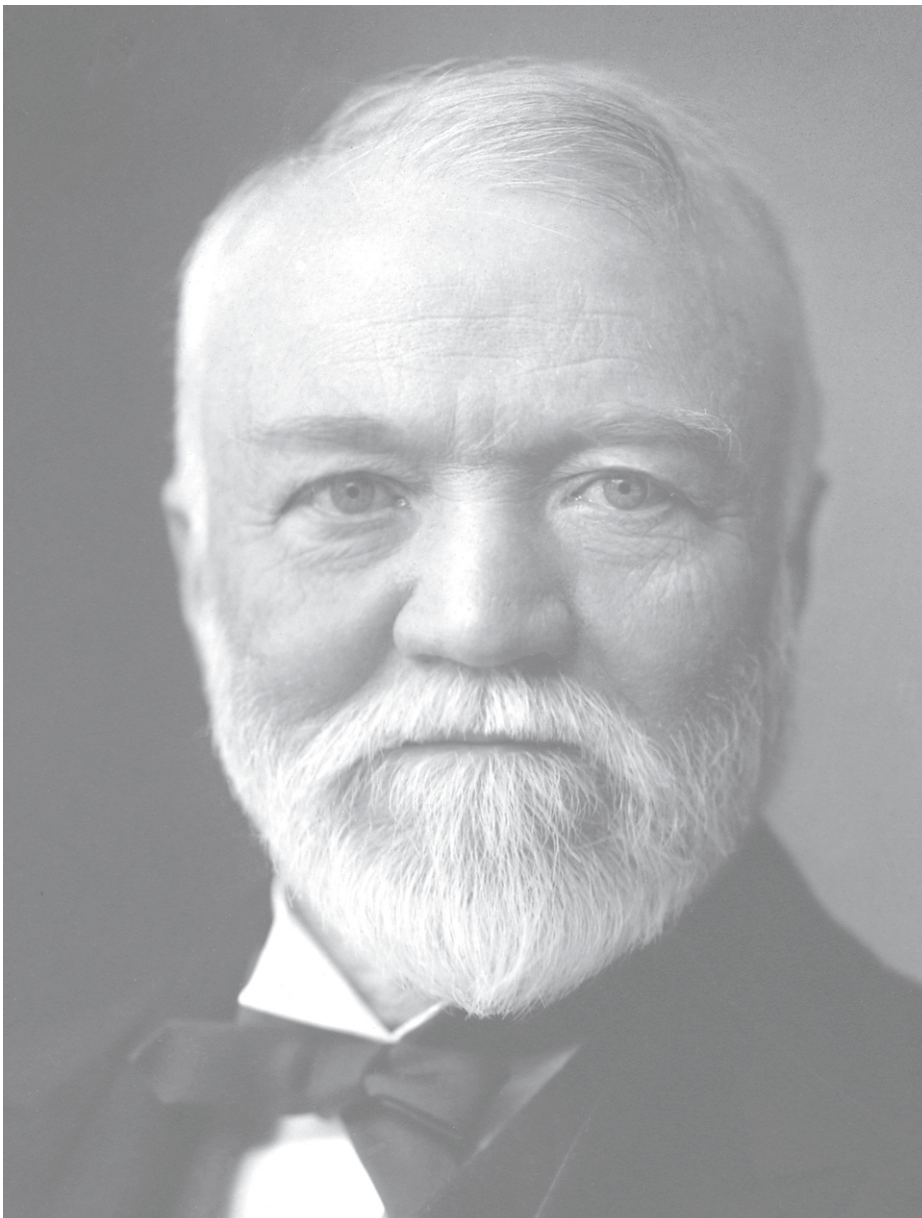


Carnegie

RESULTS



Beyond Boundaries

A Promising New Model for Security and Global Development

In 2007, a team of international security experts and researchers at the Henry L. Stimson Center launched an initiative to build an effective model for sustainable nonproliferation of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons. The project represented an exciting and innovative way of thinking about security: a “dual-use” approach that operated at the nexus of the security and development communities. The team’s ingenuity paid off. After less than six years, the Stimson Center is phasing out its involvement in the successful program, which will now be government funded. This *Results* shows how a novel idea, supported with modest grants from Carnegie Corporation, went on to secure millions in support from international sources, achieving real-world policy wins.

