

**TRADE, MIGRATION AND
BORDER SECURITY:
“THE FUTURE IS NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE”**

World Affairs Council of South Texas
Ortiz Convention Center
Corpus Christi, TX
October 16, 2019

Alan Bersin
Senior Fellow, Belfer Center Harvard Kennedy School
Global Fellow, Wilson Center for International Scholars
Inaugural North America Fellow, Canada Institute and Mexico Institute
(Wilson Center)
Former Commissioner, US Customs and Border Protection
Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs (Ret.)
U. S. Department of Homeland Security

Borderless with Borders

The Underworld of Globalization and the Challenge of Security

"I've had a strange sense that two parallel worlds exist on this planet - a stable, progressively growing, developing world and an unstable, disintegrating, chaotic world. The two worlds - the stable and the unstable - are colliding."

"The new world order was changing in other ways also. Globalization and the explosion of information technology were making the world more interdependent and interconnected. Geographic obstacles such as oceans and mountain ranges no longer provided impenetrable boundaries. Economic, political, or security-related instability in remote parts of the world was having a greater effect on our security interests and well being on this shrinking planet. In addition, the rise of nonstate entities such as nongovernmental organizations, transnational criminal groups, extremist organizations, global corporations, and warlord groups brought a new confusing dimension to a world previously dominated by nation state interaction."

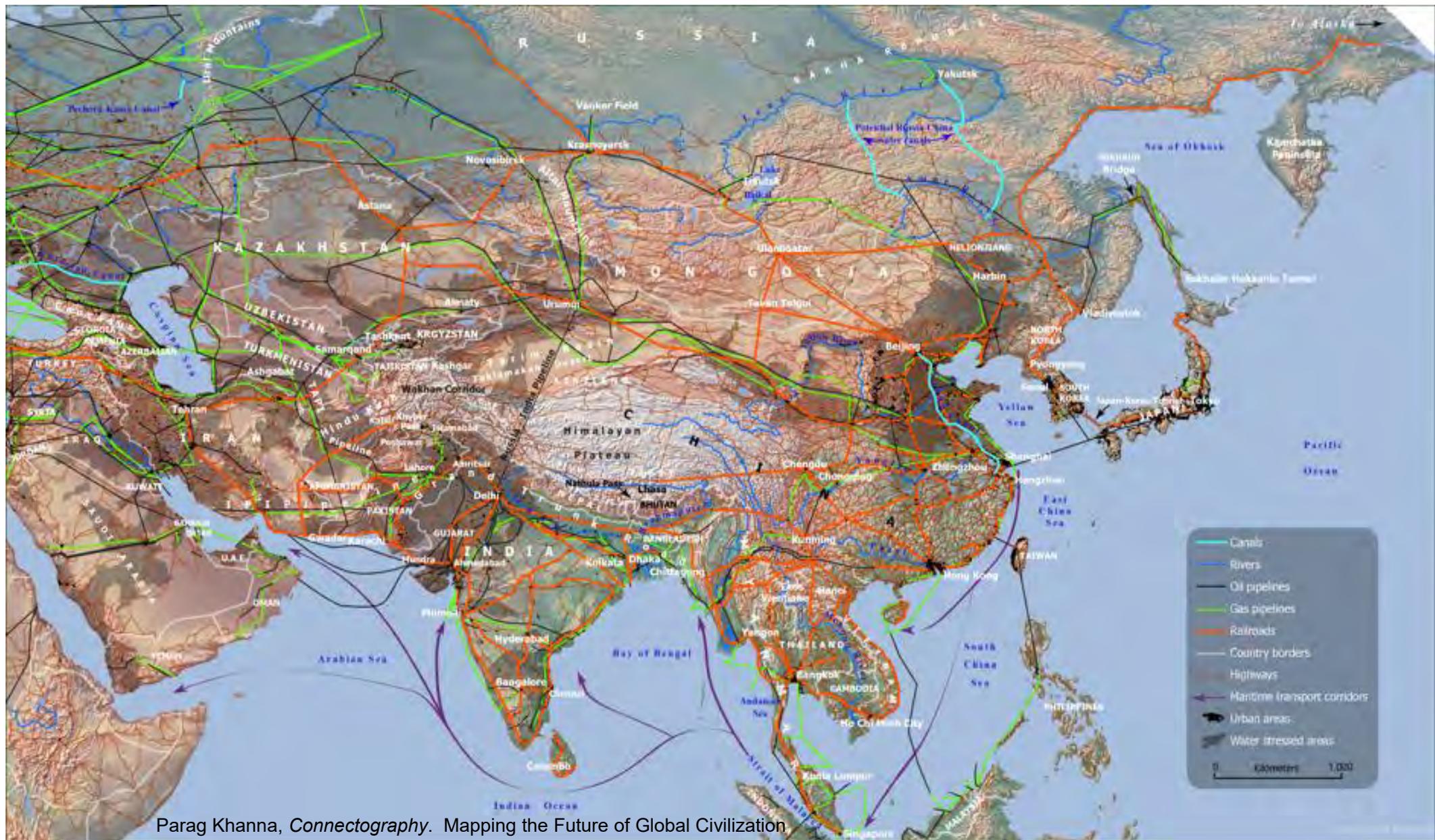
-General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Retired)

