

Conference Summary Report

The Turtle Bay Security Roundtable: Proliferation Challenges in a Flat World

An event hosted by the Permanent Missions of Japan, Poland, and Turkey to the United Nations
In cooperation with Stimson

Date: January 18, 2013

Location: Japan Society, 333 East 47th Street, New York, NY

On January 18, 2013, The Permanent Missions of Japan, Turkey, and Poland to the United Nations hosted the *Turtle Bay Security Roundtable: Proliferation Challenges in a Flat World*. The event was convened in cooperation with Stimson, a civil society think tank dedicated to global security. The day-long roundtable was designed to supply UN Member States, members of the UN Panel of Experts of Security Council subsidiary organs, experts from think tanks, industry, academics, and members of civil society with an opportunity to debate the effectiveness of nonproliferation instruments and the challenges such tools face in a globalized world. At this fourth installment of the seminar, participants deliberated on the mechanics of illicit networks, sanctions evasion, and the trafficking of conventional arms and dual-use materials. Contributors particularly emphasized the impact of proliferation on economic development and human security. The event additionally featured a dialogue on how to sift through the ever-growing complexities of the trade in a globalized world in order to develop stronger international tools to thwart such harmful operations. In total, well over 100 participants representing 60 UN Missions as well as leading nonproliferation experts attended the conference. Below is a brief summary of the event.



OPENING REMARKS

Ms. Ellen Laipson, President and CEO of Stimson, opened the conference by stating that the goal of the seminar was to see the interconnectedness of different security challenges in order to build more impactful solutions that are more responsive to urgent security and development needs.

Ambassador Tsuneo Nishida of Japan noted that one of the purposes of convening a seminar with such a wide range of participants was to avoid compartmentalizing disarmament at the UN. He encouraged attendees to think creatively on how Member States could effectively fulfill their international obligations under Security Council resolutions in an environment with increasingly scarce resources, reflections that have pertinent practical implications due to recent global security events. Ambassador Nishida also pointed out that this kind of meeting will allow us to think more creatively how to implement international rules on the transfer of conventional arms through concluding the Arms Trade Treaty this March.

Ambassador Halit Çevik noted that the notion that more arms equals more security was a dangerous illusion, underlining that a variety of social, political, and economic factors are responsible for security. He also encouraged partners to take into account unintended effects while drafting sanctions, namely their adverse humanitarian consequences, their

potential to harm third countries and the global economic system, as well as the burden (i.e. customs control) that they inflict on neighboring countries. He thus stated that it is important for all countries to assume their part and effectively implement sanctions on their end in order to alleviate this burden.

Mr. Paweł Herczyński, Deputy Permanent Representative of Poland, remarked that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and related materials is one of the most severe consequences of globalization, and urged creative solutions to dealing with untraditional, non-state actors profiting from proliferation. He explained Poland's innovative approach in collaborating with its chemical industry, presenting activities of the International Center for Chemical Safety and Security in Tarnów. Mr. Herczyński asserted that widening the spectrum of collaborators to prevent weapons diffusion will be critical in a rapidly globalizing world.



BREEDING INSECURITY: THE IMPACT OF THE DIFFUSION OF ILLICIT WEAPONS ON HUMAN SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Mr. George A. Lopez of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies moderated the first panel, which centered on global trafficking trends and assessed efficient methods for both state and non-state actors to curb weapons and advanced technologies proliferation. Panelists included Sheena Chestnut Greitens of Harvard University, Jonah Leff of Small Arms Survey, and Terence Taylor, Coordinator of the 1540 Committee Expert Group.

Ms. Greitens focused her comments on the shift in proliferation trends towards disaggregation. Due to the increasing pressures being placed on WMD prolifer-

ation networks, Ms. Greitens noted that they have moved towards involvement of the private sector and dual-use materials, making it ever more difficult to create policies or measures that truly impact their activities. She also warned against strict labeling of networks based on the product they move, such as “drugs” or “arms”, which could lead to overlooking the fluid adaptability that is a key characteristic of these networks.