The events of 9/11 changed how the world viewed terrorism. Suddenly, policymakers and ordinary people all over the globe awoke to the potentially catastrophic links among technology, globalization, and terrorism. As a result, there was growing recognition that ineffective controls in any country endanger every country, because they open up a loophole anyone can exploit. In response to this new awareness, the international community made some important advances in collaborative nonproliferation, including UN Security Council Resolution 1540.

Passed unanimously in April 2004, the resolution mandates that all Member States implement controls related to the nonproliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, through a combination of law enforcement, production and transport oversight and border controls, and by criminalizing proliferant activities within their territories. Some Member States questioned the legitimacy of the resolution while others objected to the imposition of sanctions for noncompliance. In any case, Resolution 1540 was essentially an unfunded mandate with which the countries of the Global South lacked resources to comply. Although security funding was available, the ability to link that funding with existing needs was missing.

To help close the gap, the Henry L. Stimson Center (a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization), with support from Carnegie Corporation and others, launched the Beyond Boundaries initiative, a program that attempted to create an effective new model for making matches between states in need of assistance and those capable of offering it. Five years later, their efforts are not only successful, they are also sustainable.

A Dangerous Trend

“There is no long-term security without development. There is no development without security.” This observation from Secretary General Kofi Annan’s 2006 speech celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the UN Charter has been quoted countless times. It points to a potentially disastrous trend in which globalized networks of exchange across the developing world have been harnessed by criminal elements for illicit trafficking in arms, drugs, and humans as well as nuclear and other weapons materials.

It’s essential to understand the incentives that lead to proliferation in order to counter them. Beyond merely recognizing the global interdependence of development and security, there needs to be a break in traditional patterns of government and human behavior, and a major shift in

national spending habits and/or operating procedures among wealthier countries of the Global North. “There’s always more funding available for hard security upgrades,” says Carl Robichaud, International Peace and Security Program Officer at Carnegie Corporation. “What you realize, though, is that you can’t close certain security vulnerabilities unless you can meet certain development needs.” According to Robichaud, the Stimson Center’s Managing Beyond Boundaries program is particularly innovative because “it brings together these two approaches, which are more often seen as contradictory. And it breaks down a stale and unhelpful North/South discussion.”

When the program began in 2007, reports Stimson program director Brian D. Finlay, worldwide development assistance totaled approximately \$117 billion, while military expenditures exceeded \$1.25 trillion. He sees a critical need for the international community to eliminate artificial boundaries between security and development efforts, and to maximize the effectiveness of domestic government spending and foreign aid for the betterment of society and the security of all. “Until there is a greater financial allocation of resources toward poverty eradication, trade enhancement, basic education, infrastructure development, public health, and other critical development priorities, the world will be beset by a growing array of security threats—including terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons,” he warns. Beyond Boundaries’ dual purpose security/development model has made impressive strides in this area.

Elizabeth (Libby) Turpen, former co-director of the Stimson Center Cooperative Nonproliferation Program, played an important role in conceiving of the model, recalls Patricia Moore Nicholas, International Program Project Manager at Carnegie Corporation. Turpen specialized in new initiatives in international security designed to improve security policy decision-making. At the time, nonproliferation capacity and global development comprised a patchwork of treaties, norms, and isolated national strategies. Turpen recognized the need for an approach that would span the divide between nonproliferation and international development objectives—a new way of thinking that represented a break from traditional security assistance. “She was looking at what happens at the nexus of security and development in search of ways to mesh the two,” Nicholas says. “She wanted to produce models to show it was possible to have this kind of interrelationship.”

Turpen’s goal was to get over the hump of post-9/11 attitudes. “We were still embedded in Cold War think,” she says, “and the world had transformed so radically that

continuing with a hardware approach to security issues would only land us in a mess.” While writing an article on post-intervention Iraq from a cooperative threat reduction perspective, she began investigating problems with current approaches to security, particularly lack of host country buy-in. At her request, Brian Finlay, whose expertise was in global development, reviewed the article, and they agreed the approach would make a great project. “That was the genesis of *Beyond Boundaries*,” she says.

“Looking at lessons learned from earlier nonproliferation work showed that host country buy-in made all the difference between success and failure,” Finlay agrees. “This fact was a no brainer for the development community, which had learned it decades ago. It was not so obvious for the security community. The moment seemed propitious because the United States and other G8 governments were looking for a way to transplant programs globally. Everywhere in the world there are nonproliferation challenges. But our fear was that they would replicate both the good and the failures unless we inculcated host country buy-in.”

