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Subcommittee on Oversight, Investigations and Management

“A Line in the Sand: Assessing Dangerous Threats to Our Nation’s Borders”

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Chairman McCaul, Ranking Member Keating, thank you for the opportunity to participate in this important hearing on the threats to our nation's borders. It is a matter of utmost importance to the security of the United States, and something that has long been the subject of my ongoing field research in Central and South America. My own investigations in recent months have led me to many of the same concerns your report raises, particularly relating to the activities of Iran and Hezbollah in the region.

I believe that what we are seeing today is the emergence of multiple criminalized state actors in Latin America, primarily grouped into the self-identified Bolivarian Alliance led by Venezuela, now operating in conjunction with Transnational Organized Crime groups (TOCs), extra regional actors such as Iran, and terrorist groups.

In recent months there has been increased awareness of the flow of South American cocaine through Venezuela to West Africa, particularly through Mali, Guinea Bissau and other fragile states -- possibly benefitting not only the traditional regional TOC structures and their Colombian and Mexican allies, but several terrorist entities including Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Hezbollah,<sup>1</sup> and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*-FARC).<sup>2</sup>

As the Subcommittee's report notes, the case of Ayman Joumaa, the Lebanese national and Hezbollah supporter, provides clear evidence of new types of overlap among criminal and terrorist groups which, in years past, did not easily mix. Yet, Joumaa was able to work on behalf of Latin America TOCs, including *Los Zetas*, and Hezbollah, dealing in both cocaine and weapons. These 'alliances of convenience' among highly trained groups with complementary skill sets, with the new levels of state protection being offered, presents a much more dangerous and volatile panorama in the hemisphere, and specifically for our borders, than we have traditionally confronted.

Just as telling, as the Committee's report notes, is the willingness of at least some senior members of the Iranian government to engage the services of a person they thought belonged to *Los Zetas*, Mexican drug trafficking organization in order to kill the Saudi ambassador to the United States on U.S. territory; an act of war. This is something that should give us pause. It speaks to willingness of the Iranian regime

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed look at this development see: Antonio L. Mazzitelli, "The New Transatlantic Bonanza: Cocaine on Highway 10," Western Hemisphere Security Analysis Center, Florida International University, March 2011.

<sup>2</sup> The FARC is the oldest insurgency in the Western hemisphere, launched in 1964 out of Colombia's Liberal Party militias, and enduring to the present as a self-described Marxist revolutionary movement. For a more detailed look at the history of the FARC see: Douglas Farah, "The FARC in Transition: The Fatal Weakening of the Western Hemisphere's Oldest Guerrilla Movement," NEFA Foundation, July 2, 2008, accessible at: <http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/nefafarc0708.pdf>

to cross U.S. borders, and the sense that it can do so with impunity. It also shows their awareness of the abilities of Mexican organizations to carry out operations inside the United States, and the willingness of some in the Iranian regime to make a significant leap to work through a criminal organization with which it has no religious or political affinity at all. This shows that many of the 'lines in the sand' that we thought existed (the U.S. border; terrorist and TOC group divisions) have been largely erased.

As I recently wrote in a monograph published by the U.S. Army War College, which addresses some of the same issues this Subcommittee's report does:

This (emerging Latin American) threat includes not only traditional TOC activities such as drug trafficking and human trafficking, but others, including the potential for WMD-related trafficking. These activities are carried out with the participation of regional and extra regional state actors whose leaders are deeply enmeshed in criminal activities. These same leaders have a publicly articulated doctrine of asymmetrical warfare against the United States and its allies that explicitly endorses as legitimate the use of weapons of mass destruction.

This emerging combination of threats comprises a hybrid of criminal-terrorist, and state- and non-state franchises, combining multiple nations acting in concert, and traditional TOCs and terrorist groups acting as proxies for the nation-states that sponsor them. These hybrid franchises should now be viewed as a tier-one security threat for the United States. Understanding and mitigating the threat requires a whole-of-government approach, including collection, analysis, law enforcement, policy and programming. No longer is the state/non-state dichotomy viable in tackling these problems, just as the TOC/terrorism divide is increasingly disappearing.