Mr. Leff encouraged a close scrutiny of financial transactions of networks in order to truly penetrate their complex workings. Though there have been some efforts recently to promote mechanisms that support more due diligence for private companies, Mr. Leff underlined that much more could be done. On a micro level, he further encouraged acquiring more resources for field-level investigation in order to establish baselines and the mapping of movement flows, especially of small arms and ammunition in conflict-affected areas. Looking at the origin of these weapons can help illuminate localized trades which can in turn lead to increased understanding of illicit movements.

Mr. Taylor argued that there is in fact significant overlap between WMD proliferation and the illicit trafficking of conventional weapons, particularly in the areas of implementation and law. Both sides have the potential to learn from each other, such as by heeding Mr. Leff's call to “follow the money”. Mr. Taylor highlighted the need for adaptable implementation of sanctions resolutions in order to keep pace with the rapid change in technology. Strategic visions for resolutions, such as the one provided in 1977 extending the life of 1540, are crucial to keeping such regimes relevant. Furthermore, Mr. Taylor stated, implementation requires a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the proliferation market, which rotates around people and knowledge. Reaching out towards those people involved, including the private sector, thus becomes critical.

During the interactive portion of the panel, audience participants highlighted that addressing capacity and political will in the fight against both conventional arms and WMD proliferation will be crucial. One participant encouraged better relationships and feedback between Member States and Panel experts, while yet another emphasized the need to get support and assistance in information-sharing to States willing to implement resolutions. Another audience member criticized the lack of cooperation between the international and national level. The panelists responded by agreeing that there was a disconnect between agencies,

states, and organizations, and that more investigators and experts were needed to fulfill this gap. The panelists also agreed that a bottom-up approach to sanctions implementation was needed, and that it was essential to view civil society and the private sectors as tools of equal value.

MECHANICS OF GLOBALIZED PROLIFERATION AND CHALLENGES FOR EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

Mr. Brian Finlay of Stimson chaired the second session, which delved into the myriad intricacies of the mechanics of the illicit trade of arms and dual use materials. Panelists included David Albright of the Institute for Science and International Security, Hugh Griffiths of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, and Martin Uden, Coordinator of the 1718 Committee Panel of Experts. Mr. Finlay claimed that one of the by-products of globalization has been the convergence of security and development challenges, and urged the panel to explore the equities between different trafficking constituencies and the development community in order to identify opportunities for mutual leverage.

David Albright noted that many countries aspiring to be nuclear states do not have the capacity to build crucial elements, such as reactors, centrifuges, water pumps, etc. themselves, nor could they easily create a home-based industry to create nuclear plants. There is therefore an inherent dependence on the international market, which then leads to the birth of a smuggling network. Sanctions may hurt countries macro-economically, but they can simply move most of their money informally to get needed supplies. Working with these industries to identify these suspicious networks and buyers is critical, and Mr. Albright encouraged increase government cooperation with the private sector, which could yield better industry responses.

Mr. Griffiths asserted that one of the consequences of globalization has been the shift towards “containment”, meaning that often smugglers can easily evade traditional custom searches. There is thus a critical information deficit, which smugglers are all too happy to exploit. To counteract this new trend, Mr. Griffiths suggested that customs authorities operate on a risk assessment model—which is more common with other illicit trades—instead of relying mostly on intelligence-based seizures and interdictions.

Mr. Uden reminded the seminar that sanctions that can work well on some states may not be as effective on



others, particularly those that pride themselves on self-sufficiency. It is also much more difficult to identify financial transactions and other information on isolated states that are not well-integrated into the global financial system. Mr. Uden went on to point out that while there seems to be an international consensus on the aim of non-proliferation, there is a wide divergence of opinions of the means, especially regarding how intrusive Sanctions Committees should be.

During the interactive portion of the panel, audience members questioned how we could align profits with nonproliferation goals in order to get industries to do more than what is legally required. One participant pointed out the importance of sharing long-term objectives of non-proliferation. The panel responded by acknowledging that sanctions were only one part of the puzzle, and that many other underlying issues needed to be solved, while also agreeing that viewing the matter more in terms of profits and incentives could produce significant results.