The Westphalian System of Nation-States

- The Treaty of Westphalia ended the 30 Years War — 1687
- Since the 17th century, sovereignty resides in nation-states that protect and regulate territorial borders and create national identity
- Borders encompass the flows of goods and people toward the jurisdictional line where national regulatory authorities assert authority and owed most aggressively

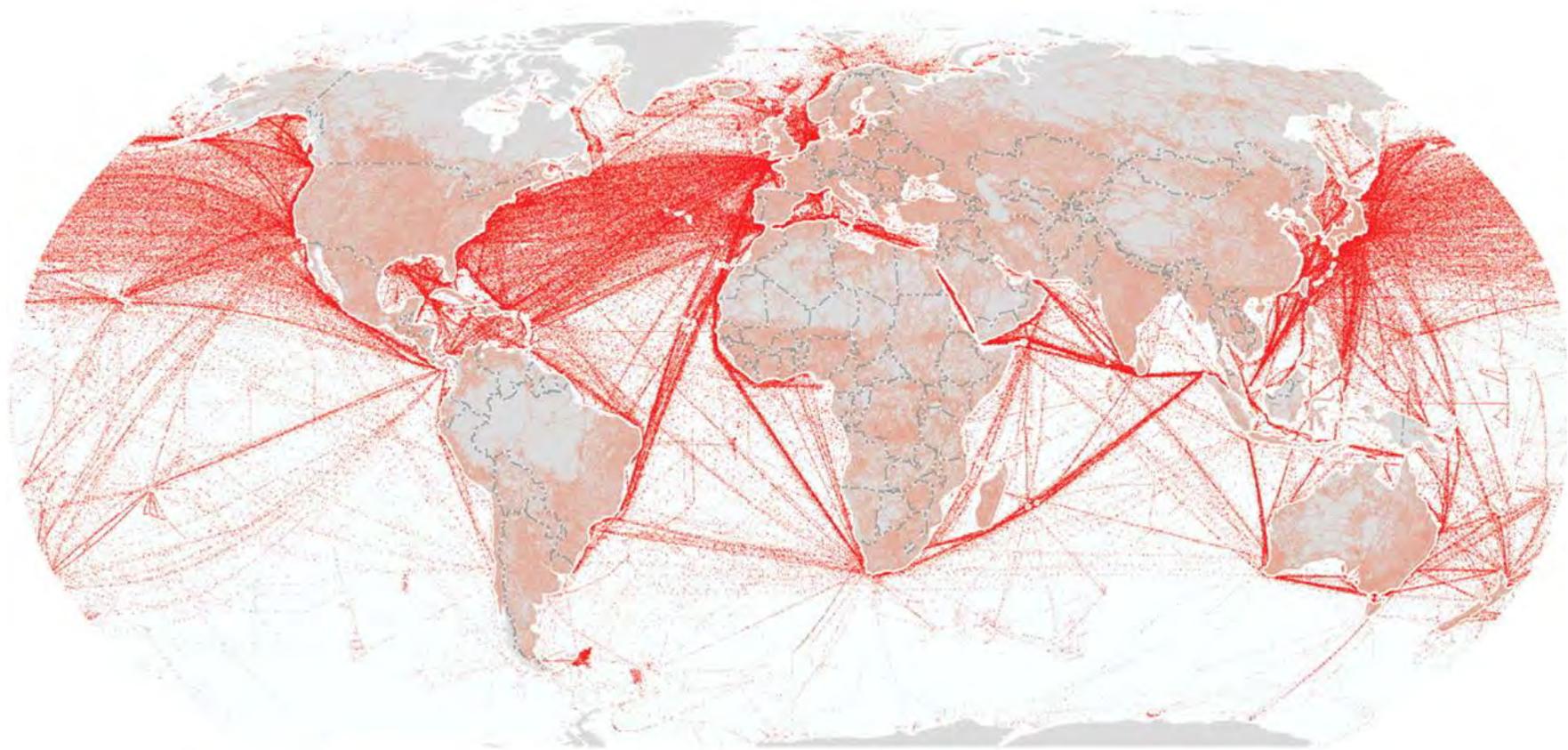


The Middle East, Europe, and Russia after the Peace of Westphalia (1648)



Parag Khanna, *Connectography*. Mapping the Future of Global Civilization

