



ANNUAL REPORT 2008/2009



BONN INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR CONVERSION

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Contributions to the Annual Report 2008/2009

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Preface



This year, the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) is celebrating its 15th anniversary. This is an excellent opportunity for me to express my sincere thanks to both the management and the staff at BICC for their successful work and active commitment to development and peace. Furthermore, it is also an excellent opportunity to take stock.

BICC was founded at the end of the Cold War. The international community of states was undergoing a process of transition. Great changes were taking place, both with regard to established structures and in people's minds—and there was a need for an academic appraisal of this situation. The government of North Rhine-Westphalia used this opportunity to establish BICC. It was not simply by chance that it chose Bonn as its location. BICC exemplified Bonn's new profile with its position at the nexus between the North and the South, its connections with international organizations, science and research.

BICC soon developed to become one of the leading German and internationally recognized peace and conflict research institutes. Its success is due not least to its strong contacts with national and international partners. The importance of such strategic partnerships in a fast-moving age was demonstrated when BICC and the Philosophical Faculty of Bonn University agreed to cooperate at the end of last year. The two institutions are conducting joint research projects, exchanging scientific expertise and using each other's infrastructures. They are transferring research results to practical teaching in a close dialogue and are supporting students at bachelor, master's and doctoral level in joint fields of research. The aim is to further heighten the academic profile of both institutions.

Meanwhile, considerable progress has been made towards understanding the East-West conflict. Does this mean that BICC has become superfluous? Not at all: on the contrary. The Center has succeeded in positioning itself for the future. Unfortunately, the hopes for a more peaceful world have not been realized. The struggle for peace has become a constant factor in our day and age. We are living in a globalized world, many areas of which are characterized by new risks and dangers at the beginning of the 21st century,

weapons and wars, violence and terrorism, injustice and wrongs. The precautionary study of new questions is not only a political necessity, but also a huge challenge, which BICC is tackling with great commitment. For example, BICC has earned itself a prominent position in the relatively new topic area of migration research. The discussion on international migration is often shrouded in diverse fears and catastrophe scenarios, making it difficult to consider this global issue objectively. BICC sees its role in this context as an initiator whose know-how can contribute to a balanced and equal dialogue between stakeholders.

The topic of "Resources and Conflicts" forms a further focus of BICC's work. This involves a detailed analysis of the problems resulting from the shortage of natural resources such as food and energy. Here BICC is not only gaining new insights, but is also developing recommendations for political action in the practical context. This is BICC's trademark. No, BICC cannot be compared with other university research institutions, research centers associated with ministries, or private consultancy firms. It holds a unique position in international peace and conflict research. We can be proud that such a research institution is located in North Rhine-Westphalia.

I would like to wish BICC continued success and the readers of this Annual Report a keen insight into the Center's practical work.

Professor Dr. Andreas Pinkwart
Minister for Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia

Foreword



BICC (Bonn International Center for Conversion) will be 15 years old in 2009. It was founded in 1994 on the initiative of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW).

With our Annual Report 2008/2009, we want to inform you about BICC's current activities in the fields of applied research, advisory services and training at the nexus between peace and development worldwide.

Unfortunately, many of the hopes, which were placed in the term 'conversion' 15 years ago have not been realized. This is demonstrated in the data part of the Annual Report, which shows worldwide trends in defense expenditure, armed conflict and militarization. Generally speaking, we have established that the size and structure of a state's military apparatus can have a considerable influence on its human and economic development, as well as on violent internal and external conflicts. The Global Militarization Index (GMI), which is presented here for the first time, is intended as an aid to all those who wish to study this nexus more closely.

On 5 April 2009, US President Barack Obama announced in Prag "America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons". With his Editorial, Dr. Jayantha Dhanapala, former Deputy UN Secretary-General and member of BICC's International Board considers whether and how the Obama Administration can ring in a new era of disarmament.

"When old concepts are no longer effective, it is all the more important to develop new ideas" was Johannes Rau's, Germany's former *Bundespräsident*, advice on the occasion of BICC's tenth anniversary. The projects which we are presenting in this Annual Report are evidence that we have heeded his words.

