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Disarmament and Human Development: The Legacy of Dr. Mahbub ul Haq

by Richard Ponzio

Dr. Mahbub ul Haq, an eminent Pakistani economist and chief architect of the United Nations Development Programme's *Human Development Reports*, and a member of BICC's international board passed away on 16 July at the age of 64. Dr. Haq committed himself to advancing critical thinking on the interplay between disarmament, conversion and development. His persuasive and passionate concern for rationalizing military expenditures and enlarging people's choices, particularly the choices of the poor, resulted in untiring intellectual and policy efforts to capture a 'peace dividend for human development'.

Dr. Haq's rare combination of courage, analytical depth, and political acumen armed him with the tools to significantly shape contemporary thought on the connection between disarmament and human development. His leadership in preparing the landmark *Human Development Report 1994* led to a breakthrough in understanding and shaping global military spending trends and decisions. In defiance of repeated attacks by entrenched interest groups, Dr. Haq relentlessly sought to mobilize pressure to reduce global military spending, to ensure that the poorest regions contain their military outlays, and to develop a firm link between reduced arms expenditures and increased social spending.

He firmly believed that the next challenge for disarmament would be to phase the Third World out of the Cold War. In this regard, he never shied from calls for new alliances for peace and regional forums for disarmament talks. Dr. Haq's ideas on delicately balancing the imperatives of human and national security were most pronounced in his own region of South Asia. Disturbed by the Indian subcontinent's fast descent into 'a quagmire of human deprivation

and despair', he returned to Pakistan in late 1995 to initiate a series of studies on the state of the region. Through the startling disclosures and incisive analysis of the reports of the new Human Development Centre (HDC), he championed an earnest debate on restoring a better balance between arms and the people in South Asia.

In a speech in 1996, he sent shock waves throughout the region with his innovative five point agenda for a new *détente* between Pakistan and India. Fearlessly advancing a daring approach to help the two rivals 'bury deep the bitter legacy of the past and cultivate a new harvest of hope', he gave a jolt to the South Asian elite which was soon to invite some of his sharpest criticism to date. But Dr. Haq was not deterred—on the contrary, his fundamental faith in the need for sound disarmament and conversion processes fueled his desire to write prolifically on the subject and air seemingly heretical views in public.

In the weeks prior to his death, Dr. Haq was hard at work preparing a new nation-wide literacy campaign at the Pakistani government's request. He was keen to enlist the military in his efforts to provide universal basic education to all Pakistani children over the course of five years (at present, 64% of the boys and 75% of the girls in the primary school-age population are out of school).

He felt that the armed forces in South Asia were a skilled and disciplined group and that a redeployment of some soldiers to education and other civilian sectors could be of tremendous benefit to society.

Eager to excite creative thinking on long-term strategies towards demilitarization in the aftermath of the subcontinent's nuclear tests crisis, Mahbub ul Haq looked forward to his institute's collaboration with BICC on conversion in South Asia. He was also determined to present new insights on the struggle between nuclear and human security in the forthcoming report on *Human Development in South Asia 1999*.

Through his advocacy for human development and human centered policies, Dr. Haq maintained a broad international constituency and was proud of his

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increasing collaborations with the security and disarmament communities. Mahbub ul Haq provided stimulating and lasting contributions to the conversion debate. He had no fear in shaming those who he held responsible for the poverty and misery of hundreds of millions of people in the subcontinent. But, at the same time, he was radiant with hope that the situation was about to change, and that conversion would be a major road towards human development. Talking on dismal issues, he was, as usual, witty, and hard-hitting, humanistic and practical.

In his final public address at the North South Roundtable this past June, Dr. Haq once again displayed his uncompromising convictions when he proclaimed, "... we need to go far beyond calls for nuclear disarmament and have a more practical package for global negotiations. We need a new Non-Proliferation Treaty; a new code of conduct for arms transfers; and a new commitment to discourage arms spending, including less official developmental assistance and fewer export subsidies for those nations which concentrate their scarce resources on military spending". It would be a befitting tribute to this great humanitarian if those who shared his ideals would continue to help carry this message forward.

Shortly before his death, Mahbub ul Haq quoted Bernard Shaw: "You see things that are, and ask why? / I dream of things that never were, and ask why not?" This in many ways encapsulated his quest for people-centered development and a just world order. Through his work, Dr. Haq's hope for a new human age, guided by a new vision of human progress, will endure.