New Border Paradigm: Global Lines and Flows Define Modern Borders



Global Shipping Lanes



PANAMA CANAL
 Roughly 500,000 containers will travel the canal this year, a 10% increase from 2010. The canal's capacity is expected to increase to 600,000 containers by 2015.

KEY
 WORLD'S LARGEST PORTS BY CARGO VOLUME PER YEAR
 • 10 MILLION TONS
 ● 500
 ● 1000

0 1,250 2,500 KILOMETERS

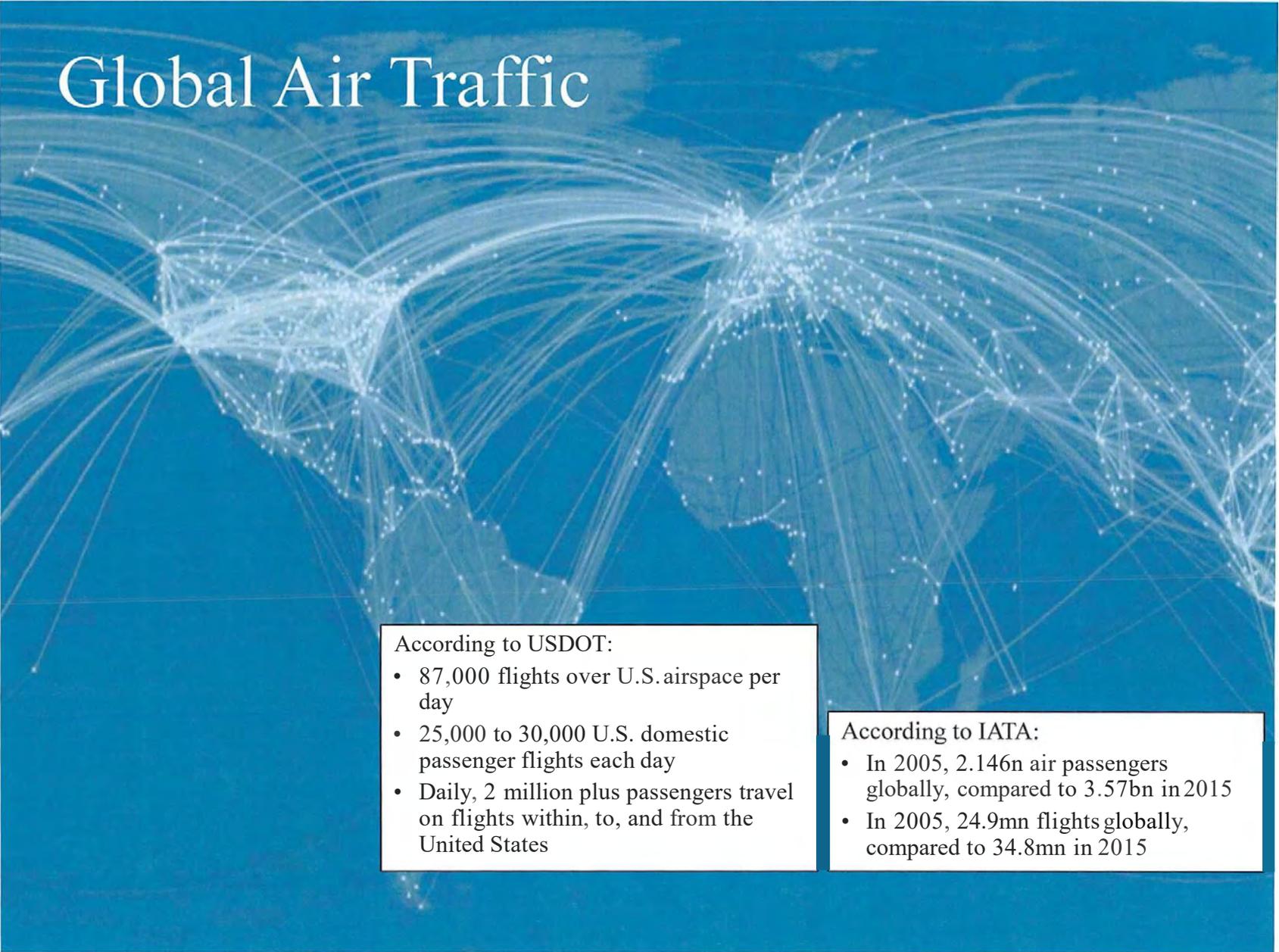
GULF OF ADEN
 The Gulf of Aden is a critical choke point for oil and gas shipments from the Middle East to Europe and Asia. It is also a major shipping lane for container vessels.