These franchises operate in, and control, specific geographic territories, which allow them to function in a relatively safe environment. These pipelines, or recombinant chains of networks, are highly adaptive and able to move a multiplicity of illicit products (cocaine, weapons, humans, bulk cash) that ultimately cross U.S. borders undetected thousands of times each day. The actors along the pipeline form and dissolve alliances quickly, occupy both physical and cyber space, and use both highly developed and modern institutions, including the global financial system, as well as ancient smuggling routes and methods.

Most of the goods and services that generate this wealth pass through geographic regions that are often described as "stateless" or "lawless." However, these regions are far from ungoverned. In fact, they represent a powerful component of the threat from TOCs and other non-state actors which control them, either at the expense of weak host states and their

neighbors, or in alliance with stronger ones which host them, tolerate them, or use them as instruments of statecraft.<sup>3</sup>

States that traditionally have had little interest or influence in Latin America have emerged as important players over the past decade, primarily at the invitation of the self-described Bolivarian states seeking to establish “21<sup>st</sup> Century Socialism.” This bloc of nations -- led by Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, includes Rafael Correa of Ecuador, Evo Morales of Bolivia and Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua -- seeks to break the traditional ties of the region to the United States. To this end, the Bolivarian alliance has formed numerous organizations and military alliances -- including a military academy in Bolivia to erase the vestiges of U.S. military training -- which explicitly exclude the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Iran, identified by successive U.S. administrations as a state sponsor of terrorism, has expanded its regional political alliances, diplomatic presence, trade initiatives, and military, intelligence and informational programs via the Bolivarian axis.

The intentions of Iran in the region have long been a subject of debate; but today there is a much clearer indication available, to both the intelligence community and investigators on the ground, that the goal of Iran’s presence in the region is two-fold: to develop the capacity and capability to wreak havoc in Latin America -- and possibly the U.S. homeland -- if the Iranian leadership views this as necessary to the survival of its nuclear program; and, to develop and expand the ability to avoid international sanctions that are increasingly crippling the regime’s economic life.

As DNI James Clapper recently stated, “some Iranian officials—probably including Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei—have changed their calculus and are now more willing to conduct an attack in the United States in response to real or perceived US actions that threaten the regime. We are also concerned about Iranian plotting against US or allied interests overseas.”<sup>5</sup>

A recent Univision documentary *La Amenaza Iraní* (The Iranian Threat) showed Iranian diplomats in Mexico, working with their Venezuelan and Cuban counterparts, to try to develop the capacity to carry out a sophisticated cyber attack against U.S. military, nuclear and economic targets. The documentary shows military

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<sup>3</sup> Douglas Farah, “Transnational Organized Crime, Terrorism and Criminalized States in Latin America: An Emerging Tier-One National Security Priority,” Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA., pp. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> These include recently founded Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (*Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños-CELAC*), and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (*Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América-ALBA*), as well as the ALBA Defense School, inaugurated in 2011 in Warnes, Bolivia, to develop a joint military doctrine and training.

<sup>5</sup> James R. Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, “Unclassified Statement for the Record: Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, January 31, 2012, p. 6.

training provided by Hezbollah to Venezuelan militias directly under the control of Chávez, with weapons and ammunition provided by the Venezuelan military. It also identifies by name the leaders of Hezbollah in Venezuela.<sup>6</sup>

This press for expanded ties comes despite the almost complete lack of cultural or religious ties to the region, linguistic affinity, or traditional economic logic and rationale in the relationships.

While it is true that TOC penetration of the state threatens the rule of law, as the Administration's TOC strategy released in July 2011 notes<sup>7</sup>, it also poses significant new threats to the Homeland. Criminalized states frequently use TOCs as a form of statecraft, bringing new elements to the "dangerous spaces" where non-state actors intersect with regions of weak sovereignty and alternative governance systems.<sup>8</sup> This fundamentally alters the structure of global order.

The possibility of TOC networks facilitating the transfer of weapons of mass destruction for terrorists, as described in the NSC strategy document, is very troubling, but assumes that the TOC groups and terrorists are in confrontation with states and their multiple law enforcement and intelligence tools. With the emergence of criminalized states, we face the prospect of TOC networks facilitating such transfers under the explicit or implicit protection of one or more states, thus greatly increasing the chances of success. Parts of this pipeline are already being developed in Latin America.

