

William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies

CAPSTONE Spouses' Update: Results of the Perry Center Threats Survey for Latin America

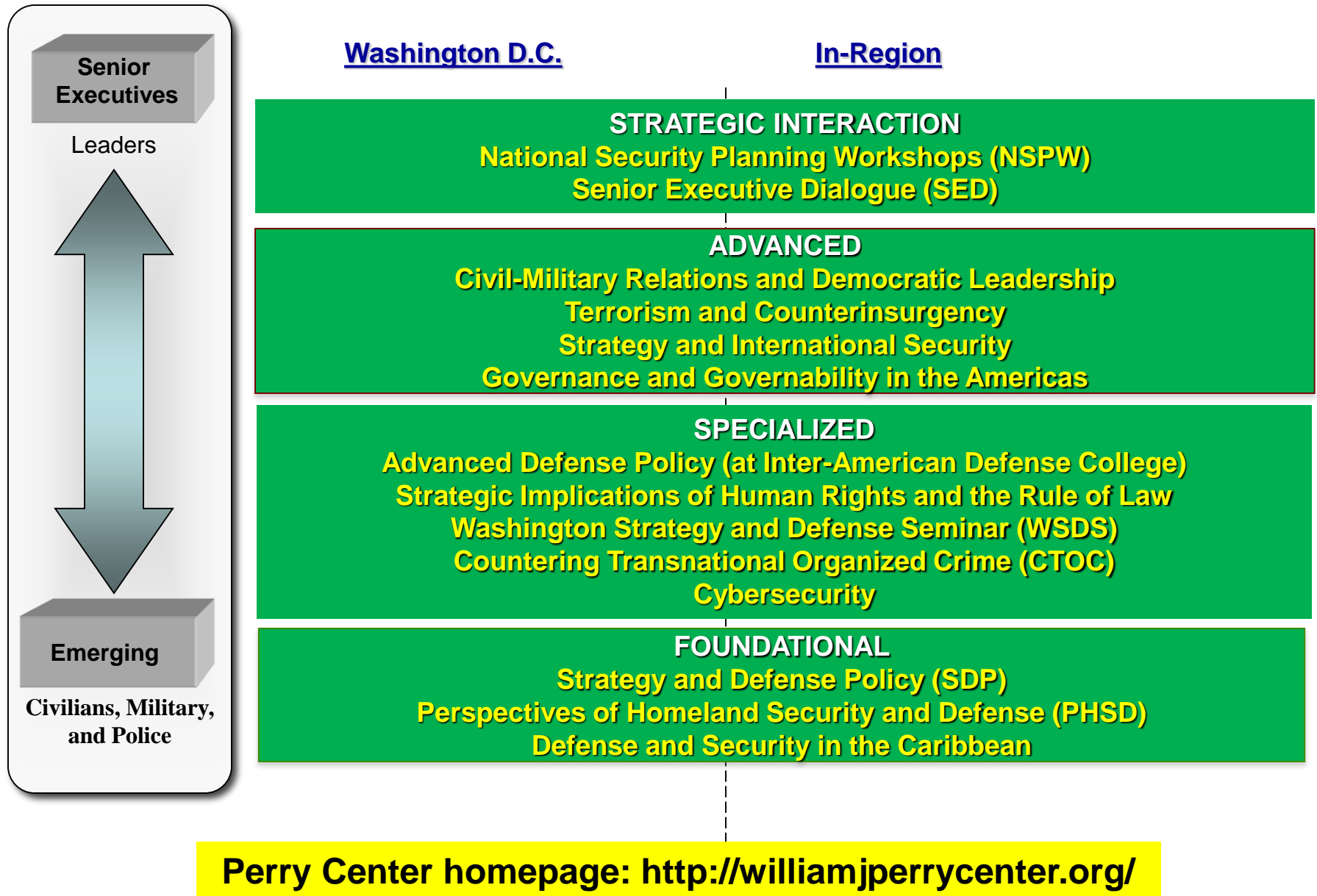
Professor Pat Paterson
Feb 25, 2020

DoD Regional Academic Centers



Regional academic centers help inform policy for DOD/OSD and the Geographic Combatant Commanders.

Perry Center Educational Programs



Problems in Latin America today



Government and societal collapse in Venezuela

Violence in Mexico

Transition to peace in Colombia

Crime wave in Brazil

Violent gangs in Central America

Hurricane damage in the Caribbean

Climate change wreaking havoc in many areas.

Today's agenda – Results of the Perry Center Threats Survey for Latin America

Question: *What are the most dangerous security threats in the Western Hemisphere?*

- Background and impetus
- What are not threats in Latin America?
- What surprised us?
- The most dangerous threats.
- What this means for the U.S.?



Impetus - WJPC Topics of Interest

Civil-Military Relations	International Policy
Corruption	International Security
Counter Drug Strategy	Migration
Counterinsurgency	Military History
Counterterrorism	Military Sociology
Critical Infrastructure Protection	Military Strategy
Cybersecurity	Ministries of Defense
Defense Economics	Nation Building
Defense Governance	National Security Studies
Defense Institution Building	Organized Crime
Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR)	Private Security
Drug Policy	Rule of Law
External Actors (China, Russia, Iran)	Security and Defense Education
Foreign Policy	Security Sector Reform
Hemispheric Security and Defense	Stability Operations and Peacekeeping Ops.
History of Western Civilization	Terrorism
Homeland Security	Transitional Justice
Human Rights	Transnational Security
Interagency Coordination	Transnational Organized Crime
International Cooperation	U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America
International Humanitarian Law (IHL) or Law of Armed Conflict	U.S. National Security Decision-Making Process
International or Regional Organizations (OAS, UN)	

Traditional Missions of the Armed Forces

- Homeland Defense
- Protection of National Territory
- Protection of Sovereignty
- Border Protection
- Public Order
- Natural disasters
- Counter-Insurgency
- Counter-Terrorism
- Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)



New Missions of the Armed Forces

- Domestic law enforcement (traditionally a police role)
- Organized crime (cartels, *maras*, and gangs)
- National development
- Cyber security
- Environmental support
- Critical infrastructure protection.
- Prison Control
- Food security
- Forest fires
- Epidemic outbreaks
- Electoral support
- Climate change



Methodology

Conducted online in Sept 2019.
Survey ran for 30 days.
Responses from 28 countries.
Over 500 responses.

