

## PREFACE

The chapters of this volume of *Homeland Security* highlight recent efforts to improve the nation's border and port security. Each author was asked to simplify as much as possible the complexities of policy and practice, while highlighting both pre- and post-9/11 security challenges. After a brief introductory chapter, the volume is organized into two sections: border security and maritime/port security. Some chapters focus on what has been accomplished within the United States to better secure our borders and ports, while others bring a more international flavor to our understanding of homeland security. As a collection, the chapters advance our understanding of key national security challenges, as well as raise important questions and issues for further research.

### **PART I: BORDER SECURITY**

The first section of the volume begins with a chapter by Dr. Joseph Vorbach III, a commander in the U.S. Coast Guard and an associate professor of International Relations at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, in which he explores the challenges of securing the substantial land border between the United States and Mexico. Vorbach points to the massive flows of goods and people that cross the border, in contrast with finite resources to filter and inspect them. His analysis provides a framework for thinking about our nation's response to the homeland security threat and offers several recommendations for improving border security on the southern border—such as increased funding and surveillance, new investments in technology innovations, and a great commitment to facilitating cross-national cooperation. As he acknowledges at the close of his chapter, no border will ever be perfectly secure, but there are a number of ways in which the U.S. border with Mexico can become more secure.

Professor Stuart Farson of Simon Fraser University presents a similar analytical framework in the next chapter with his discussion on the (much longer) border between the United States and Canada. He notes that the response of the U.S. government to the attacks of September 11, 2001, has strongly influenced how Canadians and Americans now view their

common borders, moving from being an essentially linear concept to one that is now multifaceted and multidimensional. Further, he argues, there are indications that values are diverging between the two nations, reflected in part by the fact that the Canadian government has responded in significant but different ways to the threat perceived by the U.S. government. And yet, the United States is much more reliant for its own domestic security on its friends and neighbors than perhaps it ever was. Thus, Farson recommends a greater level of attention to managing the relationship between the two countries.

On a similar note, the next chapter—by Dr. Christopher Rudolph, an assistant professor at American University—also emphasizes multinational cooperation. Prior to 9/11, he notes, scholarly discussions on border security focused on the need for a multilateral regime that would help facilitate the movement of people across borders in order to achieve economic gains. However, since 9/11 three different perspectives have emerged about the appropriate way to manage border security. Americans have put forward the notion of a “security perimeter,” Canadians have referred to the establishment of a “zone of confidence,” and the Mexicans have suggested that only a comprehensive approach is acceptable. His analysis suggests that including Canadian and Mexican officials in U.S. threat assessment discussions and providing access to antiterrorist intelligence would make an important contribution to achieving the common goal of advancing cross-border flows of people and goods. However, Rudolph notes, while a formal agreement to resolve these differences of opinion would be useful, a formal comprehensive North American regime is unlikely; thus, it is perhaps more reasonable to expect improved “harmonization” among NAFTA countries regarding information infrastructure and sharing.

A different perspective on multinational cooperation is provided by Dr. Farid Kahhat, a professor at the Catholic University in Lima, Peru. Since the 1990s, he notes, increasing trade cooperation and economic interdependence have significantly enhanced the level of cross-national cooperation throughout North and South America. His chapter explores the theoretical and practical dimensions of Latin America’s role in the global fight against terrorism and suggests some areas in which these efforts can be strengthened. Specifically, his discussion moves beyond border security issues and addresses some of the underlying regional dimensions to collaborating on a comprehensive security strategy.

Continuing with the theme of international cooperation, Dr. Justin Kastner (assistant professor at Kansas State University) and Dr. Jason Ackleson (assistant professor at New Mexico State University) focus on the intersection of border security and international trade, particularly in agricultural products. Globalization presents many challenges for the U.S. government as it seeks to ensure its national security, they argue.

One challenge arises because the pursuit of free trade may compromise America's ability to secure its domestic security; on the other hand, a different challenge arises when demands for security threaten the essential cross-border flows needed for U.S. economic growth. Food security exemplifies these contrasting challenges; cross-border trade flows help ensure food security, but cross-border flows also potentially represent a security threat to America's food supply and agricultural base. These security tensions often manifest themselves at the U.S. border; it is at America's land frontiers and other ports of entry that the U.S. government attempts to screen the vast flows of incoming goods and individuals. The authors conclude that hedging against conventional, nonterrorist threats can have positive consequences for counterterrorism and food security policy, and they offer several recommendations for security policies along both the U.S.-Mexico and U.S. Canada borders.