As the state relationships consolidate, the recombinant criminal-terrorist pipelines become more rooted, and more dangerous. Rather than being pursued by state law enforcement and intelligence services in an effort to impede their activities, TOC groups (and perhaps terrorist groups) are able to operate in a more stable and secure environment, something that most businesses, both licit and illicit, crave.

Rather than operating on the margins of the state, or seeking to co-opt small pieces of the state machinery, the TOC groups in this construct operate in concert with the state on multiple levels. Within that stable environment a host of new options open up. These range from the sale of weapons, to the use of national aircraft and shipping registries, easy use of banking structures, the use of national airlines and shipping lines to move large quantities of unregistered goods, the acquisition of

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<sup>6</sup> Univisión, *La Amenaza Iraní*, aired December 8, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> National Security Council, "Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime: Addressing Converging Threats to National Security," Office of the President, July 2011. The Strategy grew out of a National Intelligence Estimate initiated by the Bush administration and completed in Dec 2008, and is a comprehensive government review of transnational organized crime, the first since 1995.

<sup>8</sup> The phrase "dangerous spaces" was used by Phil Williams to describe 21<sup>st</sup> century security challenges in terms of spaces and gaps, including geographical, functional, social, economic, legal and regulatory holes. See: Phil Williams, "Here be Dragons: Dangerous Spaces and International Security," *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*, Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas editors, Stanford University Press, 2010, pp. 34-37.

diplomatic passports and other identification forms; and, access to sensitive law enforcement, military and intelligence information and capabilities, to include those shared with the U.S., Interpol and, other international entities..

We are already seeing multiple other types of transfers that greatly benefit terrorist organizations and their state sponsors.

Each leader in the Bolivarian bloc of nations has publicly and privately supported the FARC rebels in Colombia – a prototypical hybrid organization that is both a designated terrorist organization and TOC group that produces some 90 percent of the cocaine consumed in the United States. This support, in the form of money, weapons, sanctuary, and joint business enterprises helps FARC-produced cocaine flow to the outside world, and helps the FARC to survive the military battering it has undergone at the hands of the Colombian military and police.<sup>9</sup>

Chávez and his allies have allowed Iran, a state sponsor of terror, to open financial facilities, front companies, and dedicated shipping lines to evade sanctions on its nuclear program. At the same time, Iran is carrying out multiple mining activities that directly benefit its missile and nuclear programs in Latin America, without normal transparency, and with no public scrutiny, while moving aggressively to expand intelligence gathering capacities and military access.<sup>10</sup>

Several hundred Iranian citizens have been given Ecuadoran *cédulas* or national identity cards, which allow them to travel to many places in Latin America as Ecuadoran rather than Iranian nationals. Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua have all granted hundreds of Iranian citizens passports from their respective countries, freeing those individuals to travel in almost untraceable ways. It also gives the individuals access to the Colón Free Trade Zone (CFTZ) in Panama, and to other relatively unmonitored FTZs in the region, which has greatly enhanced Iran's ability to circumvent international sanctions aimed at crippling the Iranian nuclear program.

The most common assumption among those who view the Iran-Bolivarian alliance as troublesome (and many still do not see it as a significant threat at all), is that points of convergence of the radical and reactionary theocratic Iranian government and the self-proclaimed socialist and progressive Bolivarian revolution are: 1) an overt and often stated hatred for the United States and a shared belief in the need

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<sup>9</sup> For a look at the weapons transfers see: "Los 'rockets' Venezolanos," *Semana* (Colombia), July 28, 2009. For a look at documented financial and logistical support of Chávez and Correa for the FARC see: "The FARC Files: Venezuela, Ecuador and the Secret Archives of 'Raúl Reyes,'" An IISS Strategic Dossier, International Institute for Strategic Studies, May 2011. To see FARC connections to Evo Morales see: Douglas Farah, "Into the Abyss: Bolivia Under Evo Morales and the MAS," International Assessment and Strategy Center, 2009.:

[http://www.strategycenter.net/docLib/20090618\\_IASCIIntoTheAbyss061709.pdf](http://www.strategycenter.net/docLib/20090618_IASCIIntoTheAbyss061709.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Douglas Farah, "Iran in Latin America: Strategic Security Issues," International Assessment and Strategy Center, Defense Threat Reduction Agency Advanced Systems and Concepts Office, May 2011.

and methods to destroy this common enemy; and 2) a shared acceptance of authoritarian state structures that tolerate little dissent and encroach on all aspects of a citizen's life.<sup>11</sup>

These assumptions are true, but do not necessarily recognize the broader underpinnings of the relationship. While Iran's revolutionary rulers view the 1979 revolution in theological terms as a miracle of divine intervention in which the United States, the "Great Satan," was defeated, the Bolivarians view it from a secular point of view as a roadmap to defeat the United State as the Evil Empire. To both, Iran's revolution has strong political connotations, serving as a model for how asymmetrical leverage, when applied by Allah or humans, can bring the equivalent of David defeating Goliath on the world stage.

I want to go into some detail on this issue because I believe it is fundamental to understanding why this threat we face must be taken seriously, and to underscore that this threat has direct bearing on our border security.

Among the first to articulate the possible merging of radical Shite Islamic thought with Marxist aspirations of destroying capitalism and U.S. hegemony was Illich Sánchez Ramirez, better known as the terrorist leader 'Carlos the Jackal', a Venezuelan citizen who was, until his arrest in 1994, one of the world's most wanted terrorists. He converted to Shite Islam in prison.

In his seminal 2003 book Revolutionary Islam, written from prison where he is serving a life sentence for killing two French policemen, Sánchez Ramirez praises Osama bin Laden and the 9-11 attacks on the United States as a "lofty feat of arms" and part of a justified "armed struggle" of Islam against the West. "From now on terrorism is going to be more or less a daily part of the landscape of your rotting democracies," he writes.<sup>12</sup>

In this context, the repeated, public praise of Chávez for Sánchez Ramirez can be seen as a crucial element of the Bolivarian ideology and an acceptance of his underlying premise as important to Chávez's ideological framework. Acolytes of Sánchez Ramirez continued to develop his ideology of Marxism and radical Islamism rooted in the Iranian revolution.

The emerging military doctrine of the "Bolivarian Revolution"-- officially adopted in Venezuela and rapidly spreading to Bolivia, Nicaragua and Ecuador -- explicitly embraces the radical Islamist model of asymmetrical or "fourth generation warfare," with its heavy reliance on suicide bombings and different types of terrorism, including the use of nuclear weapons and other WMD. This is occurring at a time when Hezbollah's presence in Latin America is growing and becoming more

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<sup>11</sup> For a more detailed look at this debate see: Iran in Latin America: Threat or Axis of Annoyance?, op cit., in which the author has a chapter arguing for the view that Iran is a significant threat: [http://www.strategycenter.net/research/pubID.204/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.strategycenter.net/research/pubID.204/pub_detail.asp)

<sup>12</sup> "'Jackal' book praises bin Laden," BBC News, June 26, 2003.

identifiable,<sup>13</sup> and when Chávez has announced the successful completion of a project to build drones in Venezuela with Iranian help.<sup>14</sup>

Chávez has adopted as his military doctrine the concepts and strategies articulated in Peripheral Warfare and Revolutionary Islam: Origins, Rules and Ethics of Asymmetrical Warfare (*Guerra Periférica y el Islam Revolucionario: Orígenes, Reglas y Ética de la Guerra Asimétrica*), by the Spanish politician and ideologue Jorge Verstrynge.<sup>15</sup> The tract is a continuation of and exploration of Sánchez Ramirez's thoughts, incorporating an explicit endorsement of the use of weapons of mass destruction to destroy the United States. Verstrynge argues for the destruction of United States through series of asymmetrical attacks, like those of 9-11, in the belief that the United States will simply crumble when its vast military strength cannot be used to combat its enemies.

Although he is not a Muslim, and the book was not written directly in relation to the Venezuelan experience, Verstrynge moves beyond Sánchez Ramirez to embrace all strands of radical Islam for helping to expand the parameters of what irregular warfare should encompass, including the use of biological and nuclear weapons, along with the correlated civilian casualties among the enemy.