Acknowledged problems:

Conflating all countries together is not exact; different countries perceive different threats.

Organized crime includes a number of illegal activities that were also on the list.

Perry Center graduates are normally government-friendly and US-friendly; we need to hear from ALL sectors of ALL societies.



What are not considered threats?



Weapons of Mass Destruction (<1%)



State on State conflicts (1.9%)



Pandemics (2.5%)



Border Disputes (4.5%)

What surprised us? **Natural disasters.**

Natural disasters were rated lower than expected (12.5%).

Prone to geologic disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanoes, landslides) and meteorological disasters (hurricanes, floods, severe rainfall, droughts, and landslides).

The Pacific Ring of Fire.

Civilian-led government responses in most countries. Well-developed HADR and civil defense systems.

Armed forces frequently respond with lift, communications, SAR, and medical assistance.

HADR is one of the top 3 priorities of the U.S. Southern Command.



Earthquakes



Volcanoes



Hurricanes

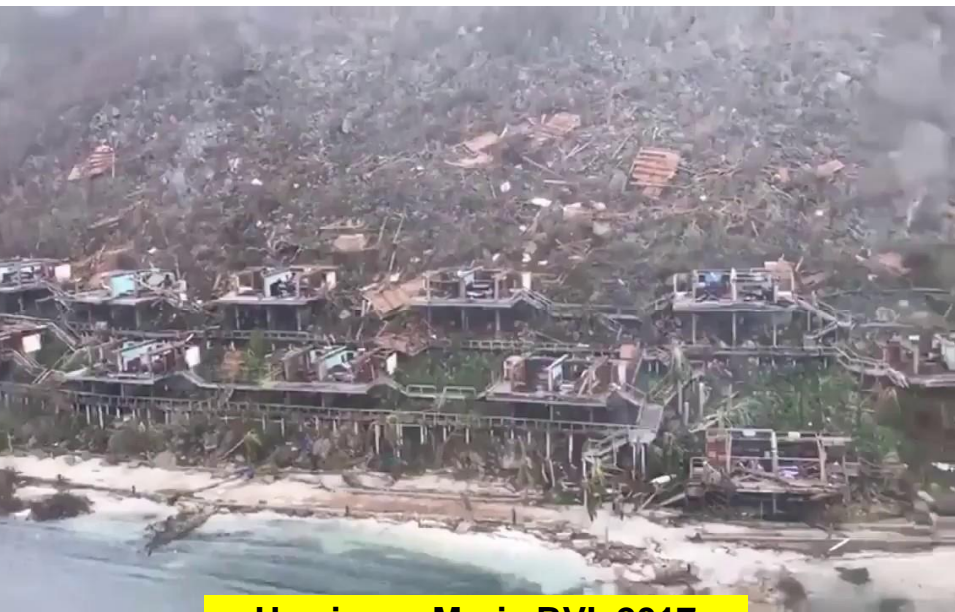
rian reaching the Bahamas on its track to Florida, USA - September 1st, 2019 14:11 UTC - Enhanced natural colors through SLIDER tool by RAMMB / CIRA, processed by Pierre Markuse



Hurricane Jose, 2017



Hurricane Mitch, 1989



Hurricane Maria BVI, 2017



Hurricane Dorian, Bahamas, 2019

What surprised us? **Russia and China.**

China and Russia were not perceived as threats.

Great power competition (vs China and Russia) is the centerpiece of the new U.S. National Security Strategy (Dec 2017) and U.S. National Defense Strategy (2018).

Russia supporting “malign actors” (Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia).

China buying influence in region by purchasing land, building infrastructure, and offering loans. No strings attached?



Russian warship in Caracas, VEN 2013



China-Latin America Summit, 2017

What surprised us? **Climate Change**

Threat of climate change was perceived lower than expected (15.5%).

According to the Pentagon, climate change is the "threat multiplier" and a "conflict catalyst."

Climate change does not cause conflicts directly. But it can generate natural disasters that contribute to the social and economic stress that creates conflicts.

Examples:

Droughts → Mass migration

Forest fires and floods → internally displaced persons

Lack of profits → protests and lack of legitimacy of the government

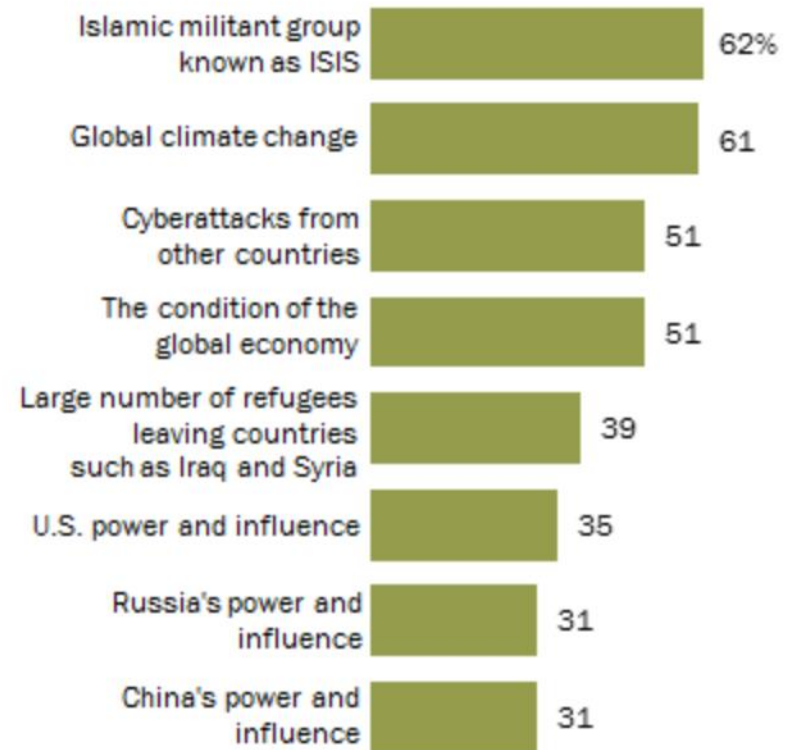
Urbanization → unemployment and socioeconomic stress

Excess heat → overloaded electrical system and blackouts

Depleted food sources → health crisis

ISIS and climate change seen as among top threats around the world

___ is a major threat to our country



Note: Figures represent global medians across 38 countries. ISIS not asked in Turkey, U.S. power and influence not asked in U.S., and Russia's power and influence not asked in Russia.