KENYOTE ADDRESS: JUAN C. ZARATE

Angela Kane, High Representative of the Office of Disarmament Affairs, made remarks before the keynote address and shared the message from Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon with the audience. Ms. Kane emphasized that the Secretary-General remains steadfastly committed to disarmament and non-proliferation goals. In his message, the Secretary-General lamented the enormous social and economic losses caused by proliferation, and once again declared that there was a vital need for an international legal regime to regulate the conventional weapons trade.

Juan C. Zarate, Senior Adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, then began his address and stated that proliferation represented an

ecosystem of problems, and that one of the main challenges was the struggle to define the threat. He pointed out that due to the globalized nature of terrorists and illicit trafficking network, globalized responses and coordination among States are crucial to counter such a threat. Mr. Zarate then outlined five possible areas of innovation that could allow us to have a globalized response and impact the ecosystem. The first would be to focus on sanctions evasion, which forces accountability and reporting throughout the system. It also compels us to examine UN interaction with financial, customs, insurance, etc. agencies. The second area would be to “follow the money”—studying financial transactions draws links in the system while also allowing one to think of other potential enablers. A third area of innovation would be to leverage existing actors to benefit from the UN’s goals. This would be a useful approach in time of resource constraints, a common challenge to many States. Such an approach would allow the use of information already gathered by think-tanks, private sectors and government agencies while also permitting actors to benefit from the knowledge of science and experts in academia and research institutions. A fourth would be to understand the tremendous role of the private sector and to enlist them as central actors. Finally, Mr. Zarate urged actors to search for positive incentives in order to embed and encourage good practices into the ecosystem, such as the creation of clear standards or the development of stamps of approval in industries.

The subsequent roundtable discussion sought to identify ways in which the work of UN, especially by UN Sanctions Committees and panels, could benefit from civil society and the private sector and vice versa.

Participants included Ellen Laipson, Duane L. Lindner of Sandia National Laboratories, and George A. Lopez. Dr. Lindner pointed out the potential dangers of technological and scientific advances, and stated that it is difficult for scientific defense mechanisms to ensure that their measures are robust enough to adapt to the future. Mr. Lopez remarked that it was interesting to see how businesses and human rights organizations work together, and suggested that this could be model behavior for cooperation between the private sector and nonproliferation groups. The discussion was followed by comments and questions by the general audience attending the session.

CLOSING REMARKS

At the end of the event, Deputy Permanent Representative of Turkey Mr. Hüseyin Müftüoğlu, Mr. Paweł Herczyński, and Ambassador Nishida delivered the closing remarks. Mr. Müftüoğlu of Turkey thanked all participants, but warned that many challenges remained. He urged the audience to continue to look at the wider picture as they had done today and to avoid narrowly focusing on specific issues. Deputy Permanent Representative Mr. Paweł Herczyński of Poland agreed that participation of all relevant actors was crucial to better tackling the fight against proliferation.

Ambassador Nishida restated that such a complex threat as proliferation and disarmament necessitates a manifold response that involves a wide range of actors, including civil society and the private sector. Exchanges between these various actors, which this Turtle Bay seminar sought to encourage, will be especially decisive during the final negotiations of an Arms Trade Treaty in March. Ambassador Nishida ended the seminar by repeating his sincere hope that attendees would seize opportunities such as Turtle Bay to further profit from and enrich each other’s work.

The event was a successful sequel to the three previous seminars held in 2011 and 2012 and allowed a vigorous and significant trading of views on serious consequences globalization has had on proliferation of both conventional weapons and WMD. A candid, multifaceted response and dialogue will only become more important in the fight against proliferation as the world grows increasingly flat. Participants valued the unique chance to join a seminar that allowed for an innovative exchange of views, and voiced their strong support for the continuation of such open discourse on the global impact of nonproliferation issues.