According to Turpen, “countries might be happy to take money or equipment, but does it ever translate into what they really need or would value internally? We can’t bridge that gap if we stick to technical training or equipment. If governments don’t value the assistance they get and don’t see it as something that addresses their needs, we’ve dumped taxpayer dollars down the drain.”

Finding support for their idea wasn’t easy. Turpen and Finlay combined their specialties and constructed what they believed was a scalable, replicable, academic model of how dual-use funding could work, which they took to a couple of developing world governments, while starting discussions with the United States. “We said to them, ‘We think it could benefit you as an inroad into nonproliferation where we aren’t welcome right now,’” Finlay says. They also made the budget argument that USAID and the Pentagon could work in tandem and get greater efficiency while assuring an open door, sustainability, etc. However, they could not convince the bureaucrats to break down walls between agencies, he

says, and attempts to interest other governments—the EU, Scandinavian countries, or Canada—all ran into roadblocks that prevented crossing over. So the team recalibrated and ended up on the doorstep of the UN.

Security Council Resolution 1540 calls upon states to report on the actions they have taken, or will take, to implement its provisions, and directs states requiring assistance in complying to invite other states that are in a position to help them, to do so. “At this point, all the major industrialized countries of the world had submitted reports. However, potential donors had not been matched with prospective recipients, even though this mechanism offers the best hope of achieving compliance to 1540. And there were huge gaps in those parts of the world where we probably have more concerns,” says Finlay. “This includes Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands. There was no tangible evidence that any of these governments had taken action on the 1540 mandate.”

Consequently, many observers doubted Resolution 1540 could become an effective tool of nonproliferation, mainly because neither the countries of the Global South, nor potential donor countries, were sufficiently motivated to follow through. Finlay understood the reasons behind the tepid response, as the vast majority of the developing world is caught up in everyday survival. As he puts it, convincing these governments to make greater investments in nonproliferation while the rest of their infrastructure suffers from poverty and neglect is not an easy, nor a reasonable, task.

It had become clear to the Stimson Center team that without a holistic approach to the security and development challenges, little sustainable progress could be made toward the hard-security-oriented goals of the Global North and the softer security and economic development objectives of the Global South. They concluded that by removing the artificial barriers between the “security” and “development” communities, whose goals are often similar but whose methods rarely intersect, a more sustainable and ultimately less costly approach to both issues would result.

“Resolution 1540 was intended as a vehicle for getting countries together to deal with WMDs,” says Pat Nicholas. The idea made a lot of sense, and they began by searching

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Brian Finlay

Managing Director
and Senior Associate,
The Stimson Center

the globe for low-hanging fruit.” They approached the 1540 Committee, where member Peter Burian, Permanent Representative of Slovakia, found it a “very interesting concept. He said ‘go prove it works in the Caribbean. Zero percent of these countries have reported to the Committee, and there’s an unwillingness to even enter into discussions about implementation, assistance, etc. Why don’t you take this model there and see what you can do?’”

At that point, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Helsinki offered a seed grant to the program to bring together national governments, regional and subregional organizations, and non-governmental experts. “What we did, with this initial support from the government of Finland and then from Carnegie Corporation, was to develop a model of engagement for regions where threats were emerging, but governments had not prioritized nonproliferation for obvious reasons, because their more urgent needs were public health, education, etc. The question for us was how to elevate nonproliferation as an issue on these countries’ agendas. Preaching about a mandate doesn’t work; you’ll never get compliance,” Finlay says.

Support from Finland was vital to getting over 50 countries to attend a forum, which was followed by smaller group discussions. The intention was to focus more attention on Security Council Resolution 1540 and to begin breaking down barriers between the security and development communities. This initiative expanded into a widespread outreach effort from the Caribbean Basin to the Middle East, Africa, and Central America. As a result, in a single year, one region went from what Finlay terms “a 1540 black hole” to a model for implementation. This dramatic change was not a result of UN pressure, but rather of a group of countries’ understanding that, in ways they most needed, 1540 compliance was in their best interests.