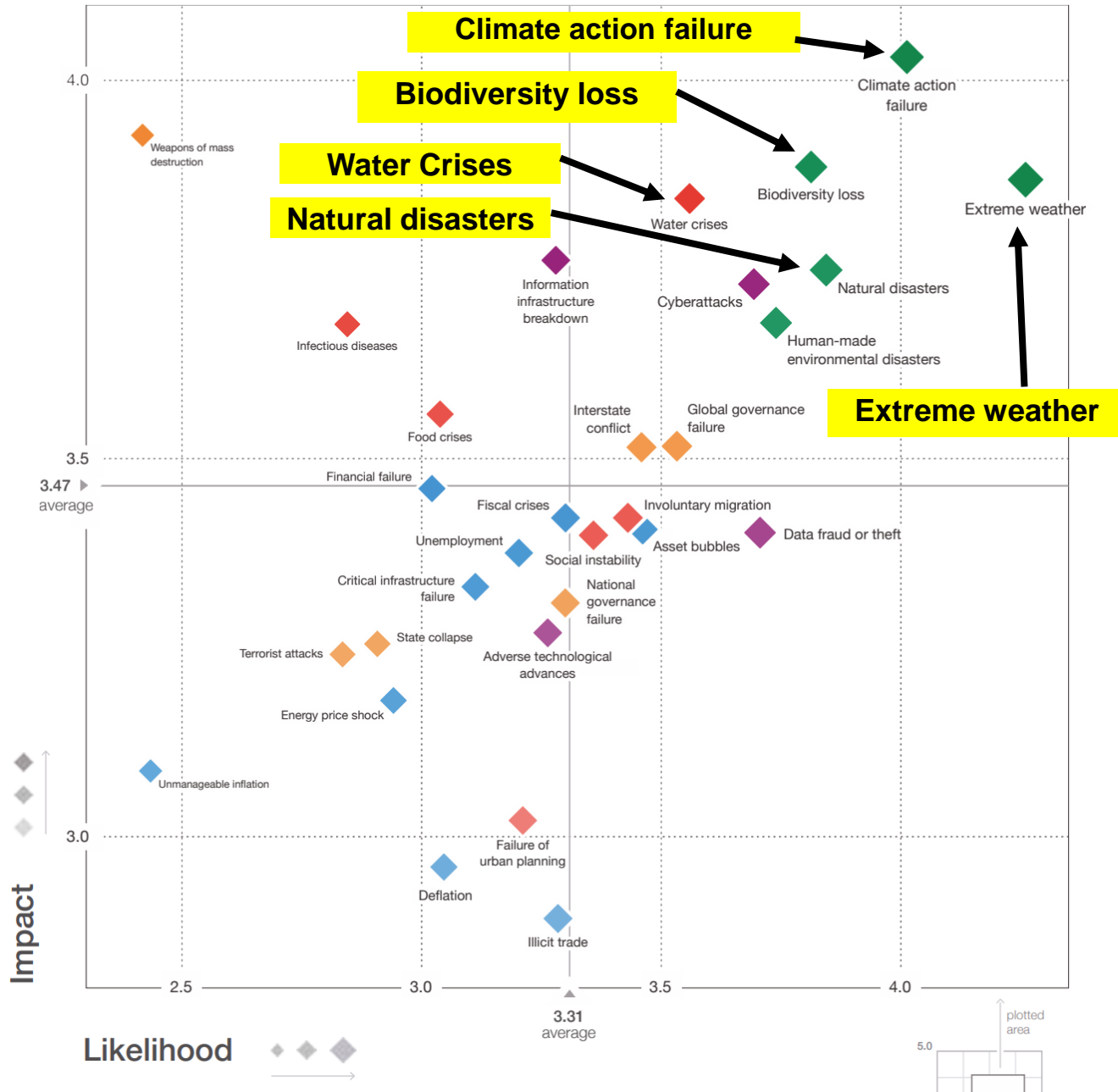
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17a-h.

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Figure II: The Global Risks Landscape 2020

Climate Change

Climate change risks (such as extreme weather and natural disasters) are considered the most destructive of all global threats.



Source: Global Risks 2019, World Economic Forum, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Global_Risk_Report_2020.pdf

The 5th biggest threat – **weak government institutions (26%)**

Government institutions that are unable to enforce or collect sufficient tax revenue.

Inability of Justice departments to resolve crime and corruption.

Fraud and waste of taxpayers' investments.

Dysfunctional education systems.

Underpaid and ill-equipped police units.

Many prisons and penitentiaries are under the control of gangs or org crime.