Richard Ponzio is a Visiting Fulbright Fellow at the Human Development Centre in Pakistan.

Staff Spotlight:



Michael Dedek

Michael Dedek (Germany) is the new Head of Public Relations and Publishing Management at BICC. He joined BICC at the end of 1994, when the institute was still in its infancy, to take charge of *ConverNet*, BICC's Internet service. In his prior position as a project leader at the Institute for Environmental Protection (INFU) in Dortmund, Germany, Michael established an Internet based information system on the issue of conversion. The fast and easy access as well as the direct information dissemination provide both challenges and opportunities for the research and practitioner community. From the start, *ConverNet* was successful and very well received. In the meantime, the service has grown further and now also includes items which have been developed within research projects (e.g. MILEX newsletter, surplus weapons news, NRW homepage). The Internet service has encouraged researchers and project managers at BICC to make use of Internet tools and to incorporate this new medium in their projects.

The PR Department itself builds up and coordinates external contacts for BICC in its various issue areas and carries out all the institute's publishing management tasks. In addition to its annual *conversion survey*, other books and the *bulletin*, BICC publishes series such as reports, briefs, and papers which analyze the international conversion process, reports on conversion projects and experiences, and offers scientific as well as practical know-how.

As a graduate economist, Michael has also been involved in BICC research work, participating in the project *Changing Priorities of Military Expenditures and the Results of the Peace Dividend*. For the two-year project—funded by the MacArthur Foundation—he carried out a case study on *Military Expenditures and the Peace Dividend in the Unified Germany*.

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**Bonn International Center for Conversion
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The Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) is an independent non-profit organization dedicated to promoting and facilitating the processes whereby people, skills, technology, equipment, and financial and economic resources can be shifted away from the defense sector and applied to alternative civilian uses.

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Demilitarization and Peace-building in Southern Africa

BICC and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, together with several researchers and research institutes in Southern Africa, are conducting a two-year research project examining the dynamics of demilitarization and peace-building in Southern Africa. The principal objective of the joint project is to support and facilitate sustainable peace and human development in Southern Africa. This is achieved by identifying practical policies and interventions for peace-building, and by promoting a greater sharing of information and ideas among researchers and policy makers in the region.

The project will address the following issues:

- comprehensive and coherent concepts of security, demilitarization and peace-building
- the links between actual demilitarization, peace-building and human development
- the role of armed forces in state-formation and nation-building, and emerging patterns of civil-military relations
- incidences of renewed militarization and new sources of conflict in Southern Africa.

The group of researchers met in Harare in March 1998 to set the stage for the research. Initial results will be discussed in Windhoek in early 1999. Preliminary findings and conclusions will be published as working papers by BICC and CCR in the second half of 1999. An international conference and monograph on *Demilitarization and Peace-building in Southern Africa* are planned for 2000.

For further information contact

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New Cooperation Partner: Development and Peace Foundation, Bonn

→ <http://bicc.uni-bonn.de/sef/>

With *ConverNet*, BICC maintains an extensive Internet service renowned in the field of international relations and security. Recently, institutions working in these fields, but lacking relevant know-how or their own Internet server capacity, have requested that BICC establish an Internet presence for their institution's information. In early 1998, BICC took the task of designing, hosting, and administering the Internet homepage of the Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (SEF) - Development and Peace Foundation, Bonn, Germany. The German version of the website—including full text versions of many SEF publications, and extensive documentation of SEF events from various years—is now available at: <http://bicc.uni-bonn.de/sef/>

The English version of this site will be available by November 15, 1998.

With the new cooperation and hence increased topic-oriented diversity, BICC's service becomes even more attractive. Furthermore, such services can be offered to other non-profit institutions dealing with related issues.