A Case Study in Success

The Beyond Boundaries initiative represented a radically different kind of assistance program, which could provide poorer countries with a unique opportunity to

tap security-related support and simultaneously meet a wide range of development needs. For example, to deal with natural disasters, a well-maintained communications infrastructure is critical for first responders and emergency management authorities—a resource that is just as essential for detecting and removing weapons of mass destruction. A well-trained police force and effective judiciary is equally important for prosecuting criminals who attempt to traffic in nuclear or biological weapons as for those who traffic in drugs or human beings, and so on.

The security/development strategy was first put to the test at a Caribbean regional meeting in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, attended by representatives of six countries, the assistant secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS), and representatives of the Stimson Center and Stanley Foundation, another project partner. The meeting focused on local concerns such as citizen security, human and drug trafficking, border and maritime security, public health, and disaster preparedness and mitigation, and it aimed to address these priorities through new sources of financial support under Resolution 1540.

The second most disaster-prone region in the world, the Caribbean Basin is expected to face a growing number and wider range of catastrophic events in the coming years, which will require carefully planned humanitarian response, military training, robust communication systems, and other costly preparedness measures. All these capabilities overlap with WMD-related incident needs. Currently, the region is also one of the world’s most violent, with a homicide rate several times the global average. The presence of international crime in the region is a substantial deterrent to badly needed foreign investment.

Caribbean states also have important, and vulnerable, maritime links with the rest of the world. Together, they make up a key U.S. trading and business investment partner as well as a major tourist destination. Current international shipping and port regulations call for tighter security than many Caribbean countries have the means to provide, and failure to comply could subject them to severe economic sanctions. As Robichaud explains, “An unguarded port city

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Elizabeth Turpen

Former Co-director,
The Stimson Center

anywhere is a threat to security everywhere. A port with loose regulations and illicit activity can also undermine the health of citizens in an entire region. In the Caribbean, smuggling is the real threat, be it drugs, people, or WMDs. In order to feel secure, the United States and other donor countries need a strong Global South with export controls and port security in places that are out of sight. This support goes beyond charity. It is driven by an understanding that our security is increasingly interconnected.”

The organization Caribbean Community (CARICOM) represents the countries of the region. Its goals, simply stated, include improved standards of living and work, accelerated economic development, and regional cooperation. CARICOM and the OAS have worked for years to increase awareness of the need for improved port security, but member countries’ lack of financial resources prevented any real improvements—until the issue was tied to Resolution 1540. Instead of being viewed as an externally imposed legal obligation, the security issue was recast as a matter of mutual interest to the Caribbean states and their neighbors. The subject of nonproliferation was not discussed at the initial meeting in the Dominican Republic, or at a subsequent meeting hosted by the Stimson Center in Kingston, Jamaica, which instead focused on such problems as small-arms trafficking and economic development, with local experts discussing their challenges, strategies, and capacity gaps.

A representative of the 1540 Committee attended the second meeting to explain how the assistance mechanism could respond to many of those gaps in high-priority areas with money that would come from the Pentagon or global partnership fund, not the USAID. “Brian Finlay smartly made this connection to the United Nations,” Nicholas says. “A UN expert on 1540, Olivia Bosch, gave a presentation that explained it all. The representatives of the Caribbean countries who attended were all similar in their juggling of many jobs and common threat potential. So they were receptive.”

Subsequently, CARICOM submitted a formal request for assistance to the 1540 Committee at UN headquarters in New York. In response, they received legislative assistance to ensure compliance with myriad international obligations and funding for workshops that promoted the assistance program across regional governments and the private sector. The funds also made it possible for CARICOM to hire a full-time regional coordinator, underwritten by the U.S. Department of Energy. This coordinator works with the organization to line up assistance for equipment, training, customs enforcement, logistics, and infrastructure—all of which can be provided by dual-use security assistance funds

of governments committed to 1540, rather than by overstretched development accounts of traditional donors.

There was serendipity with respect to the Caribbean effort, because Turpen and Finlay found the ideal coordinator in O’Neil Hamilton, who had previously handled security preparations for the Cricket World Games in Jamaica. He understood the area’s needs and knew getting all the regional players on the same page was critical to getting any one of them to make a move, Turpen explains. “The cruise ship industry, for example, is hugely vulnerable,” she says. “If Jamaica, for instance, has more and different regulations than other islands, ships just won’t go there. So unless you can get all the players with tiny capacity to sign up, it won’t work. O’Neil Hamilton saw the value of group action immediately. That was where we really started to get traction.”