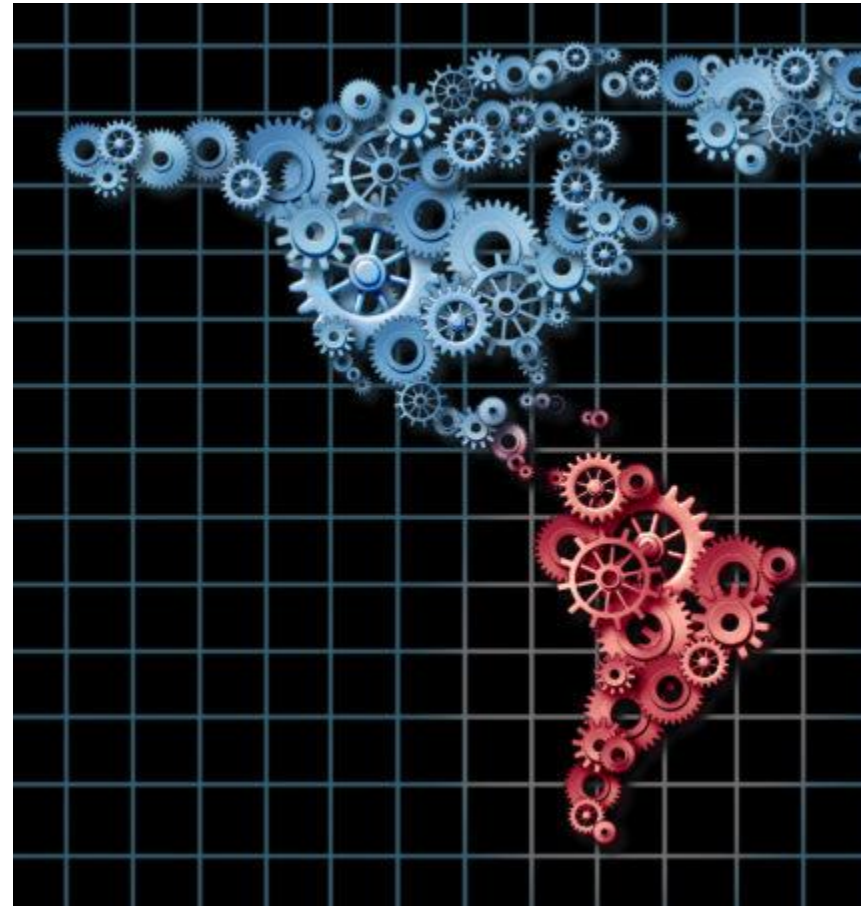
Decrepit naval vessel, Trinidad



Poor professionalism of police units

Institutional challenges among LA/Carib governments

- **Human Resources (the right people with the right skills)**
- **Budget development (multi-year forecasting and life-cycle costs)**
- **Communication – horizontally and vertically, interagency**
- **Strategy Development and Promulgation**
- **Accountability (positive and negative)**
- **Professional development – Training and Education, Continuing Education**
- **Meritocracies**
- **Transparency**
- **Strategic Communications and Public Affairs**
- **Legislation and Authorities**
- **Effective oversight – Congress, free press, NGOs, civil society**



What do Latin American security organizations need to face future threats?

- Critical thinking
- Joint experience
- Interdisciplinary education
- Civilian expertise
- Interagency coordination
- Whole of government effort
- Planning (operational and budgetary)
- Innovation



Defense institution building (DIB) is the #1 priority of the Perry Center.

It is also a focus area of the U.S. Southern Command (referred to as *institutional capacity building*).



The 4th biggest threat – **Poverty and Inequality (26%)**

Good news! According to the UN, 42 percent of the population (214 million) lived in poverty in 2002. By 2013, this percentage had dropped to 24 percent (142 million); 72 million people in the region escaped living in income poverty.

Increase in middle class rising from 108 million people in 2002 (21% of population) to 202 million people in 2013.

Better access to health care, improved education, less economic marginalization, better upward mobility, lower unemployment rates, more skilled laborers.



Luxury living near Rio de Janeiro



Large middle classes in many Latin American countries.

The 4th biggest threat – **Poverty and Inequality (26%)**

Bad news! Latin America is still the most unequal region in the world (as measured by Gini Coefficient).

The Central American nations of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, for example, have 30-50 percent of their populations living in poverty (less than \$4 per day).

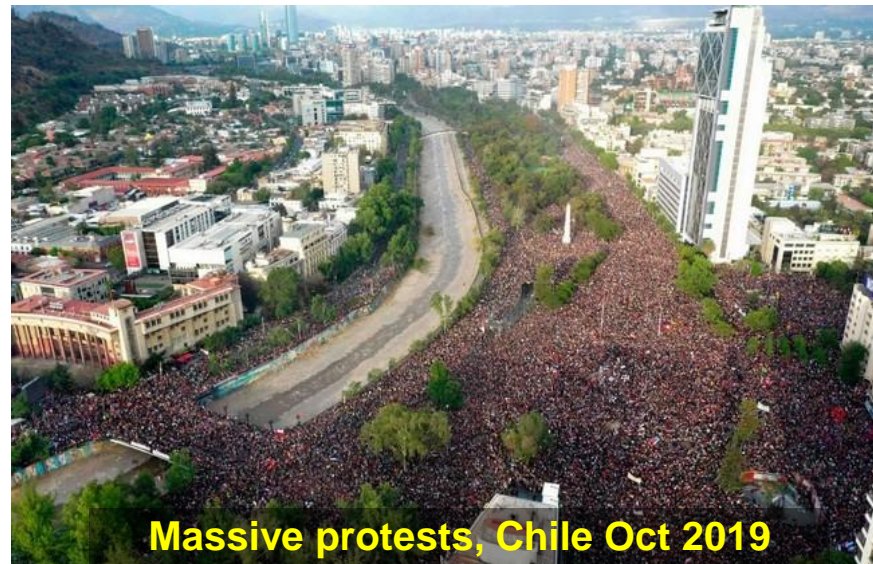
Mexico has the 14th largest economy in the world but 40% of its citizens live below the poverty line.

“Youth bulge” and the “*ni-ni*’s.” Nearly 1/3 of kids 15-24 have no employment and no education. Disenfranchised youth vulnerable to gang recruitment for prestige.

Frustration with high costs of living have boiled over in many countries.



Informal economic sector, Mexico



Massive protests, Chile Oct 2019

The 3rd biggest threat – **Organized Crime (52%)**

The combination of poverty, inequality, economic exclusion, and a massive amount of illegal funds through illegal activities produces low-level crime and organized crime groups.

The most violent region in the world fueled by U.S. small arms exports.

Loss of sovereign control of some areas by the government. A criminal insurgency?

Immense amounts of financial profits in an impoverished area.

Police are often part of the problem because of low salaries and poor professionalism.



U.S. Customs agents killed by Mexican police, 2011.