The EU-funded DIASPEACE and INFOCON projects are devoted to the topic of migration and the diaspora—new territory for BICC. An international conference took place on South-South migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, with special focus on migration and security.

The international "Digging for Peace" conference, which was organized by BICC in cooperation with the

Fatal Transactions (FT) campaign, a study on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, and the exhibition "Natural Resources for a Fairer World" all considered the links between the extraction of natural resources and armed conflict and discussed possible solutions.

An academic project on ethnic federalism studied the institutional preconditions for stability and conflict resolution. A further research project analyzed how the societal and democratic control of private soldiers can function in a war region.

But the 'classical' topics of conversion, such as demobilization and reintegration, small arms control and nuclear disarmament remain relevant and are linked with 'new ideas'. For example, one project studies wartime rape and its effects on the post-conflict period. A further project sets out to help to supervise and evaluate the reintegration of thousands of demobilized ex-combatants in Colombia.

The Annual Report also presents BICC's projects on small arms control in Ghana and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as in cooperation with the East African Community (EAC). An international conference discussed new opportunities for a compromise in the nuclear dispute with Iran following the elections in the United States.

The message remains—disarmament releases funds which can be used to combat poverty. Conversion ensures that these resources can be redirected and used to the best possible advantage. In a time when the word "change" has taken on a new meaning, shouldn't we address the term 'conversion' all the more courageously? After all, the problems of peace and development cannot be solved without conversion—conversion with regard to policies and with regard to thoughts and actions.

With our Annual Report 2008/2009 we would like to present our activities and new ideas and to invite you to enter into the discussion.

Peter J. Croll
Director of BICC

Nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation: Chances for a new consensus?

It was the Winter of discontent for the disarmament community. But if there was a Winter can Spring be far behind?

The eight years of the Bush-Cheney Administration in the United States is widely accepted as the least popular in recent times. More importantly for the world, it was one of the most negative in recent history as far as nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation is concerned. On nuclear disarmament, it rejected the concept of negotiated disarmament agreements with verification; abrogated the Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty unilaterally; refused to resubmit the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) to the Senate for ratification; revoked the Clinton policy of a constructive dialogue with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and Iran; aggressively pursued the Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) system provoking the Russian Federation, and wrecked the 2005 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference ensuring also that no agreed language could go into the 2005 UN Summit Document on nuclear issues.

Moreover, the de-emphasis on nuclear weapons in the security doctrines of the major powers after the Cold War was replaced by a fresh salience for these weapons. This was evident in the 2002 US nuclear posture review and the attempts by the Bush-Cheney Administration to develop the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP)—a new nuclear 'bunker buster' weapon—and the Reliable Replacement Warhead (RRW) both of which were thwarted by the US Congress. China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom continue to modernize their nuclear arsenals while paying lip service to nuclear disarmament. Israel, India and Pakistan continue with their nuclear weapon development.

Since the mid-1990s, there have been setbacks and some successes in the non-proliferation field as well. The 1994 Agreed Framework that froze the DPRK's nuclear program was inadequately implemented, and as the Bush-Cheney Administration adopted a truculent attitude toward Pyongyang, the DPRK withdrew from the NPT and tested a nuclear weapon. Through renewed diplomatic engagement rather late in the

Bush Presidency, the DPRK again halted its weapons program and is in the process of verifiably disabling its capabilities.

Iran's violation of its International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards agreement and continuing push to develop enrichment capabilities in defiance of Security Council resolutions have led to suspicions that its plans for nuclear power may lead to nuclear weapons. There is no doubt that the problem cannot be solved unilaterally and requires a political and diplomatic process in which all sides must cooperate and compromise. The attitude of the Bush-Cheney Administration to Iran was hardly conducive for this.

There were positive developments, including Libya's announcement that it has abandoned its weapons of mass destruction programs. The continuing progress of the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, the development of the Proliferation Security Initiative, and the Additional Protocol also contribute to greater nuclear security. Yet they cannot, separately or together, stem the tide of proliferation that arises from the political and military value attached to nuclear weapons.