2011 TOP EXPORTERS

CHINA	US \$1,629 BILLION	UNITED STATES	\$576	GERMANY	\$509	INDIA	\$476	FRANCE	\$462
-------	--------------------	---------------	-------	---------	-------	-------	-------	--------	-------

TONS (MILLION)

Global Air Traffic



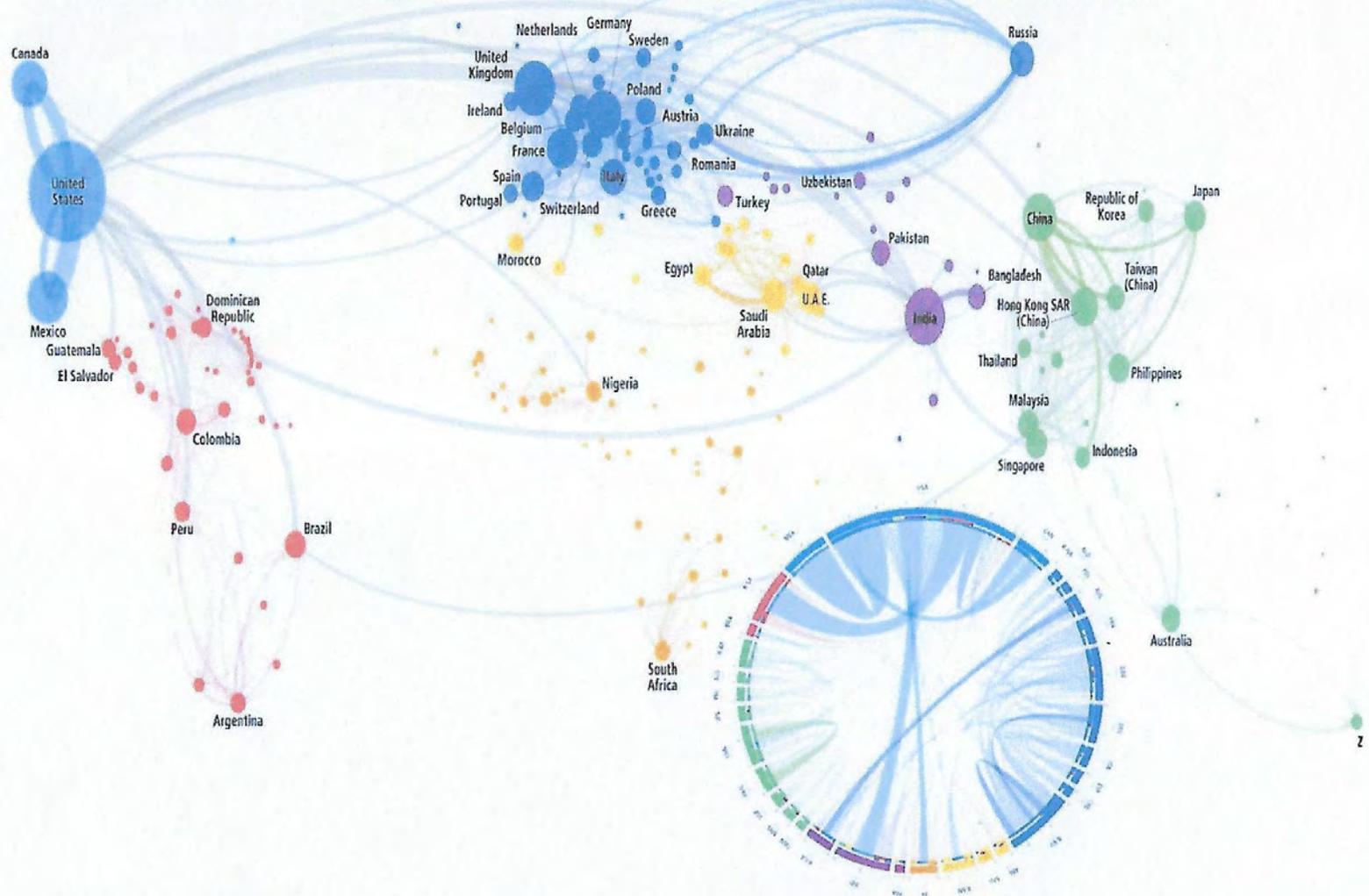
According to USDOT:

- 87,000 flights over U.S. airspace per day
- 25,000 to 30,000 U.S. domestic passenger flights each day
- Daily, 2 million plus passengers travel on flights within, to, and from the United States

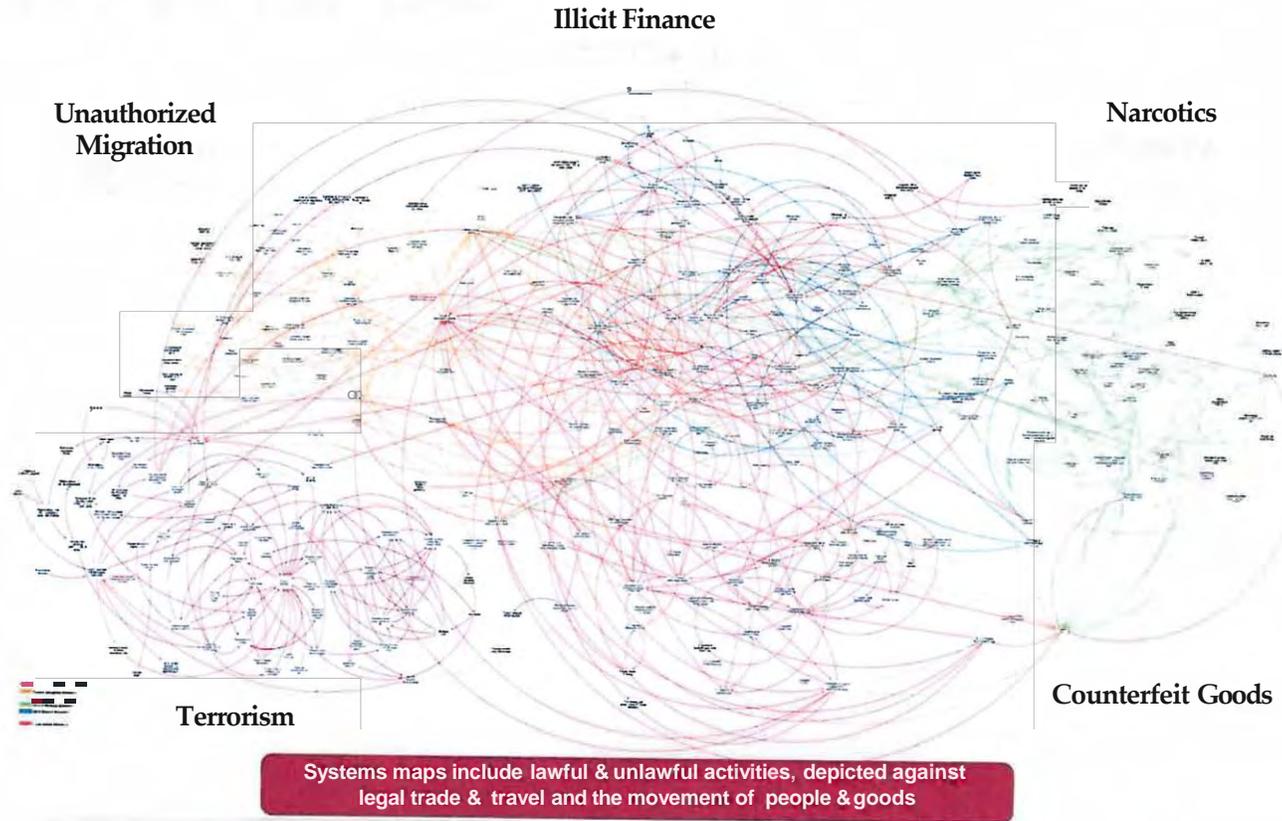
According to IATA:

- In 2005, 2.146n air passengers globally, compared to 3.57bn in 2015
- In 2005, 24.9mn flights globally, compared to 34.8mn in 2015

International Phone Call Metadata



The Underworld of Globalization



Transnational Criminal Organizations (TCO's) Integrated Flows System Map

The Past is Prologue

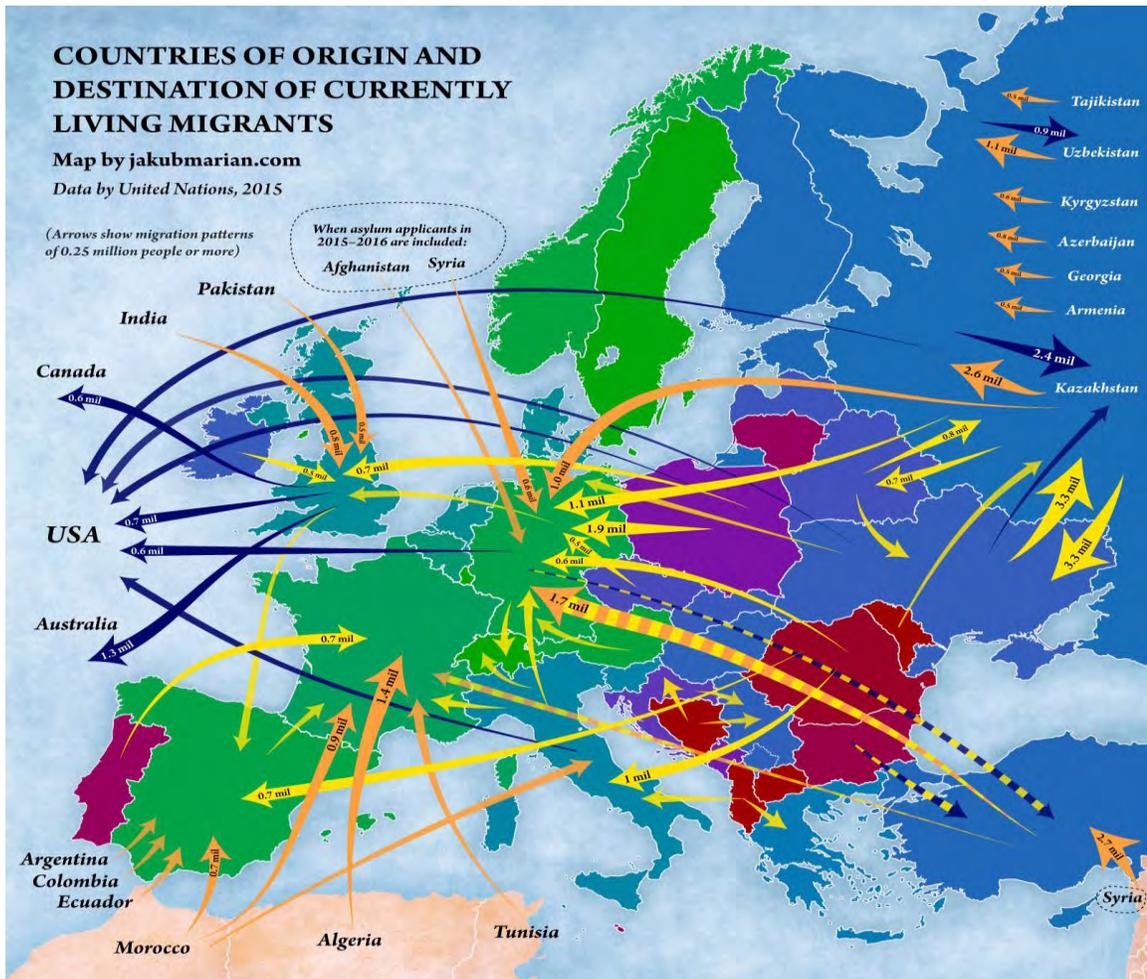
- Migration for political, economic, social, ecological, & familial reasons is not new
- **What is new?** The numbers, intensity, and frequency
- Technology and globalization account for the change
 - Time and space are compressed
 - Messaging is central to the migration (and smuggling) enterprise
 - Knowledge and communication are global and instantaneous