Mexican Marine take control of Acapulco and arrest police officials, Sept 2018.

Organized crime groups in Latin America



Gangs in Haiti



First Capital Command group, Brazil



Maras in Central America



Mexican drug cartels

***“Mano Dura”* and Kingpin strategies have not worked.**

Most groups are decentralized networks of criminals which are difficult to dismantle. Replacement *capos* spring up in place of the arrested leaders.

Most violence occurs between org crime gangs competing for illegal markets.

Many of the enablers of organized crime groups are common citizens that work on the periphery of the criminal economy by running drug labs, serving as youth messengers, or lookouts.

Other enablers are corrupt government officials who receive bribes or are threatened if they take action.



The New Generation Cartel of Jalisco (CJNG) in Mexico



MS-13 members in El Salvador

Militia army in Michoacan, Mexico



The 2nd biggest threat – Drug Trafficking (60%)

The illegal drug markets in Latin America is a multi-billion industry (a \$30-60 billion industry?)

Coca is grown in Andean highlands of Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. Converted into cocaine in Colombia jungle and mountain labs.

Most Caribbean routes shut down in 1980s. Now shipped north along Central American littorals into Mexico.

Primary product: cocaine and marijuana.
New: heroin, opioids, fentanyl.

95% of drugs that enter the U.S. come across the U.S.-Mexican border.

Growing demand in Asia, Europe, and Africa.



Mexican soldiers rescue a schoolboy from a “tiroteo” between rival drug gangs.



Destroying bales of marijuana in Mexico

Air and Maritime Illicit Activity

Maritime Trafficking = 97%

Legend

- Maritime
- Air



Venezuela as a Narco-state



President Maduro and and former Minister of Military Intelligence (2004-2011), General Hugo Carvajal, accused drug kingpin according to the Department of US Treasury, after his "escape" of Aruba, in July 2014.

Convergence of DTOs and Terrorist groups?



2010, the Sinaloa Cartel and *los Zetas* emerge as head DTOs, all others as subordinates.



Fragmentation of drug cartels after El Chapo – from 7 to 70?

Figure 2. 2015 Map of DTO Areas of Dominant Influence Developed by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration



Source: U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), April 2015.

Notes: DEA uses the term “cartel” in place of drug trafficking organization (DTO). The Knights Templar, discussed in the text of the report, is labeled in Spanish as *Los Caballeros Templarios*.

The destination – U.S. markets

If 95% of the drugs that reach the U.S. come through Mexico, how does it get into the country?

US-Mexico Border



**500,000 vehicles enter the U.S. via the US-MX border each day (CBP).
25,000 people cross the San Diego-Tijuana foot bridge each day.**

And the #1 threat in Latin America? (*drum roll*)

And the #1 threat in Latin America? (*drum roll*)

Corruption! (70%)

Corruption in Latin America

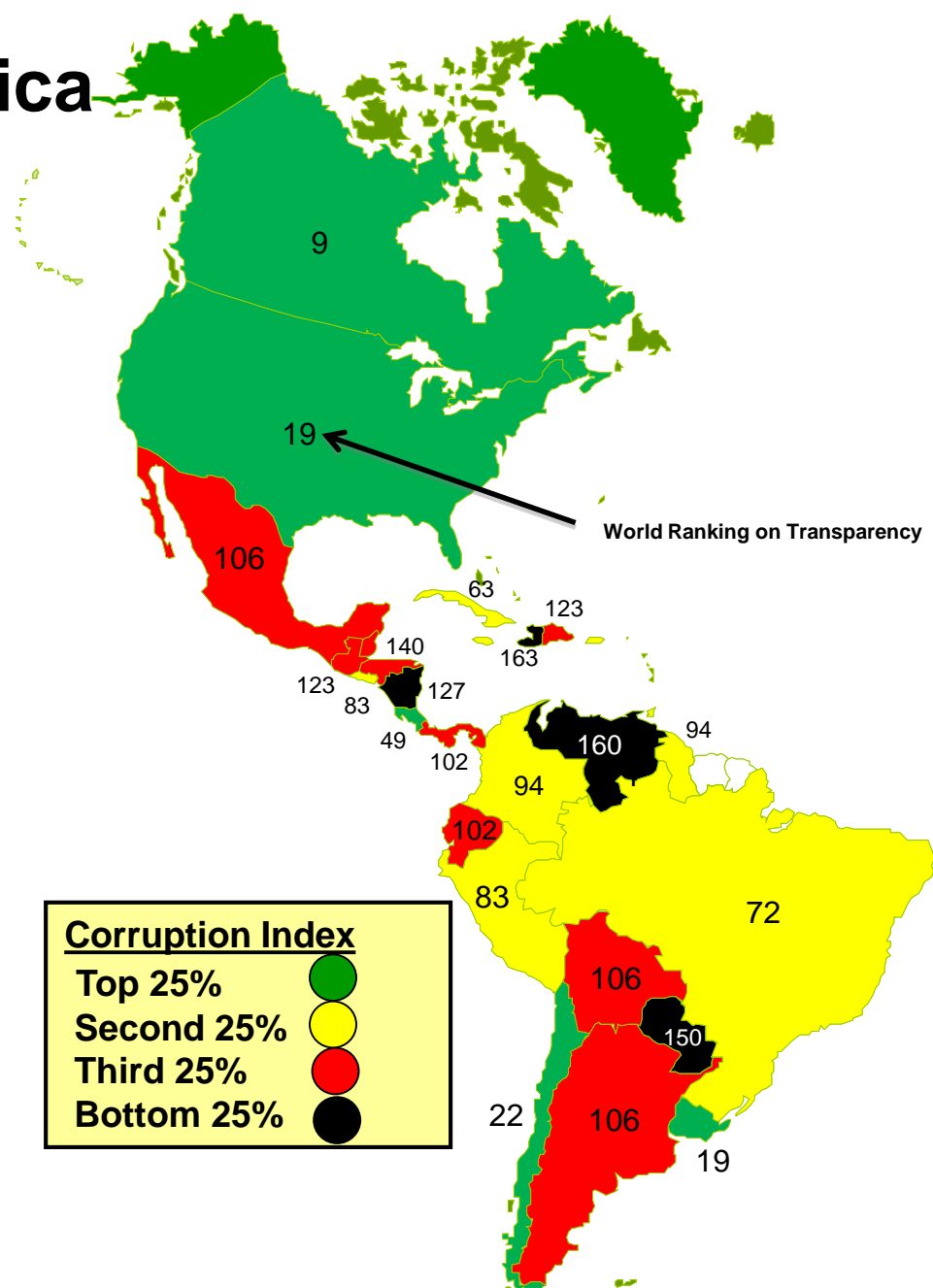
“The abuse of entrusted power for private gain.” Transparency International.