The next chapter, by West Point professor and legal expert Margaret Stock, explores the complicated relationship between immigration and national security. She argues that an effective national security-oriented U.S. immigration policy must focus on letting in the right people. Immigrants are a key asset in fighting the global war on terrorism and maintaining U.S. military dominance. They are also key to the U.S. maintaining its economic dominance, which is necessary to support our military power. Yet, the United States has no national security strategy for immigration. Immigration policy must be an explicit part of our homeland security strategies, she argues, not an afterthought. In essence, a key aspect of our nation's future security will be a comprehensive immigration policy that allows us to distinguish between legitimate immigrants and the small number of people who intend to do us harm.

Immigration policy is also the focus of the next chapter, by Dr. Jason Ackleson, who provides an analysis of the new "smart border" security environment of the post-9/11 era. The term "smart border" refers to bilateral accords signed by the Bush administration, Canada, and Mexico, which involve limited cooperation on a number of policy issues related to border control—including inspections, preclearances of goods and people, database coordination, and biometric identifiers. The smart border plan has emerged as the preferred policy solution to the difficult problem of screening for terrorist incursions into the United States while maintaining flows of goods and individuals, key drivers of globalization. After describing the international political context of border security and U.S.-Mexico bilateral relations in the post-9/11 period, Ackleson's chapter then turns to major policy options that seek to facilitate the movement of goods, services, and people into the United States—including workers—while also providing adequate security for its international borders. Special emphasis is placed on efforts to enact some kind of migration reform in the United States. The chapter concludes by offering several policy

recommendations to help deal with the question of undocumented migration and border security in the post-9/11 era.

A different perspective on migration reform is offered by Dr. Matthew Kenney, an assistant professor at Austin Peay State University, in his chapter on international human trafficking. Human trafficking poses moral and practical challenges to U.S. security interests at home and abroad. Contemporary human trafficking is slavery, and it exhibits features that are every bit as brutal and terrorizing as the worst forms of slavery from past eras. Meanwhile, vulnerabilities along the U.S.-Mexico borders have created attractive business opportunities for profit-seeking traffickers and coyotes—guides hired by Mexicans seeking to enter the United States illegally. Kenney's analysis reveals the need for greater funding to support programs and activities that address the problem of human trafficking, as well as the need for an extensive effort to educate the public about human trafficking networks and how to combat them.

According to University of San Diego professor David Shirk, market-driven criminal activities (much like those described by Kenney in his chapter) formed a considerable amount of the security challenges along the U.S.-Mexico border before 9/11. However, unlike the long-standing challenges rooted in basic economic forces of supply and demand, the new national security challenges confronted in the post-9/11 context are the result of the deliberate intent to cause harm. His chapter explores how this new context has impacted U.S. and Mexican law enforcement and security relations and how new policy directions may offer a framework to develop mutually beneficial practices and approaches to shared challenges. As the U.S. and Mexican federal governments move toward implementing the laws and administrative structures for dealing with law enforcement and security challenges, the 22-point Smart Border Agreement provides a helpful bilateral framework for addressing these priorities and for building strong U.S.-Mexican ties in the aftermath of recent tensions over immigration and Iraq. However, the United States needs to take care to ensure that the Department of Homeland Security cooperates effectively with other federal, state, and local agencies sharing jurisdiction in this area. At the same time, in order to ensure that Mexico can operate as an effective partner in this agreement, the United States will need to help its neighbor develop its security capabilities. Over the long term, he argues, the harmonization of North American security standards would be mutually beneficial to all three countries and would constitute a positive step toward the creation of a stronger economic and security community in North America.

Daniella Bove-LaMonica, a former diplomatic fellow at the U.S. Consulate General in Monterrey, Mexico, follows this discussion with a chapter on improving the security of our nation's visa processing system. Despite alleged accusations of harsher policies due to the new security

environment, she notes, nearly three-fourths of all applicants for a U.S. visa in 2004 were successful. This final chapter of the section on border security examines the visa application process and demonstrates how, even four years after 9/11, the consular arena is still extremely vulnerable despite new security policies. New laws, harsher punishments for immigration violators, additional personnel, and smarter technology—none of these strategies will greatly improve our national defenses if the core of the visa adjudication process—particularly, the training of the individuals in whose judgment we trust—is not examined more closely.