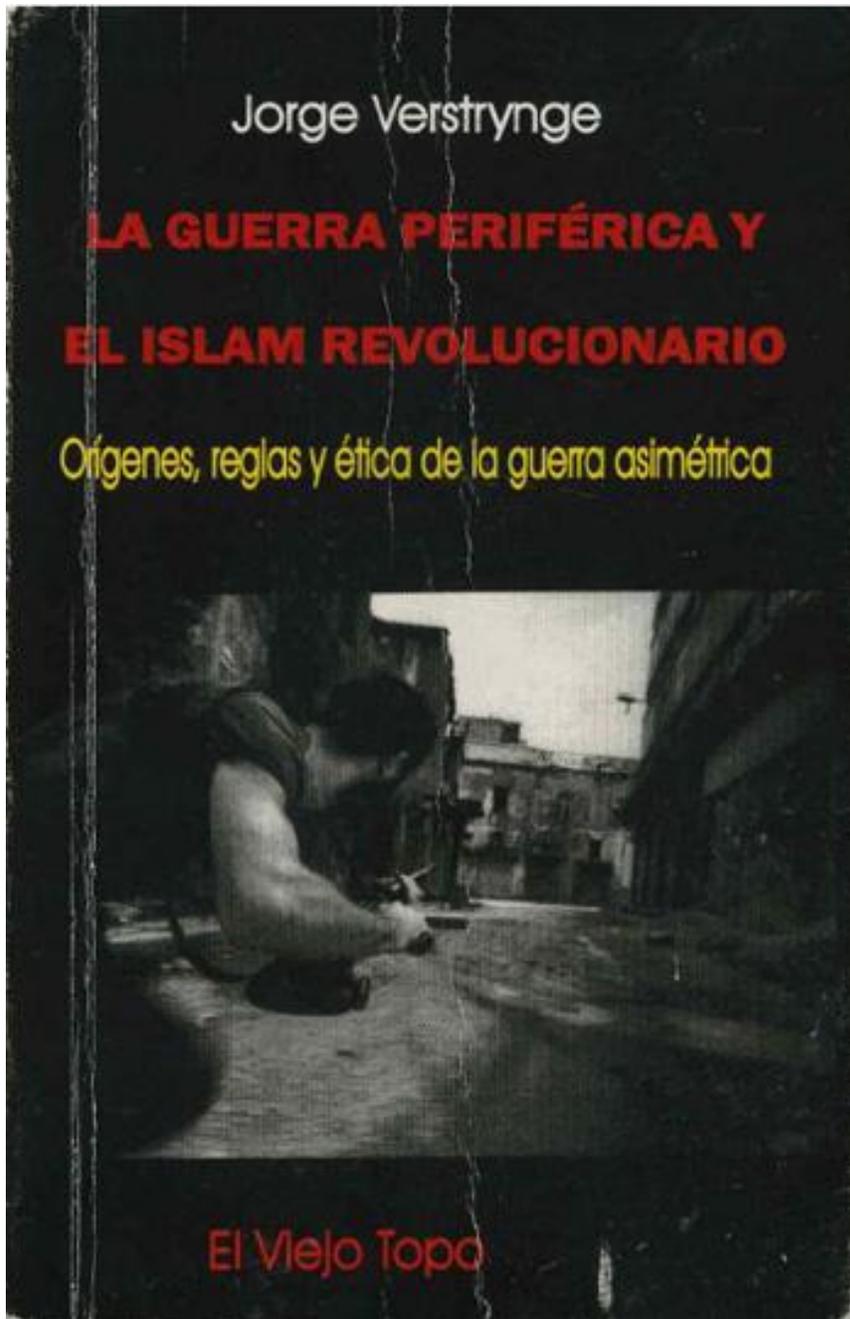
Central to Verstrynge's idealized view of terrorists is the belief in the sacredness of the willingness of the fighters to sacrifice their lives in pursuit of their goals. Before writing extensively on how to make chemical weapons and listing helpful places to find information on the manufacture of rudimentary nuclear bombs that "someone with a high school education could make," Verstrynge writes:

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<sup>13</sup> In addition to Operation Titan there have been numerous incidents in the past 18 months of operatives being directly linked to Hezbollah who have been identified or arrested in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Aruba, and elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean.

