threaten to realign scant resources in such a way as to emphasize the WMD security priorities of the donor over the public health objectives of regional governments. The result would be an uneven patchwork of advances that derail sustained health progress and ultimately fail to gain recipient partner support, leaving unsustainable progress in the security realm and continued devastation from a public health perspective. In short, effective collaboration in both public health and bioproliferation prevention must begin with a better understanding of African needs as defined by Africans, rather than through external security assessments whose goal is rightly perceived as being motivated by Western security interests.

### **Security Assistance: Small Arms and Light Weapons**

Preventing the transit of small arms and light weapons within and across national boundaries in Eastern Africa has a logical nexus with global efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction. For instance, both require enhanced human and technical capacity at border crossings, including better-trained and equipped border agents and improved arms-detection gear and techniques. International nonproliferation donors have long provided a wide variety of practical assistance tailored to these needs in the area of WMD detection and proliferation prevention. This dual-benefit assistance includes the provision of long-term regional advisors, short-term experts, equipment and training to foreign governments in support of mutual nonproliferation, export control, anti-terrorism, and border-security objectives. In the case of the US State Department, assistance programs focus on “enabling the border control, and other law enforcement agencies in high-threat countries to detect, identify, and interdict such contraband, and investigate the illegal transfer of materials used in the production of WMD.”<sup>105</sup> Similar assistance is available from global nonproliferation- and counterterrorism-assistance providers in the forms of technical assistance in filling legal and regulatory gaps, promoting judicial training and capacity building, conducting police training, promoting region-wide harmonization of legal and enforcement systems, and public education and outreach. Although each of these assistance programs is proffered under the auspices of WMD nonproliferation, the capacities they yield directly



benefit national and regional efforts to prevent the illicit movement of small arms and light weapons across the borders of Eastern Africa.

Recognizing the serious threat posed by SALW, the government of Kenya has already launched an array of efforts designed to shore up that country's ability to prevent trafficking. For example, the Kenya Ports Authority has made remarkable strides in implementing the International Maritime Organization's ship and port facility security measures. In April 2008, the Kenyan government set up a new monitoring unit to control trafficking along its coastline.<sup>106</sup> Kenyan authorities are also strengthening border security through the acquisition of sophisticated detection and inspection equipment for border points and providing training to relevant personnel.<sup>107</sup>

In conjunction with heightened port and security measures, the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission together with the Kenya Revenue Authority have stepped up efforts to investigate and prosecute customs control and border-security violations involving the diversion of transit goods.<sup>108</sup> A recent investigation uncovered a tax-evasion syndicate operating at major Kenyan border posts, including Busia, Malaba, Isebania, Lokichoggio, Taveta, Namanga, and Lunga-Lunga on the Kenya-Uganda border, which led to the arrest of three people, including one customs official.<sup>109</sup>

The Kenyan government is also providing incentives to traders that comply with stricter regulations. For example, the Kenya Revenue Authority has started a new initiative designed to integrate modern risk-management measures into the regulation of transit trade. The Authorized Economic Operator status will reward responsible traders and freight-forwarding companies by enabling trustworthy traders—those with a satisfactory system of financial and customs record-keeping—to gain access to expedited shipment processing, lower storage costs, and minimal intervention at border crossings.<sup>110</sup> In aggregate, these initiatives will go far to prevent the transshipment of small arms and light weapons across the borders of Kenya. And each of them could solicit support from nonproliferation or counterterrorism sources internationally for their contribution to the prevention of WMD trafficking and the movement of terrorists throughout the region.

### **Security Assistance: Terrorism**

The concept of better connecting our global responses to terrorism with the development objectives that may ameliorate the conditions conducive to radicalization is not new. For decades, international security analysts and governments have argued the benefits of enhanced cooperation even while development specialists have correctly warned against the overt “securitization” of development assistance. In their final report on the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the so-called 9/11 commissioners called upon American counterterrorism policy to help offer “an agenda of opportunity” that includes support for public education and economic openness. The commissioners further called out the United Nations' rightful concept of “literacy as freedom” as a central element of not only global development, but also of a successful counterterrorism strategy.<sup>111</sup>

Yet beyond the inclusion of this sentiment in a variety of political speeches and policy statements by governments, international organizations, and civil society groups around the globe, little concrete evidence exists of a widespread adoption of this linkage. Despite this systematic failure on the part of the international donor community, governments across the Eastern African subregion have worked to implement national strategies against terrorism.