British military personnel (upper deck) aboard the "Exodus 1947" refugee ship, whose Jewish passengers were then forcibly returned to Europe. Haifa, Palestine, July 1947.
— *Popperfoto*

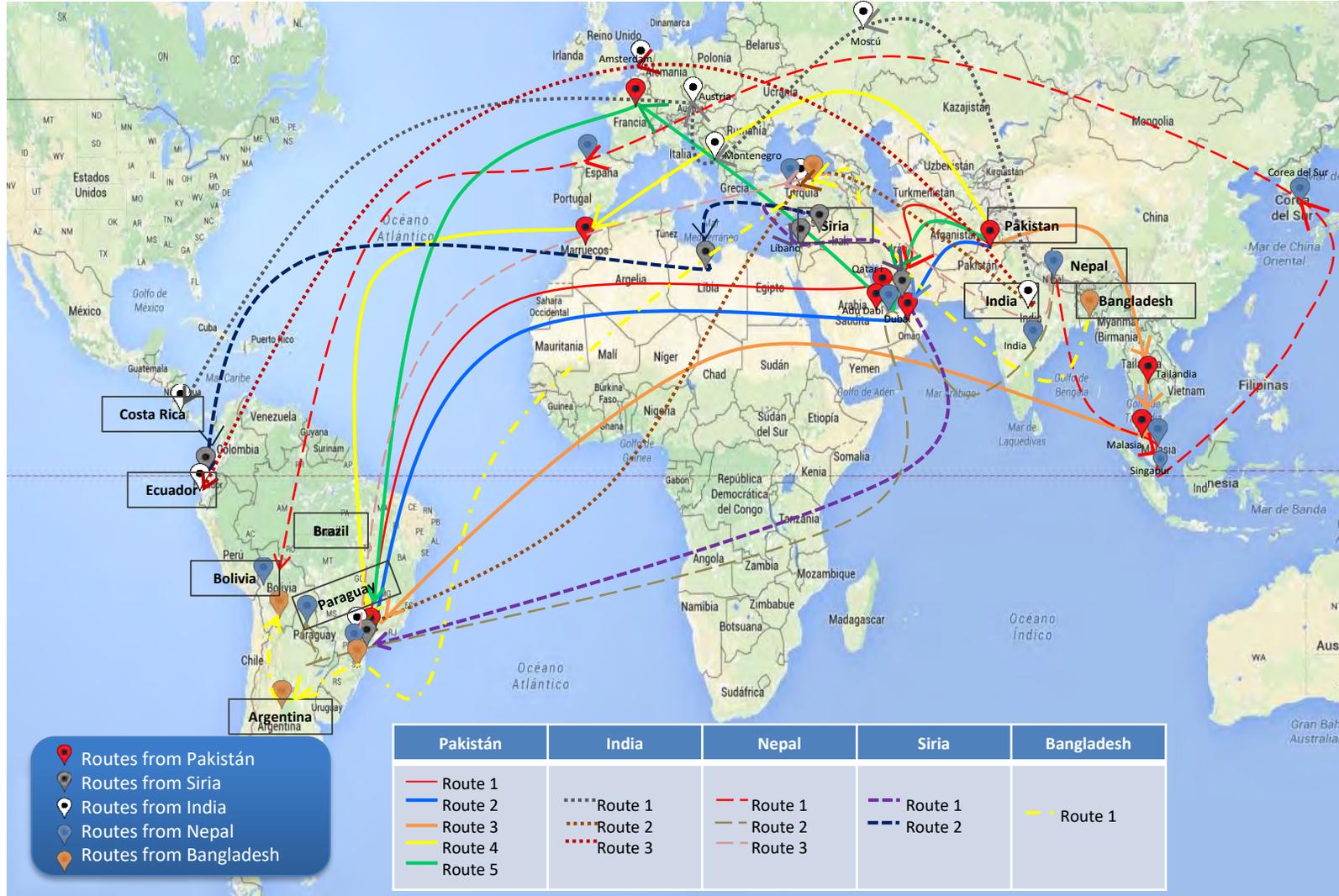
Countries of Origin and Destination of Currently Living Migrants



- Over the past few years, the increase in legal flows has been over-shadowed by the mass inflows of asylum seekers and refugees.
- G20 countries received more than 3.5 million applications in 2015 and 2016, the highest numbers since World War II, and Turkey alone is providing temporary protection to another 3 million Syrians, while Lebanon and Jordan host more than 1 million and at least 660 thousand Syrians respectively.
- Germany also registered more than 1.2 million asylum applications in 2015 and 2016.