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ConverArt open to the public

On 21 August, BICC's exhibition *ConverArt* was opened to the public in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Germany. The patron of the art competition Anke Brunn, former Minister and Member of Parliament for North Rhine-Westphalia, handed over prizes (20,000 DM in total) to the three award winning students. First prize went to Dragan Lovrinovic, a Bosnian, for '*Sleeping Room*', a model bunker in which he had buried guns in concrete—a 'mausoleum' like symbol for the effective disposal of surplus weapons; second prize went to a team of four film students from Germany and Vietnam for their film documentary project '*Metamorphoses*' on civilian reuse of remnants of the Vietnam war; and third prize to Aurelia Mihai, a Romanian, for her interactive video installation '*Game of Power*'. The variety of the 20 works of art shown in the exhibition impressively reflect both the metaphorical and practical layers and the international aspects of today's military conversion. A project catalogue is available at a price of DM 10. *ConverArt* is being presented in parallel with an information display '*Disarmament and Conversion - From the Cold War towards 2000*'. UNESCO plans to have *ConverArt* as one of the projects for the '*International Year 2000 for a Culture of Peace*' and other exhibitions are being planned.

For further information please contact

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BICC Publications

In addition to its annual *conversion survey* and other books, BICC publishes series such as *reports*, *briefs*, and *papers* which analyze the international conversion process, report on conversion projects and experiences, and offer scientific as well as practical know-how. Recent and planned publications include:

brief 11: Joseph Di Chiaro III, *Reasonable Measures: Addressing the Excessive Accumulation and Unlawful Use of Small Arms*, August 1998

brief 12: Derek Boothby, *The UNTAES Experience: Weapons Buy-back in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (Croatia)*, September 1998

paper: Kees Kingma and Kiflemariam Gebrewold, *Demilitarisation, Reintegration and Conflict Prevention in the Horn of Africa*, published jointly by BICC and Saferworld (UK), July 1998. It can be ordered from Saferworld (Contact: sworld@gn.apc.org)

forthcoming in October 1998:

report 12: Kiflemariam Gebrewold (ed.), *Converting Defense Resources to Human Development, Conference Proceedings*

Upcoming Events

3rd International Security Forum **Networking the Security Community in the Information Age**, Kongresshaus Zürich, Switzerland, 19-21 October. Contact: gysel@sipo.reok.ethz.ch

International Conference for **Crime Prevention Partnerships to Build Community Safety** organized by the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC), in co-operation with the South African Government and international entities. Johannesburg, South Africa, 26-30 October. Contact: jean@iss.co.za

International Conference **Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development: The case of small arms with focus on child soldiers**, Brussels Congress Centre, 12 and 13 October. Contact: d.shanni@ecco-congress.be

BICC Notes

In June, BICC started a new project on **Restructuring Strategies in the German Arms Industry**. The project aims to research the concrete strategies of German defense companies, to defend their positions in highly competitive markets, as well as the resulting effects on employment. The project is funded by the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung.

For further information please contact
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Under the auspices of the UN Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, a **Subregional Seminar on the Training of Trainers in Practical Disarmament Measures for the Consolidation of Peace** was held 27-31 July in Yaounde, Cameroon. Joseph DiChiaro from BICC played a key role in the planning and conduct of the seminar, advising organizers on the selection of trainers and content of the program.

For further information please contact
→ bicc@bicc.uni-bonn.de

The Geneva Forum of UNIDIR, the Quaker United Nations Office, and the Graduate School of International Studies invited BICC Director Herbert Wulf to give a lecture on **Surplus Weapons: The Negative By-product of Disarmament** at the Palais des Nations on 31 July.

For further information please contact
→ Herbert Wulf at wulf@bicc.uni-bonn.de

Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapalla, Under-secretary General at the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs met BICC Director Herbert Wulf on 13 August in New York to discuss **co-operation and joint projects on small arms control and conversion issues**.

For further information please contact
→ Herbert Wulf at wulf@bicc.uni-bonn.de

A group of about 35 NGOs met in Toronto on 15-19 August to discuss possibilities for a small arms control campaign. The group decided to form an **International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)**. The formal launch of the group is likely to take place in Brussels on 14 October.

For further information please contact
→ Herbert Wulf at wulf@bicc.uni-bonn.de

The board of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation have awarded a two year grant to BICC for its database and electronic newsletter on military expenditures and for the research project **Military Business Activities and Military Expenditures**.

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From 1 September, **Sami Faltas joined BICC as project leader for Surplus Weapons**. He replaces Joseph DiChiaro III who leaves BICC after more than four years. BICC would like to thank Joe for his key contribution to BICC's growth and success and wish him all the best for the future.

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