For instance, Kenyan officials have taken leading steps to strengthen their capacity to combat terrorism, piracy, drug-trafficking, and small-arms smuggling through a variety of information-

sharing initiatives and the joint training of enforcement officials. Here IGAD has played a critical role via its Capacity Building Programme against Terrorism (ICPAT). In support of a UN resolution to combat piracy along Somalia's coastline, Kenya spearheaded an effort to establish a regional maritime coordination center designed to support a worldwide navigation and warning system for ships sailing off the coast of Somalia, and has also set up a search-and-rescue center equipped with state-of-the-art operational systems, including a Global Distress Security System.

As a result of the growing piracy menace off the coast of the Horn of Africa—which obstructs a key global supply route, threatens international humanitarian aid going to Eastern African countries, and limits prospects for that region's economic development—in 2008, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon requested that NATO provide naval escort to UN World Food Programme vessels in the region. NATO responded positively, and at the end of 2008 it conducted counterpiracy activities, including providing safe passage of World Food Programme aid and, more generally, patrolling the waters outside of Somalia.<sup>112</sup> Operation Allied Provider, the name of this temporary mission, had its international legal mandate in UNSCR 1814, 1816, and 1838, and was coordinated with the EU.<sup>113</sup> Since March 2009, under Operation Allied Protector, NATO has been patrolling the waters outside the coast of Somalia with a view to deter or disrupt pirate activities that threaten humanitarian and economic interest off the Horn of Africa.<sup>114</sup> NATO's military presence, supported by the EU, is inarguably assisting the safe arrival of humanitarian assistance to the suffering Somali population and at the same time contributing to improved prospects for economic development in Eastern African countries, which are negatively impacted by pirate activities. In short, NATO's military assistance can directly be linked to regional development objectives and contributes to Eastern African countries' ability to implement Resolution 1373 and 1540.

Border-security cooperation, designed to combat organized crime and terrorism insurgencies, is also ongoing between Kenyan, Ugandan, and Somali authorities. More importantly, Kenyan officials have pragmatically leveraged the link between security and development objectives even while the donor community has been slow to implement its rhetoric. Although economic development, including infrastructure upgrades, is the primary impetus behind a recent project to improve roads and transportation networks between Kenya and Tanzania, the project also incorporates the concept of a one-stop border post designed to significantly shorten customs clearance times by standardizing customs procedures and improving the capacity of customs agencies. The initiative will not only enhance economic development through improved and ubiquitous trade, it also promises to yield more secure trade.<sup>115</sup>

Although funding for this border post was drawn in part from a grant made available by the US Agency for International Development for the purposes of enhancing trade and economic development, because of the dual-benefit security dividends, resources could have easily been drawn from international counterterrorism and nonproliferation assistance. Such a strategy would not only have freed up financial resources for other pressing regional development objectives, it would have opened a door to a security dialogue with recipient partner governments that illustrated the net benefits of hard security cooperation.

Similar dual-benefit assistance could be provided for the training of police, judges, and prosecutors; for assistance in conducting a legal-gap analysis and for drafting relevant legislation; for awareness-raising among key constituencies, including prosecutors, judges, and law enforcement of national or regional cooperation objectives and strategies; for the enhancement of national and regional communications infrastructures; and for wider financial and technical support for ameliorating the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including most core development priorities of

regional governments and international donors in the fields of health services, education, and transportation infrastructure development.

### **Prospects for Eastern African Subregional Burden and Capacity Sharing<sup>116</sup>**

Resolutions 1373 and 1540, as well as 1540's follow-on resolutions, 1673 (2006) and 1810 (2008), which extended the 1540 Committee for two and three years respectively, stress the value of regional implementation efforts. Support for a regional implementation approach to both resolutions also exists in the Counter-Terrorism and 1540 Committees, and there is a record of endorsement among UN member states and the Secretariat leadership. For instance, in 2006, then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan emphasized that implementation of Resolution 1540 was part of the burden-sharing concept between the United Nations and regional organizations.<sup>117</sup> The UN 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 CTED has worked directly with a number of regional organizations, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the EU, the Pacific Island Forum, and notably the AU and IGAD.<sup>118</sup>

Regional implementation of Resolutions 1373 and 1540 is logical because of the transnational nature of several of the Resolutions' provisions, which necessarily entail cooperation between neighboring countries. The regional perspective can help 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. 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 dual-benefit capacities relevant to 1373 and 1540 is clearly beneficial.