<sup>14</sup> Brian Ellsworth, "Venezuela Says Building Drones with Iran's Help," Reuters News Agency, June 14, 2012, accessed at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/06/14/us-venezuela-iran-drone-idUSBRE85D14N20120614>

<sup>15</sup> Verstrynge, born in Morocco to Belgian and Spanish parents, began his political career on the far right of the Spanish political spectrum as a disciple of Manuel Fraga, and served as a national and several senior party posts with the Alianza Popular. By his own admission he then migrated to the Socialist Party, but never rose through the ranks. He is widely associated with radical anti-globalization views and anti-U.S. rhetoric, repeatedly stating that the United States is creating a new global empire and must be defeated. Although he has no military training or experience, he has written extensively on asymmetrical warfare.



*We already know it is incorrect to limit asymmetrical warfare to guerrilla warfare, although it is important. However, it is not a mistake to also use things that are classified as terrorism and use them in asymmetrical warfare. And we have super terrorism, divided into chemical terrorism, bioterrorism (which uses*

*biological and bacteriological methods), and nuclear terrorism, which means "the type of terrorism uses the threat of nuclear attack to achieve its goals."<sup>16</sup>*

In a December 12, 2008 interview with Venezuelan state television, Verstrynge lauded Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda for creating a new type of warfare that is "de-territorialized, de-stateized and de-nationalized," a war where suicide bombers act as "atomic bombs for the poor."<sup>17</sup> In his interview with Univisión, Verstrynge said his model was specifically drawn from Hezbollah's experience.

Chávez liked the Verstrynge book so well that he had a special pocket-sized edition printed and distributed to the armed forces officer corps with express orders that it be read cover to cover. It has since been adopted as official Venezuelan military doctrine. Even more worrisome, copies of the book have been found over the past year, for the first time, in FARC camps in Colombia, indicating the doctrine is being passed on to Venezuela's non-state proxy.

To further ingrain this teaching, and explicitly to eradicate any vestiges of U.S. military doctrine in the region, Chávez and other Bolivarian leaders, in conjunction with Iran, have recently opened a new military academy to teach Bolivarian military doctrine, operating in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. The ALBA Defense School is going to teach the "beautiful projects and experiences that unite our military," said Nicolás Maduro, Venezuela's foreign minister. This includes, he said, the doctrines of José Martí, the hero of Cuban independence; Simón Bolívar, the hero of South American independence; Eloy Alfaro, an Ecuadoran revolutionary; and, Augusto César Sandino, a Nicaraguan revolutionary.<sup>18</sup>

Bolivian President Morales, speaking at the inauguration of the facility, said the School would prepare the peoples of the region to defend against "imperialist threats, which seek to divide us." He said that the "Peoples of the ALBA are being besieged, sanctioned and punished by the imperial arrogance just because we are exerting the right of being decent and sovereign." He added that, "We must not allow that the history of colonization repeats and that our resources are the loot of the empire."

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<sup>16</sup> Verstrynge, op cit., pp. 56-57.

<sup>17</sup> Bartolomé, op cit. See also: John Sweeny, "Jorge Verstrynge: The Guru of Bolivarian Asymmetric Warfare," [www.vcrisis.com](http://www.vcrisis.com), Sept. 9, 2005; and ["Troops Get Provocative Book," Miami Herald, Nov. 11, 2005.](#)

<sup>18</sup> Juan Pauliler, "Que busca la academia military del ALBA?" BBC Spanish Service, June 15, 2011.



Figure 1: ALBA School, Warnes, Santa Cruz, Bolivia

Iran's interest in the project, which it supports financially, was made clear when Iranian defense minister Ahmad Vahidi arrived in Bolivia for the school's inauguration, despite having an Interpol Red Notice issued for his arrest as a result of his alleged participation in the 1994 AMIA bombing in Buenos Aires. His public appearance at a military ceremony the day before the school's inauguration set off an international scandal and sharp protests from Argentina, which had asked Interpol to emit the Red Notice. Vahidi quietly slipped out of Bolivia.<sup>19</sup>

This is not an encouraging panorama and it has many direct implications for U.S. national security. Where, in the not distant past, drug traffickers, *coyotes* and bulk-cash smugglers routinely crossed our Southwest border, today a much larger group of illicit actors are opening up multiple new ways to cross our border undetected.