Time for renewed action on nuclear disarmament

The time for renewed action on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation has come. Now more than ever, it is apparent that these are inhumane weapons of terror—weapons in fact intended most of all to intimidate those who do not possess them. Their actual use—predicated in the nuclear doctrines of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—will entail unprecedented destruction of human lives and ecological damage with genetic consequences.

The Obama Administration has been elected decisively in the United States on a platform of change. This has been universally welcomed. The change we need must now come in the vital security area of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons must be devalued as the ultimate currency of power. This can be achieved only by their elimination. There are no safe hands for weapons as destructive as nuclear weapons.

“There are no safe hands for weapons as destructive as nuclear weapons.”



To get back on to that path, it is necessary that the international community reestablish a consensus on a balanced and aggressive program of action on non-proliferation and disarmament and muster the political will necessary to implement it.

In response to the challenges facing the non-proliferation and disarmament system, based on a proposal made by me in my final year as United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, the Swedish government took on the task of organizing a 14-member Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Commission. It was chaired by Dr. Hans Blix. As the Canberra Commission, in which I served, said in 1996:

“Nuclear weapons are held by a handful of states which insist that these weapons provide unique security benefits and yet reserve uniquely to themselves the right to own them. This situation is highly discriminatory and thus unstable; it cannot be sustained. The possession of nuclear weapons by any state is a constant stimulus to other states to acquire them.”¹

The WMD Commission reiterates this adding that “so long as any such weapons remain in any state’s arsenal, there is a high risk that they will one day be used, by design or accident. Any such use would be catastrophic.”²

The WMD Commission delivered its final report and 60 specific recommendations to Secretary General Kofi Annan in June 2006 and to the UN First Committee later that year.

A global consensus on disarmament and non-proliferation, as utopian and elusive as it may seem to some, has been achieved in the past and can be achieved once again. To be sure, such consensus requires convergence of political will on the part of the most powerful states. There are signs that given the seriousness of the challenges, key leaders may recognize their re-

sponsibilities in helping to promote action and restore consensus about how to buttress the NPT.

Chances for a new consensus around the NPT?

The change in leadership in the United States with the Obama Presidency plus the change in leadership in Russia, and developments elsewhere provide a unique opportunity for a breakthrough in reconstructing the fractured consensus around the NPT.

On 24 October 2008, United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon made an important speech on “The United Nations and Security in a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World” in New York. In it he stated unequivocally that “a world free of nuclear weapons would be a global public good of the highest order”³ and went on to make a five point proposal for nuclear disarmament.

Public opinion remains solidly in favor of global verifiable action to reduce the nuclear weapons danger. Civil society organizations and leading legislators can and must work relentlessly to seize the opportunity ahead of the next and very pivotal NPT Review Conference in 2010 to ensure that the right decisions are taken to build and strengthen the disarmament and non-proliferation bargain for this generation and for generations yet to come.

The one treaty, which attempts a combination of the disarmament and arms control aspects is the NPT, which is the world’s most widely subscribed-to arms treaty. It openly accepts two categories of states parties—nuclear weapon states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS). In terms of the disarmament approach, NWS are only exhorted to negotiate the reduction and elimination of their weapons whereas NNWS are totally forbidden to acquire such weapons and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is empowered to enter into arrangements with them when peaceful uses of nuclear energy are involved, to verify there is no diversion for non-peaceful purposes. As far as arms control is concerned, NWS are per-

¹ The Canberra Commission of the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. Available at <<http://www.ccnr.org/canberra.html>>. Accessed 5 March 2009.

² Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission. 2006. *Final report: Weapons of Terror: Freeing the World of Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Arms.* Stockholm, Sweden, 1 June.

³ UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon’s address is available at <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sgsm11881.doc.htm>>. Accessed on 5 March 2009.

“At this juncture only a reunification of the disarmament approach and a non-proliferation approach can save the treaty.”

mitted to retain their weapons with the restraints that apply through other bilateral and multilateral treaties. NNWS are not only subject to the absolute prohibition of acquiring nuclear weapons but can only have nuclear energy subject to IAEA safeguards.