There is no one-size-fits-all template when considering a regional approach, but there are precedents and opportunities in more than one subregion throughout the world, including in the Caribbean, Central America, and the Middle East. A regional approach through the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and, as previously noted, SICA made particular sense because many governments in those parts of the world significantly lack financial, technological, and human capacity to take steps toward 1373 and 1540 implementation. In the case of CARICOM, in 2008 during a regional workshop, several countries recognized the important role of the regional institution in assisting its members with implementing the resolution because of the limited size and capacities of smaller member states. Subsequently, a CARICOM 1540 coordinator was hired. Prior to CARICOM's involvement and the hiring of the 1540 coordinator, the Caribbean region's track record with Resolution 1540 had been nearly nonexistent. However, today, all CARICOM countries have fulfilled the initial 1540 implementation step by submitting a report to the 1540 Committee.<sup>119</sup> CARICOM has also co-hosted a series of experts' workshop on export controls and maritime security, and sought and received resources for a legal-gap analysis for member countries. Caribbean countries are also receiving assistance for drafting appropriate legislation where necessary. These

streams of funding are the result of CARICOM Secretary-General Edwin W. Carrington's submission of a proposal for assistance to the UN Security Council 1540 Committee, which was subsequently funded by the United States and Canada.

A similarly successful engagement is taking place in Central America under the auspices of SICA. Following the lead of CARICOM, this regional arrangement successfully submitted a request for resources to the 1540 Committee to hire a SICA regional coordinator to guide implementation efforts on behalf of member states. In Central America, increased streams of funding on the national and regional level will not only support implementation of Resolutions 1373 and 1540, but also regional security and development priorities regarding small-arms proliferation, drug trafficking, and various forms of criminality threatening human security and civil society.<sup>120</sup> In both the CARICOM and SICA cases, the Organization of American States has played a crucial role in garnering support for the dual-benefit assistance and in convening the relevant actors.

The pragmatic use and success of regional organizations in the Caribbean and Central America with implementing UN Security Council resolutions does not mean that those activities can be automatically duplicated in other regions. However, CARICOM and SICA are shining examples of how regional bodies consisting of relatively small, resource-strapped countries with similar development and security interests and priorities can use increased and novel streams of security assistance to build capacity toward regional priorities, while at the same time fulfilling international counterterrorism and nonproliferation obligations.

Opportunities for regional implementation cooperation in connection with Resolutions 1373 and 1540 also exist in the Middle East. Particularly in the Persian Gulf, the political will seems to be increasing, as is evidenced by a December 2010 Resolution 1540 regional workshop among Gulf Cooperation Council countries organized by Saudi Arabia. Indeed, the council has the scope, institutions, and precedents that suggest that it can be an important piece of the puzzle to increasing region-wide 1373 and 1540 implementation rates, and in so doing, providing additional stability and security throughout the region.<sup>121</sup>

Across the East African subregion, a variety of organizations have emerged with growing capacities to play a partnering role in implementing the proposed dual-purpose model.

### **African Union**

Except for the absence of Morocco, the African Union (AU) is the single wholly inclusive regional organization in Africa. The AU plays a unique role in strengthening peace and security across the continent, including combating the challenges related to Resolutions 1373 and 1540. The organization's peace and security mandate is spelled out in the 2002 Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. Importantly, Article 7 states that the AU shall "ensure the implementation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism and other relevant international, continental and regional conventions and instruments and harmonize and coordinate efforts at regional and continental levels to combat international terrorism" and "promote and encourage the implementation of OAU/AU, United Nations and other relevant international Conventions and Treaties on arms control and disarmament."<sup>112</sup> The AU mandate also extends to continent-wide objectives relating to trade and development, to energy, science and technology, and to the improvement of public health. Thus, it is perhaps the most logical entity to manage region-wide implementation of the proposed "whole of government" approach to meeting the intersecting challenges described in this report.