<https://jakubmarian.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/migration-patterns-Europe.jpg>

Routes from Asia





A boat with refugees sinks close to the cargo ship 'OOC Jaguar' in the Mediterranean sea.

Photo: EPA/Opielok Offshore Carriers

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africanandindianocean/Libya/11556561/EU-leaders-to-consider-military-intervention-against-Libyan-migrant-traffickers.html>

Aerial View showing the Zaatari refugee camp in Mafraq, Jordan, Thursday, July 18, 2013 (AP)



<http://English.alarabiva.net/en/blog/2016/03/28/Behind-the-fences-of-Jordan-s-Zaatari-refugee-camp.html>

Borders in a Globalized World (1)

Borders in a globalized world are flows toward and across lines marking national sovereignty

- Borders traditionally have been viewed as lines in the sand (and on a map) demarcating the edges of sovereign states (or empires) according to the Westphalian system.
- Globalization is the cumulative cause and effect of the intensified and (often) instantaneous "borderless" flow of labor, capital, goods, ideas, and data that characterize the modern world.
- As the process of globalization expands, the concept of "borders" is enlarged to encompass the unprecedented flows of all kinds that cross border lines continuously on a 24/7/365 basis.

Borders in a Globalized World (2)

The new border paradigm links jurisdictional lines to flows toward and across them.

- Points of entry (airports, seaports, and land ports) are the last line, not the first line, of defense for national sovereignties.
- Since 9/11, we have learned that the border begins where airplanes take off and where cargo is laden into the hold, not at the destination boundaries themselves.
 - The Case of the Christmas Day 2009 Bomber.
 - The Yemen Cargo Plot of October 2010.

Homeland Security and Joint Border Management (1)

Homeland Security/Internal Defense is inherently transnational and requires securing flows of goods and people heading toward the Border Line

- Borders are "pushed out" and time and space are enlisted to enhance security as far away geographically from the border line as possible and as early as possible before arrival at the border line.

Fragmented border management within and between nations is a "Westphalian" artifact of history that globalization requires revisiting.

Homeland Security and Joint Border Management (2)

Networks are the organizational key to effective implementation.

- The relevant partnerships are within the government, with the private (stakeholder) sector, and with foreign nations.
- New forms of governance emerge to facilitate cooperation: "transgovernment" mechanisms and public/private partnerships.

Movement from bilateral border relations to binational relationships trans-nationally.

- The perimeter security paradigm operating with advance information is much more efficient and effective than trying to screen everything and everyone at the border line.

Expediting Lawful Trade and Travel (1)

Expediting lawful trade and travel is not antithetical to security

- The old dichotomy between security and trade facilitation is a false one
- Trade facilitation and supply chain security are not mutually exclusive variables but involve the same process
 - 97 to 98 percent of trade and travel flows are lawful
 - Identifying illicit trade and travel in the midst of lawful commerce is similar to searching for a needle in the proverbial haystack

Expediting Lawful Trade and Travel (2)

Expediting legitimate trade and travel is a security regime

Three ways to find the needle:

- Looking at every piece of straw: 100% screening
- Using intelligence to locate the needle
- Making the haystack smaller through targeting for degrees of risk

Traffic segmentation through trusted trader and trusted traveler programs is the key to finding the needle

The Centrality of Risk Management and Traffic Segmentation

Information sharing is essential and must expand.

- Information is power
 - Sharing vs. Hoarding
 - Converting data into useable and actionable information
- Privacy and data protection need not be inconsistent with information sharing
 - Federated Searches vs. Transfers of Bulk Data

Mexico and the United States: La Linea

The Border as a Dividing Line



- "The Line" marks boundaries determined by war and established in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
- At La Linea, sovereignty is asserted most aggressively and asymmetry in the bilateral power relationship is most neutralized
- Mexico and the United States are "equal" at the border as nowhere else as a matter of law.