Corruption is the most *intractable* problem in Latin America.

2/3 of all the countries in Latin America score lower the 50 on Transparency International’s annual index.

In Latin America, only Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay score in the top quartile.

Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Haiti are perceived to be the most corrupt countries in the Western Hemisphere.



Source: Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2019

Link: <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2019/results>

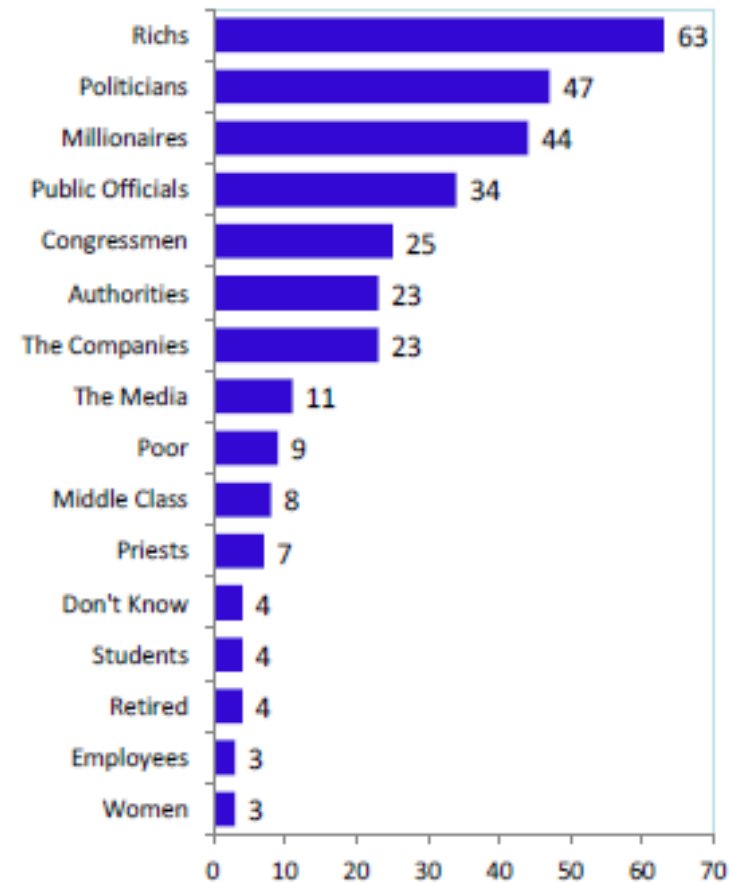
Types of Corruption Problems

- Clientelism - government officials selectively distribute patronage to trade unions and key leaders in exchange for political support
- “Packing” the courts to improve discretionary power by the President.
- Drafting a new constitution to permit the President to remain in office.
- “Fixing” elections
- Violation of civil rights
- Sub-contracting and price gouging
- Inequalities in the distribution of rights
- Failures of checks and balances
- Disenfranchisement of minorities
- Low governmental accountability
- Rules are made by members of the elite and upper-class with little or no citizen participation.

“Democracy cannot consist solely of elections that are nearly always fictitious and managed by rich landowners and professional politicians. - Che Guevara, On Growth and Imperialism (1961)