The traditional human smuggling routes continue to function efficiently under the control of *Los Zetas*, the *Mara Salvatrucha* (MS-13) gang, and other increasingly violent actors whose primary, if not sole, motivation is economic. The budding

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<sup>19</sup> Robin Yapp, "Iran defense minister forced to leave Bolivia over 1994 Argentina bombing," The Telegraph (London), June 1, 2011.



Figure 2: Figure 3: Bolivian President Evo Morales and Iranian defense minister Ahmad Vahidi at a military ceremony in Santa Cruz, Bolivia

alliances among Mexican gangs such as the *Barrio Azteca* and the Central American gangs such as the *MS-13* along with the expanding reach of *Los Zetas* in the human smuggling business all auger ill for border security.

The traditional border vulnerabilities remain while new ones continue to arise. The willingness of multiple criminalized and corrupt states in the region to issue legitimate passports (including diplomatic passports) to officials and agents of a state sponsor of terrorism such as Iran makes securing the U.S. border ever more complex. As the relationships among traditional TOC's and terrorist groups mature in places like Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia, and relationships are built and knowledge exchanged, it will become a significantly more complex challenge to detect and deter those seeking to cross our borders to do us harm.

The road ahead will require enhanced resources in a time of scarcity, and a much better understanding of the "ground game" of those who wish to hurt us. They have a clearly stated intention to carry out asymmetrical attacks against us; it would be foolish to assume the capacity lags far behind.

The demonstrated willingness of the Iranian government to reach out to Mexican TOCs in order to perpetrate attacks inside the United States shows just how blurry

many of the TOC-Terrorist lines have become, and they are likely to get blurrier. The implications of this new paradigm are often still not clearly understood by policy makers and often are dismissed by some who do not understand the pace at which the world is changing. Hearings like this one are a necessary first step in advancing a debate that is very late in getting started.

In addition to the vulnerabilities presented by having states granting legitimate travel documents to state and non-state actors who are plotting attacks against the United States, the Southwest border remains a relatively easy point of entry. The almost unlimited pool of violent, well armed and increasingly well-trained gang members who operate daily from our border, south to the Northern Triangle of Central America (Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala), is truly bi-directional and bi-national;. Not only do members cross the border regularly, as the report notes, but they also maintain structures in hundreds of U.S. cities (as well as in Canada), giving them broad reach to carry out harmful activities on behalf of whomever will meet their price.

Expanded human intelligence and advanced field-based research by experts in the regions cultural and political history are necessary to further understand the challenges, predict their evolution, and suggest countermeasures. Many of the TOCs and terrorist groups use low-tech methods to plan, communicate and move their resources. Given the hundreds of billions of dollars in legitimate commerce, and the legal flow of millions of people across the border, the task of finding and interdicting illicit products, weapons or individuals at the border itself is more daunting than finding a needle in the haystack. Intelligence generated before they arrive at the border area is vital to successful interdiction (and to minimizing the disruption and negative economic consequences on legitimate movements). Such intelligence will not always be electronic, nor will it likely derive from a single agency, source or data stream. Timely warning and interdiction will increasingly require a more whole-of-government coordinated approach, as opposed to a lane or command-centric one.

This intelligence driven effort must combine law enforcement, the intelligence community, capacities of the Department of Defense, and international cooperation through the Department of State. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), which has been a leader in this field, was able to detect the attempted attack on the Saudi ambassador before it happened through an informant on the ground. Other parts of the law enforcement and intelligence communities were then able to broaden out the information and take action. Iran's broader actions in the hemisphere can only be curtailed by working with partner nations such as Colombia, Brazil, Peru and Mexico to scale back Iran's illicit activities, limit their sanctions busting efforts and create an environment in which they do not have unfettered access.

Thank you.