The AU has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate political commitment in the nonproliferation and counterterrorism sphere. The organization has a long record of promoting adherence to various WMD international treaties, and the AU predecessor, the Organization for African Unity, played a pertinent role in promoting the 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which today all African countries are state parties to.<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, in the mid-1980s, heads of states of the regional body stated its firm conviction “of the inter-relationship between security, development and disarmament” and therefore “the need for the United Nations to establish an institutional arrangement in Africa to conduct in depth studies and promote the objectives of peace, disarmament and development.”<sup>124</sup> In subsequent years, the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa was established and began research and programmatic activities. Twenty years later, in November 2006, the UN Department of Disarmament Affairs organized in Accra, Ghana, through the UN Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Africa and in cooperation with the European Union (EU) and the Norwegian government, a Resolution 1540 awareness-raising seminar—an important exercise in a region that to date, as noted, has a long Resolution 1540 implementation path ahead.

Another recent development in the nonproliferation and disarmament sphere that may incite more action by the AU in the WMD-area is the entry into force of the 1996 Pelindaba Treaty, which establishes an African nuclear-weapon-free zone. For well over a decade the treaty lacked the necessary 28 ratifications, which was a demonstration of one of AU’s weaknesses: the lack of follow-up mechanisms to negotiated treaties and implementation of multilateral agreements. Other examples where the AU has had only limited impact on its members are the numerous African states that have yet to conclude a comprehensive safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which all Non-proliferation Treaty states are obligated to do.

In conjunction with the AU’s focus on counterterrorism initiatives, the OAU heads of state and governments adopted Resolution 213 in 1992 as a new approach to building trust, collaborating and coordinating counterterrorism efforts between African states, and to offset the growing trend of extremism.<sup>125</sup> As such, long before the terrorist attacks on September 11, African countries were taking steps to reduce the threat of transnational terrorism immediately. The embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi in 1998 was another trigger event for African states, which took these two incidents and the violence from domestic terrorism in countries such as Algeria, Egypt, and Uganda as a harbinger to begin taking the necessary steps to curbing terrorism. Among the initial steps was the adoption of the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in 1999.<sup>126</sup> The convention demanded that member states never sanction or legitimize terrorism under any circumstances and laid out provisions for organizing cooperation between member states—particularly the dissemination of terrorism-related intelligence, their methods of financing their operations, extradition, extraterritorial investigations, and legal assistance.

Additionally, in 2004, the AU adopted the Protocol to the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, which, among other things, reaffirms the organization’s commitment to countering the threat posed by terrorism and the proliferation of WMD to nonstate actors and identifies a list of measures to be undertaken by states’ parties, as well as facilitates information exchange and mechanisms for implementation.<sup>127</sup> The African Centre for Study and Research on Terrorism, headquartered in Algiers, Algeria, coordinates closely with the AU in fulfilling the protocol’s objectives.<sup>128</sup>

While Resolution 1373 and 1540 activities have been on the AU’s radar throughout the years, events on the continent, such as foreign and domestic conflicts and extreme poverty, have forced

the AU to focus primarily on peacekeeping missions and crisis management, such as in Sudan and Somalia. Often, however, have AU missions lacked sufficient resources to complete the task at hand.

Naturally, difficulties persist when dealing with such a large and diverse regional organization, and the AU continues to be challenged by a lack of resources and organizational capacities made particularly clear in the face of the overwhelming challenges that confront the continent. Still, it is imperative that the AU work to strengthen its own capacities with regard to regional cooperation, and that its cooperate with other subregional organizations in assisting their member states in implementing Resolutions 1373 and 1540—and do so in a way that is most meaningful for member states. Just cooperation with other subregional institutions is also enshrined in Article 7 of the AU founding document, which reads that the Peace and Security Council of the AU shall “promote close harmonization, coordination and cooperation between Regional Mechanisms and the Union in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa.”<sup>129</sup> Here the AU has an important role to play not only supporting individual subregional organizations, but also in being a messenger between Africa’s several subregional bodies, sharing information on programs that work in one region and lessons learned from initiatives in peace and security and beyond.

#### **The Intergovernmental Authority on Development**

IGAD was created in 1996 to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development, which was founded in 1986. Today, IGAD members include Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.

Through its reconstitution, the IGAD mission grew from cooperative efforts related to food security and environmental protection to include the promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs, as well as enhanced economic cooperation and integration.