GROUPS THAT COMPLY LESS WITH THE LAW

Q. Which of the following groups do you think complies less with the law?



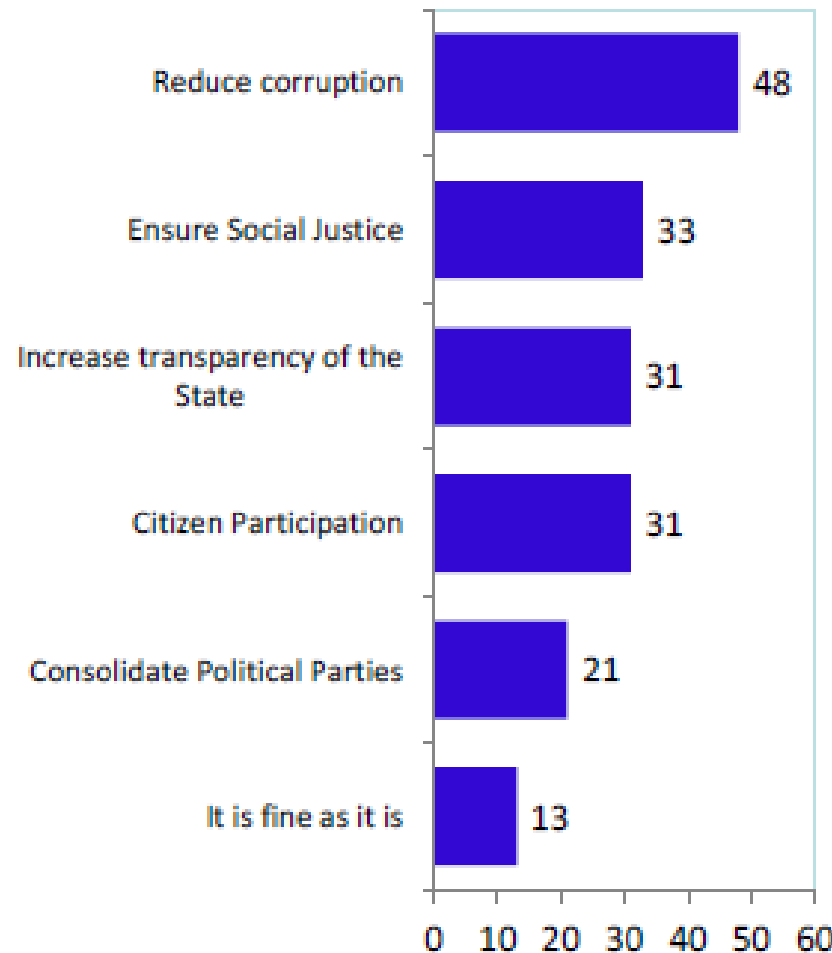
Source: Latinobarómetro 2011

WHAT IS LACKING TO DEMOCRACY IN COUNTRY

TOTAL LATIN AMERICA 2011 – TOTALS BY COUNTRY 2011

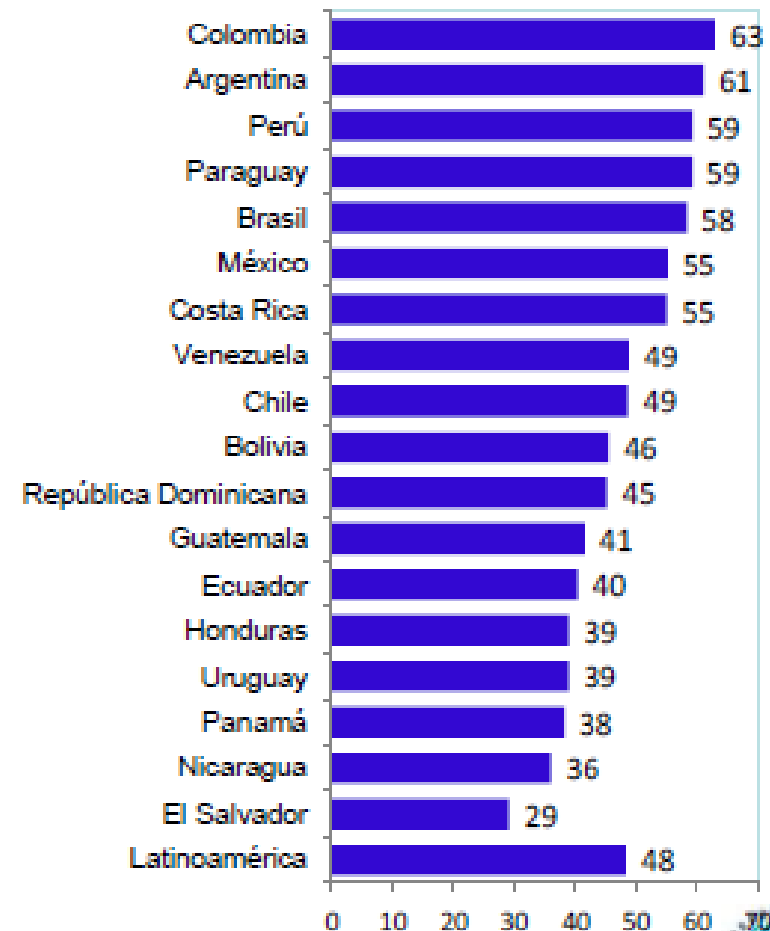
Q. What do you think is lacking to democracy in your country or democracy in your country is good as this?

**Multiple choice question, totals are higher than 100%*



Source: Latinobarómetro 2011

REDUCE CORRUPTION



“For my friends, everything; for my enemies, the law.”
President Getulio Vargas de Brasil (1930-1945, 1950-1954)

Corruption in México

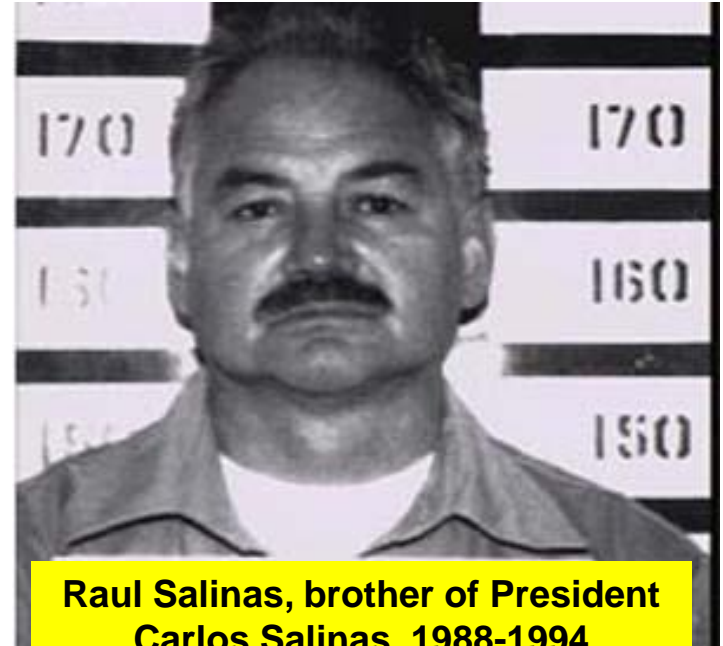
Long history of corruption in Mexico.

Little public confidence in government institutions, police.

Before 2000, direct government involvement or tacit agreements with Mexican traffickers.

Panama Papers, 2015; Odebrecht Scandal, 2015.

14 of 32 state governors have been imprisoned, indicted, or are under investigation for money laundering, fraud, or racketeering.



Raul Salinas, brother of President Carlos Salinas, 1988-1994



Javier Duarte, former governor of Veracruz, arrested in April 2017.

2015-2016, massive protests against corruption and impunity in Mexico.



Guatemalan President arrested for corruption, Sept 2015



A Central American Spring?

Corruption Protests in Brazil



President Dilma Rousseff in Brazil

Petrobras scandal breaks in 2014, largest corruption scandal in Brazil's history

\$2.2 billion in bribes and payoffs.

Rousseff was part of the board of directors of state-owned energy company, 2003-2010.

3 million protesters in the streets to protest the scandal.