Hamilton relates how, as the Caribbean was getting ready for the international cricket games, leaders there soon realized the entire region would have to ensure that vast security obligations could be met. Since no single country could manage alone, they pooled resources on a regional basis. Because Hamilton had led that security operation, CARICOM members trusted him to be the coordinator. “My official title is the Coordinator for Regional Implementation of 1540. Even though that nomenclature focuses on the Security Council resolution, nothing that preceded this activity had anything to do with proliferation issues.

“The point is that when a decision was taken in 2008 to actually have this process go forward with the fourteen member states of CARICOM, it was predicated on an awareness that what had been happening before was non-sustainable. Microstates have no capacity or resources to get the job done. Many have been signatories to nonproliferation agreements, but not doing anything legislatively to ensure that the basic benchmark activities that bring you into any kind of alignment are even nascent. Just to have the process go forward was an exceptionally onerous activity for these countries.”

By 2009, Finlay reports, all but one CARICOM member state had completed (or nearly completed) a formal report to the committee, and most were actively pursuing “dual-use” implementation of Resolution 1540. This successful outcome demonstrates that the resolution can indeed act as a tool for securing vital resources to meet security needs while promoting the region’s economic improvement. He calls it a win-win-win for governments, regions, and for the international security and development donor communities. Not surprisingly, “the 1540 Committee has since become very interested.”

Hamilton calls it “unprecedented and a big deal.” The

Stimson Center work is key to this process, he stresses, because of the way “they think out of the box. Their work directly benefited the Caribbean because, if they had not sensitized the 1540 Committee, when the request for a coordinator came in it would have fallen on deaf ears. If they had not been clearing the brush, this kind of innovative way forward could not be adopted,” he says. As a result of this outcome, Finlay believed other countries might benefit from the same approach.

Expanding the Initiative

As the CARICOM experience indicates, the burden of adhering to UN Resolution 1540 need not fall entirely on the shoulders of the Global South. Instead, the resolution could actually be seen as an opportunity for many developing countries and regions to tap new funding sources and keep nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons out of the hands of terrorists. Based on his experience, Hamilton says, “It’s not complicated. Where countries are facing big challenges and have nascent legal frameworks, you can put together model legislation and, because the states are so similar, they can all adopt it. Even microstates that have no nuclear activity and no dual-use material can play a part as members in good standing of the United Nations. It’s taken their excuses off the table.”

The potential dual uses of 1540 go way beyond the port security concerns of the Caribbean. Funding could help deal with many other challenges in vulnerable regions: disease surveillance and laboratory development; police training and crime prevention; enhanced revenue generation from customs and tariff enforcement; better emergency preparedness; improved science and technology infrastructure; reform of the financial sector, governance, judicial, and penal systems; and the rule of law.

The Beyond Boundaries initiative has targeted other strategic regions that could benefit from its dual approach.

- The 1540 Committee asked Finlay’s team to do the same in Central America and, as of 2012, the Central American Integration System (SICA), the subregional organization there, took on a full-time coordinator. In Central America, countries reaped the economic rewards of expanding world markets and robust trading partnerships with the United States—up until the global economic slowdown. The resulting cutbacks in foreign aid pose a threat to these economies, which count on development funding for vital communica-

tion, transportation, and education infrastructure. In a region characterized by political fragility, violence, and growing incidence of crime including trafficking of humans, narcotics, and small arms, large-scale loss of funds will almost certainly lead to severe economic backsliding. Fortunately, targeted requests to the 1540 Committee could bridge the gap caused by growing demand and shrinking resources. Funds for border control assistance, police training, and legal assistance, for example, would help reduce the threat of human and drug trafficking and, at the same time, stem the flow of WMD across the borders of these countries.