IGAD has been particularly active in improving counterterrorism capacities in member states through its Capacity Building Programme against Terrorism (ICPAT), which aims to build national capacity to resist terrorism and promote regional security cooperation. The program focuses on five key components: improving judicial capacity, optimizing interdepartmental cooperation, enhancing border control, providing training and sharing information, and promoting greater strategic cooperation between member states.<sup>130</sup> ICPAT has conducted research and hosted trainings for law-enforcement officers in Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda, in cooperation with the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization, and it has also organized training seminars and workshops, including with UN bodies and among member states. For example, in November 2010, ICPAT convened a workshop in Nairobi focusing on security along the Kenyan-Tanzanian border.<sup>131</sup>

Realizing the dangerous nexus between crime, terrorism, and SALW proliferation, both RECSA and the police chiefs group coordinate counterterrorism efforts with other regional organizations. In addition, there are a number of civil society actors such as the African Research Network on Terrorism and Counterterrorism that have made contributions toward implementing counterterrorism initiatives.<sup>132</sup> In short, IGAD, in cooperation with other regional and international actors, has significant potential to leverage global assistance to not only improve member states’ responsive capacities relevant to global counterterrorism but equally to regional insurgent activity, and both small-arms and WMD proliferation potentialities.

### **East African Community**

The East African Community (EAC) is the regional intergovernmental organization of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. It was originally established as a subregional economic integration system and has developed significantly over the past decade. In 2010, the EAC launched its own common market for goods, labor, and capital, including an expansion of the bloc's existing customs union. The EAC is headquartered in Arusha, Tanzania, and its goal is to establish a common currency by 2012 and full political federation in 2015. In the realm of peace and security issues, the EAC established an experts group to develop a regional arms-management policy to boost actions against the proliferation of SALW.<sup>133</sup>

Additionally, the EAC has developed an East African Community Strategy on Combating Terrorism in East Africa, which calls upon member states to exchange relevant counterterrorism information, improve border security, and establish a regional forensics center.<sup>134</sup> The EAC also created its own task force to study national, regional, and international legal framework pertaining to counterterrorism and the protection of human rights, though a specific mechanism to deal with terrorism has not yet been established. More robust engagement of related counterterrorism and nonproliferation objectives in conjunction with the CTED and UN 1540 Committee could yield important new resource streams in support of the organizational mandate.

### **The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa**

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa comprises 19 countries with the goal of regional economic integration. Its mission is to “achieve sustainable economic and social progress in all Member States through increased cooperation and integration in all fields of development particularly in trade, customs and monetary affairs, transport, communication and information, technology, industry and energy, gender, agriculture, environment and natural resources.” The member states have recognized that economic cooperation must go hand in hand with security cooperation in order to achieve sustainable economic development.<sup>135</sup> Given the transit of SALW and other illicit activities across borders, as well as the looming terrorist threat, it would be prudent for an institution such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa to engage with the various levels of government, regional institutions, and international actors on issues related to customs, among other things.

On a concluding note with regard to the regional institutions pertinent to our discussion on Eastern Africa, a major ongoing challenge is the array of subregional organizations with overlapping membership, focus, and mandate. Clarifying each organization's role and how different actors can complement one other, and how to better cooperate, would go a long way toward increasing the impact of each individual group and the benefit the members can reap.

### **Conclusion**

The most cursory survey of priority issues facing governments of Eastern Africa presented in this report reveals clear opportunities to better leverage and ultimately help realize security and development objectives in the subregion and around the world. With a deeper understanding of regional priorities and an improved focus on security assistance, we find that mutual benefit can equally accrue to security donors and their recipient partners. This report is intended to be a beginning rather than an end of this process in the Eastern African subregion. Its goal was to initiate more innovative thinking regarding how the panoply of relevant constituencies can begin to promote more-sustainable engagement by sketching a concept in which the security and development communities, North and South, donors and recipients, can operationalize joint and sustainable activities on the ground.