31 Aug, Dilma Rousseff impeached and removed from office.

Sept 19, Former President Lula da Silva (2003-2011) indicted for money laundering. Convicted and sent to jail.

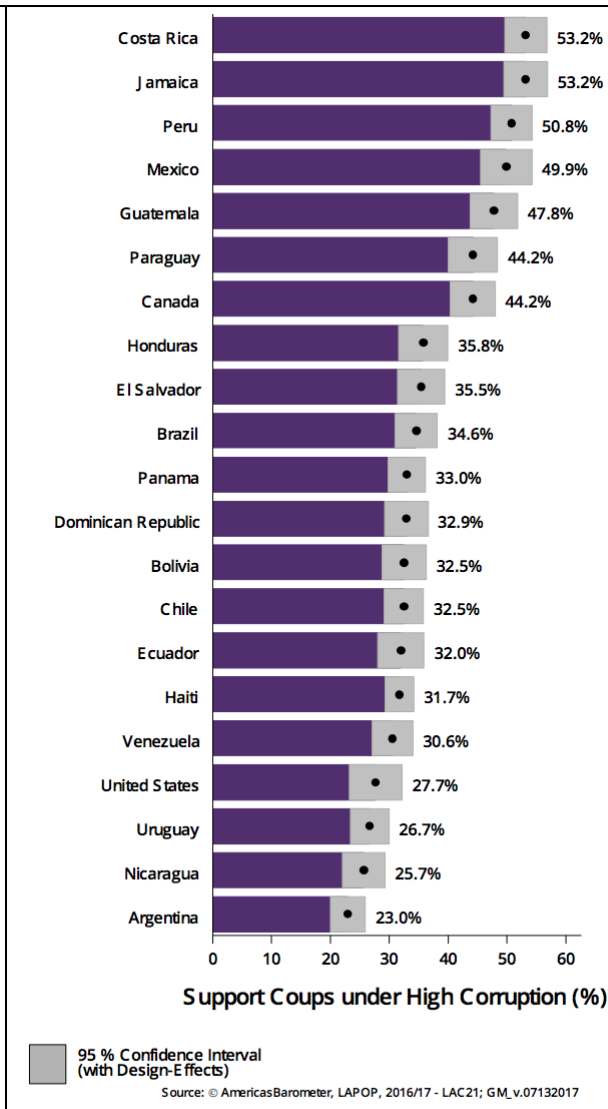
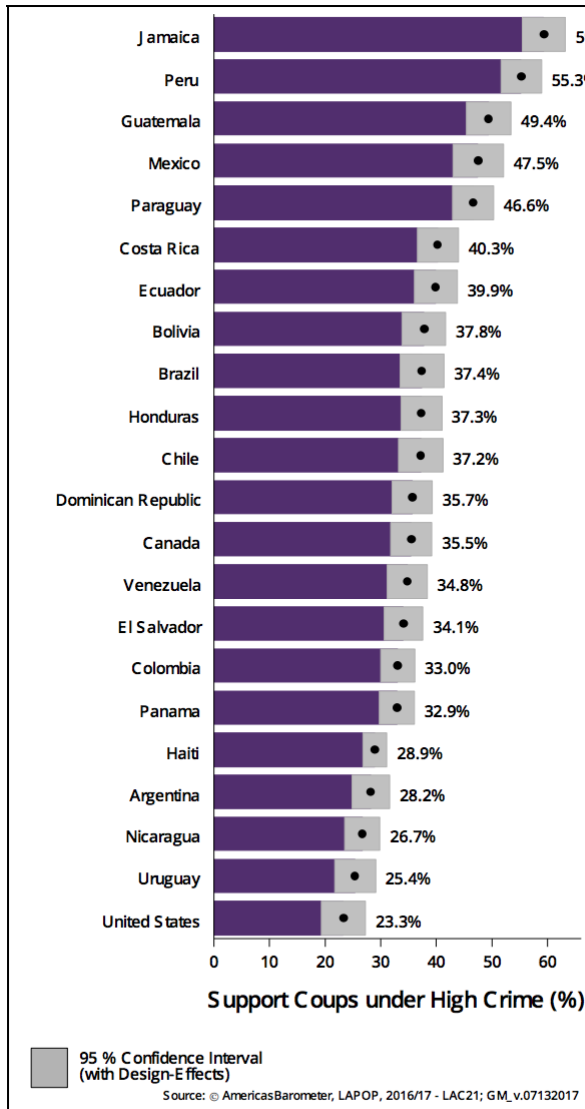


In Honduras, rigged presidential elections (2017) and brother of President Hernandez arrested for cocaine trafficking (2018).



What does this mean for the U.S.?

Regional instability may affect U.S. security.



Will the lack of confidence in democratic processes result in more populist leaders who don't feel constrained by the rule of law?

Source: Political Culture of Democracy, LAPOP, 2017, p. 8.

Figure 1.4. Support for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption

What does this mean for the U.S.? Caravans of thousands fleeing violence and poverty in Northern Triangle countries



Corruption - Implications for U.S. Security Policy

U.S. national strategy depends on working with foreign partners.

Widespread corruption throughout many parts of the world.

May 2015, SIGAR John Sopko reported the U.S. paid \$110 billion for Afghan reconstruction (more than that spent on the Marshall Plan), most of which has gone to build a “modern security apparatus” Much of this money has been siphoned off through corruption.

“The battle for Afghanistan — the real fight — will be won by righteous law enforcement, a functioning judiciary and an unambiguous commitment to the rule of law.” GEN John Allen, USMC, April 2014, former ISAF Commander in Afghanistan.



“[The Taliban] are an annoyance” compared to the scope and the magnitude of corruption. GEN John Allen, testimony to Congress, 30 Apr 2014.

Impacts for the U.S.?

Survey intended to inform U.S. policy makers.

China and Russia – current focus of U.S. national security strategy – may not be perceived as serious threats by our allies.

Many of the security problems are not exclusively for the military.

Spillover of violence into the U.S.?

Is the U.S. responsible for drug demand and arms trafficking?

Humanitarian responsibilities of the U.S.?



Questions?



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