- In Southeast Asia and China, public health emergencies are the greatest challenge. The World Health Organization rates this region the most severely afflicted by global diseases, from leprosy to bird flu. With lack of capacity and money for badly needed disease surveillance and medical response, governments in the region have been reluctant to take on 1540 implementation, even though almost all have submitted reports to the Committee. Again, the dual-use aspects of Resolution 1540 would open the door to sustainable nonproliferation, according to Stimson Center research. Appealing to the security agencies of donor states (via the Committee) could potentially meet multiple demands on the region’s governments by opening up innovative new streams of financial and technical assistance. Donor support for detecting, diagnosing, and treating infectious diseases could help meet both international health regulations and UN Security Council nonproliferation goals.
- The Middle East hardly seems to qualify as one of the world’s neediest regions, but its wealth-producing oil reserves will eventually run dry. In preparation, governments such as the United Arab Emirates, Israel, and Kuwait are turning to technology as a future source of revenue—a trend that, coupled with the region’s growing interest in nuclear power generation, could increase the possibility of misuse. The fact that a growing number of privately owned companies (some government subsidized) are conducting research and development on dual-use innovations, as well as producing and operating nuclear, chemical, and biological equipment, only adds to the danger. “Preventing the spread of these (often life-saving) advanced technologies is neither feasible nor desirable,” writes Finlay, “however, maximizing transparency and increasing confidence should be

the goal of every government around the world.”

Resolution 1540 says states should find ways to work with industry to facilitate nonproliferation and safeguard sensitive materials and information. An effective means to this end would be to support technological projects within the private sector, thereby providing Middle Eastern countries with much needed human capital, while achieving greater collaboration and transparency throughout the science and technology community. At the same time, these projects could ultimately help provide solutions to environmental, health, energy, and other global problems. Meetings were held in Saudi Arabia to get the ball rolling in the Middle East, but according to Finlay, “Nothing happened. Absolutely no forward momentum.” Why? “Some have said, when you introduce the WMD issue in that area of the world it’s toxic. . . . But talking about a panoply of other issues just doesn’t work there.”

- Eastern Africa brought a better result, however. Instead of working on a sub-regional basis, a pillar state strategy is needed here—in other words, proving that the approach works in a single representative country and branching out from there. High-priority issues in Africa include terrorism and small-arms smuggling, border issues, and security in general. Fortifying a country’s capacity to fight these problems is the best bridge to nonproliferation, Finlay says, so the initiative has sought assistance in operationalizing a border security strategy that would prevent dual use across borders as well as issues like human trafficking.

Although the continent has long been known for nonreporting to the 1540 Committee, an all-Africa workshop on the resolution was recently hosted in Pretoria. “I was flattered to learn that not only was the Stimson Center the only NGO invited to participate, given that we ‘view the issue as Africans do,’ but we were also the only Westerners invited to participate,” Finlay says. “The entire agenda revolved around bridg-

ing the security/development divide. The South Africans and the African Union are now focused on having us help coordinate implementation across the continent. It’s really a great new chapter in our work.”

A Whole New Culture

This project, launched with a small grant from the Finnish government and bolstered by funding from Carnegie Corporation, aimed to make the world safer through nonproliferation. Originally approved for one-time fund-

ing, the pilot project’s early success influenced the Corporation to revise its thinking and provide further support. The Beyond Boundaries strategy of breaking down artificial barriers between security and development communities applied to regions from the Caribbean to East Africa, and demonstrated how the cause of global nonproliferation could be advanced while meeting economic development objectives across the Global South. There have been numerous challenges over the years. As Brian Finlay points out, economically distressed governments, which he says “have forever had to scrape nickels together and stretch dollars,” can readily see what such a program can do for them,

but it’s more commonly the donor states that get stuck in bureaucracy.

The highlight for Carnegie Corporation’s Carl Robichaud is that an innovative model, developed in the nongovernmental sector, was adopted by the UN and several donor countries and effectively restructured the way certain development assistance is delivered. “That’s something you don’t always see,” he notes, “a new concept taken up and applied successfully.”

“The process has been as successful as possible, but I can’t get past the feeling that the South still feels cut out of the deal with respect to access to technology,” says former Stimson director Libby Turpen. As she explains it, some developing countries feel richer states use an issue like nuclear terrorism as an excuse to block their access to technology. “Initiatives like Beyond Boundaries are valuable attempts to expedite the conversation,” she says, “a way of trying to deal

“Even microstates that have no nuclear activity and no dual-use material can play a part as members in good standing of the United Nations. It’s taken their excuses off the table.”



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with the no-kidding terrorist threat and move beyond four decades of talking points.”

O’Neil Hamilton stresses that, like any new process, this one really demands some heavy lifting and perseverance. “It’s not a one-off,” he says, “but a whole new culture, which, going forward, the international community should realize. To build it you must keep at it.”

For more information, including in-depth reports on each regional model, go to www.stimson.org

Written by: Karen Theroux.


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