### Next Steps in Eastern Africa

Attempts to build more-durable approaches to more-efficacious public health structures across East Africa, to address the scourge of small arms, and to counter the threat of terrorism are already apparent. For instance, at present the United States and Europe direct significant international security assistance toward the promotion of strategic trade-control policies and compliance measures in major transshipment hubs around the globe. In the case of the United States, the goal of that national program has been to “prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, their missile delivery systems, conventional weapons, and related items by assisting foreign governments to establish and implement effective export control systems that meet international standards.”<sup>136</sup> Yet program managers within the State Department’s Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance (EXBS) program have also recognized the corollary benefits derived from such engagement—both to wider countertrafficking efforts, as well as to trade promotion and economic expansion. Leveraging the dual-benefit that these nonproliferation resources can yield, future EXBS outreach to East Africa will build the legal, regulatory, and enforcement capacity to prevent the illicit inflow and export of small arms and light weapons across national borders, while promoting the partner government’s capacity to prevent WMD proliferation. In addition to these immediate human-security dividends, a functioning, modern export-control and border-security capacity will also provide a solid foundation upon which key industrial sectors in the subregion can grow and flourish, including, for instance, the information and communications industry,<sup>137</sup> the biotechnology sector,<sup>138</sup> and the transportation and transshipment industry.<sup>139</sup> Each of these sectors is held up, in one way or another, by governments across Eastern Africa as integral to their economic diversification and growth plans. EXBS donors and recipient partners alike recognize the clear benefits derived from the improved connections to global trading networks yielded by modernized export-control laws, better training and border enforcement, and enhanced government-industry cooperation. Significantly, these benefits can be achieved by appealing not to increasingly scarce economic development resources but to international security-assistance programming.

Similar opportunities avail themselves in the field of public health. Despite positive gains made against the spread of infectious disease in Eastern Africa, efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals have been routinely confounded by, among other things, an inadequate health-surveillance and response infrastructure across much of the subregion. Although several governments have shown the desire to meet the obligations of the revised International Health Regulations (2005), thereby building the requisite infrastructure to sustainably meet the challenge of infectious disease, most countries still lack a clear definition of the scope of capacity-building needed for timely, reliable disease detection and response. Nor do donors and recipient partners have a clear indication of the corresponding financial requirements associated with those activities. In the spirit of bridging these development concerns with related security resources, the Stimson Center has designed an analytical framework, data-collection protocols, and financial-analysis methodologies to calibrate needs and attendant costs associated with implementation of the IHR.<sup>140</sup> By conducting a comprehensive health landscape and financial analysis with partner governments across the subregion, the center’s goal is to provide national and international decision-makers with critically needed information to inform technical cooperation, provide logistical support, and mobilize the financial resources to develop, strengthen, and maintain public health capacities necessary to facilitate the implementation of the IHR. Once a clearer picture of assistance needs becomes available, resources available under UN Security Council Resolution 1540 can be directed toward meeting those requirements in a sustainable manner—and again can be achieved with funds well outside of traditional development donor streams.



With respect to the prevention of terrorism, there are various national, regional, international, and nongovernmental initiatives ongoing from which dual-benefit results can be drawn. For instance, the Center for Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, under a multiyear grant provided by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is working closely with IGAD to carry out various forms of counterterrorism and counterterrorist financing training and capacity-building, which “will not only develop and improve the counterterrorism-related capacities of individual countries in East Africa, but may in time contribute to the regional security that will underpin equitable regional development.”<sup>141</sup>

In this new era of fiscal restraint, governments of the Global South must think innovatively as they face a shrinking base of donor support from the traditional development community. In light of continued demand but declining development-assistance resources, governments across Eastern Africa would benefit from a reconsideration of the opportunities available for security collaboration that more meaningfully addresses the high-priority concerns of regional governments. By capitalizing upon the dual-benefit nature of previously untapped streams of financial and technical assistance from counterterrorism, nonproliferation, and other security-assistance channels, new assistance can be leveraged to mutually advance the high-priority concerns of government across the Eastern African subregion. Governments across the region should challenge themselves to develop innovative connections and specific, integrated assistance requests that will inculcate common and durable approaches to mutual and also disparate challenges.

Based upon the potential benefits to implementing this agenda, regional experts and local officials seem to agree that governments of the region should be encouraged to:

1. Undertake a systematic analysis of government-wide foreign-assistance requirements.
2. Develop a prioritized list of objectives linked to existing donor streams that can be used to identify gaps in existing resource streams.
3. Appoint a single senior-level point of contact who can manage across national government offices, coordinate with regional and subregional organizations, and ultimately serve as a conduit for the international donor community to identify and direct new streams of security assistance.