## **PART II: MARITIME AND PORT SECURITY**

The second section of the volume explores the challenges of protecting America from threats to its ports and coastlines. The first chapter of this section is provided by two retired Coast Guard officers, Joe DiRenzo (currently the Anti-Terrorism Coordinator for the Coast Guard's Atlantic Area) and Chris Doane (Chief of Response and Port Security for the Coast Guard's Atlantic Area). They remind us that the United States remains a maritime nation—over 90 percent of the raw materials, parts, and products imported and exported by this nation still move by ship. Clearly, the security of our maritime transportation system and maritime borders are critical to this nation's economic health and security. The authors examine America's Maritime Homeland Security campaign in three phases: (1) historical efforts before 9/11, (2) current efforts following 9/11 and (3) future challenges in view of the asymmetric threat to the maritime domain. The first part of this discussion reviews how the United States has sought to secure its maritime domain in the past. This is followed by an exploration of how the United States has responded nationally and as a member of the global maritime community that has come to the realization that terrorism knows no boundary, no respect for human life, and poses a threat to all nations, the world's maritime transportation system, and the world's economic health. Finally, the chapter concludes with a look at what more needs to be done in terms of leveraging technology, employing limited assets, and adjusting cultural views to address the terrorist threat in the maritime.

The next chapter of this section highlights the importance of international cooperation and is authored by Tracey Gray (a program analyst in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and a primary author of the *National Strategy for Maritime Security*) and Frank L. Jones (Principal Director for Strategy, Plans, and Resources in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and co-chair of the interagency working group that wrote the *National Strategy for Maritime Security*). They argue that because the maritime domain is an immense and largely unsecured medium for a number of

threats, the United States should seek to increase maritime security by strengthening regional cooperative security efforts and enabling other nations by sharing expertise, information, and technology. Finding common ground and mutual strategic interests allows for synergy greater than any one nation can achieve. The transnational terrorist threat in the maritime domain is a global menace, and it demands a global response.

In the next chapter, Lieutenant Colonel Jerry Kidrick examines the unique challenges of border and port security in Alaska. Securing a part of the United States that is geographically separated from the continental 48 states, and yet encompasses 586,400 square miles and has a massive coastline, clearly warrants considerable resources and effort. Further, Alaska offers a number of locations which can be considered potential terrorist targets. To illustrate this, Kidrick provides an analysis of the security challenges around the Port of Valdez and terminus of the Alaska Oil Pipeline, which is what can be called a "target-rich environment." The oil from the Alaska Oil Pipeline accounts for roughly 20 percent of U.S. oil production annually, and one-tenth of all the oil Americans use daily passes through this pipeline and port. From general aviation airplanes (carrying passengers on sightseeing flights) to cruise ships and recreational boats, there are several potential means by which a terrorist could transport explosives or other weapons to the port and cause considerable damage. Improving security at this key component in the nation's critical infrastructure, he argues, will require new federal regulations, enforcement, and funding to pay for security equipment and training.

Finally, Priya Dixit (a terrorism researcher at American University) concludes the volume with a chapter on the maritime security challenges of the Pacific coast. After reviewing a brief history of maritime security efforts in this region, the chapter provides a brief analysis of trade- and tourism-related activities in three major ports of the U.S. Pacific coast: Seattle, Los Angeles, and Long Beach. With regard to each of these ports, case studies of trade and tourism illustrate their importance to the socio-economic health of the United States. The chapter then describes some of the major initiatives that have been operationalized to ensure port security in the post-9/11 era. The final section looks at the unique challenges faced by U.S. Pacific maritime security in terms of new security threats, such as bioterror and geographical challenges, and offers some recommendations for improving maritime security.

## CONCLUSION

Together, these chapters address an impressive breadth of issues related to securing our nation's borders and ports. However, there are obviously other avenues to explore beyond what is covered in this volume. Thus, this collection will hopefully also stimulate readers to pursue further

research on their own, in order to expand our collective understanding of border and port security, as well as potentially influence policy making at the federal, state, and local levels. In a country as vast as the United States, the challenges of homeland security require a broad, collaborative effort between government agencies at all levels, private corporations, community groups, and the general public.

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