### **Next Steps for the Donor Community**

In the case of Eastern Africa, engagement through the prism of public health, regional counterterrorism, and the prevention of small arms and light weapons trafficking can produce sustained dividends that extend equally to global counterterrorism and WMD nonproliferation objectives. But the spoils of this dual-benefit approach extend beyond both hard-security focused governments and their partners in the Global South seeking to address higher priority development and human-security threats. Developed foreign-aid donors that seek to stretch their development-assistance dollars further also have much to gain. The government of Sweden is a case in point. As one of the most generous and progressive aid donors in the world, Sweden has a proven track record in thinking innovatively about its foreign aid. One example is that country’s view of the role that development cooperation can play in terrorism prevention. In a 2009 white paper published by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the authors note that:

[s]ome of the measures where it is anticipated that, apart from curbing poverty, development assistance can help prevent terrorism and its underlying factors include support to young people through job-creating measures, education and training, promotion of democracy, prison reform, dialogue and reconciliation, and media support.<sup>142</sup>

In this case, development-assistance donors within the government concluded that their strategic investments paid dividends not only for economic development, the rule of law, and the promotion of civil society, but equally for the long-term abatement of the terrorist threat.<sup>143</sup> What is true for innovative application of development assistance is therefore equally true in the reverse. If directed wisely, security assistance can yield long-term benefit to the development community.

Yet despite the inherent logic of this causal chain, our experience indicates that leveraging security and development goals and resources is not naturally occurring, even for developed donor governments. Government institutions across the Global South as well as the North have been inadvertently constructed so as to hinder joint responses. Budgets are apportioned and human resources are directed toward distinct goals. As bureaucracies have grown, institutional structures have unwittingly impeded or deterred cohesive responses to complex challenges. Success therefore will depend upon our willingness as both donors and recipients to force changes to our traditional approaches if we are to meaningfully operationalize the rhetoric of “whole of government.”

Of course, working across the policy silos of government is a time consuming and challenging endeavor. Without committed individuals willing to advance change, institutional inertia often prevails. Success more broadly depends upon our ability to encourage the emergence of these advocates, and our efforts to identify these individuals are well spent. Donor governments should work to cultivate advocates who can serve as a single point of contact for the donor community, as well as a provocateur within governments of the Global South. These individuals, be they within national governments, subregional organizations, or within the UN Secretariat itself, not only serve to encourage recipient partners to better understand their international obligations, but also help governments and multilateral entities to tangibly link their domestic and development goals with global nonproliferation and counterterrorism agendas. In short, unless and until discrete donor-assistance activities systematically realize the spoils of joint programming, and are actively incentivized to pursue them, it is likely that stovepiped and inadequate practices will continue.

While donors may find fault with their recipient partner governments, it is equally clear that stovepiped and often inflexible practices, as well as a general failure of imagination, remain central challenges for much of the developed North. If we are to operationalize a “whole of government” approach, the traditional donor community should:

1. Encourage longer-term thinking and approaches that address the root causes of proliferation and terrorism.
2. Eliminate programmatic and funding restrictions on nonproliferation and counterterrorism appropriations to encourage better synthesis with national human-security and development objectives abroad.
3. Initiate dialogues with recipient partners under the auspices of their threat-analysis and foreign-assistance requirements rather than on the basis of our security-assistance templates.

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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, trafficking, 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.

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- Strengthening institutions for international peace and security.
- Building regional security.
- Reducing weapons of mass destruction and transnational threats.

Stimson's approach is pragmatic—geared toward providing policy alternatives, solving problems, and overcoming obstacles to a more peaceful and secure world. Through in-depth research and analysis, we seek to understand and illuminate complex issues. By engaging policymakers, policy implementers, and nongovernmental institutions as well as other experts, we craft recommendations that are cross-partisan, actionable, and effective. Online at [www.stimson.org](http://www.stimson.org).

## Resources

Additional information on The Beyond Boundaries Initiative can be found at [www.stimson.org/research-pages/bridging-the-security-development-divide/](http://www.stimson.org/research-pages/bridging-the-security-development-divide/).

A comprehensive source for information on UNSCR 1540 can be found at [www.1540hub.org](http://www.1540hub.org).