This discriminatory approach creating an apartheid system between NWS and NNWS has been the cause of tensions within the NPT. They have exacerbated over the 40 year history of the Treaty. At this juncture only a reunification of the disarmament approach and a non-proliferation approach can save the Treaty. This is especially important because impending climate change is driving many countries towards nuclear energy in a ‘nuclear renaissance’. However the technologies of peaceful uses and non-peaceful uses can no longer be kept in sealed compartments. More importantly nuclear disarmament was endorsed by President Obama in his campaign. The translation of those campaign promises into policy will lead the world into the only viable normative approach with regard to WMD—their total and universal elimination under strict verification.

The role of the nuclear weapon in international relations

The centrality of the role of the nuclear weapon in Cold War international relations is returning almost two decades after that phase of global politics ended. Four factors may be identified as leading to this situation.

The first is that the new global issue of international terrorism (as distinct from national terrorist movements) which emerged on 11 September 2001 with its meticulous transcontinental planning has raised the real threat of nuclear terrorism. Actual evidence of terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda seeking to acquire nuclear materials together with the startling revelations of Dr. A.Q. Khan’s network of clandestine operations to market nuclear technology and nuclear materials gives this threat credence.

The second is that on the basis of the incontrovertible scientific evidence of climate change through the indiscriminate use of fossil fuels, as embodied in the

reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), there is a ‘nuclear renaissance’ or a heightened interest in the use of nuclear energy. While the peaceful uses of nuclear energy is an ‘inalienable right’ under Article IV of the NPT, alarm bells are being rung about the absence of a credible firewall between peaceful and non-peaceful uses of nuclear energy. A plethora of proposals are being put forward on proliferation-resistant technology and on internationalizing the fuel cycle so as to discourage national uranium enrichment facilities or plutonium re-processing.

Third, there have been proven instances of nuclear weapon proliferation among NPT parties beginning with Iraq’s clandestine WMD program, which the IAEA and United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) destroyed after the first Gulf War. Outside the NPT, India and Pakistan have developed a nuclear weapon capability and it is credibly assumed that Israel has had nuclear weapons for some time.

Finally, the nuclear doctrines of some nuclear weapon states have now adopted the actual and pre-emptive use of nuclear weapons even against non-nuclear weapon states and not just their political use as a weapon of deterrent value. This change occurred during the Bush-Cheney Administration and has been followed by proposals for the development of nuclear weapons designed for use. Today, in the absence of transparent declarations by nuclear weapon states, it is estimated more than 25,000 nuclear weapons exist in the world 10,183 of them being deployed warheads ready to be launched. With the CTBT not in force only a brittle voluntary moratorium prevents further testing and refinement of nuclear weapon technologies. Global stocks of highly enriched uranium are estimated to be 1370 tons (excluding 346 earmarked for down blending). About 500 tons of separated plutonium also exist. These are two essential ingredients that go to make nuclear weapons and while their production is not prohibited by the NPT, their safe custody is not always assured. These stocks can produce over 250,000 nuclear bombs in more than 40 countries.

All of the above point to a highly dangerous situation. To cope with this threat to international peace and



“After more than five decades of talks, it is time for the testing of nuclear weapons to finally be banned.”

A world without nuclear weapons

... So today, I state clearly and with conviction America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons. This goal will not be reached quickly—perhaps not in my lifetime. It will take patience and persistence. But now we, too, must ignore the voices who tell us that the world cannot change.

First, the United States will take concrete steps toward a world without nuclear weapons.

To put an end to Cold War thinking, we will reduce the role of nuclear weapons in our national security strategy and urge others to do the same. Make no mistake: as long as these weapons exist, we will maintain a safe, secure and effective arsenal to deter any adversary, and guarantee that defense to our allies—including the Czech Republic. But we will begin the work of reducing our arsenal.

To reduce our warheads and stockpiles, we will negotiate a new strategic arms reduction treaty with Russia this year. President Medvedev and I began this process in London, and will seek a new agreement by the end of this year that is legally binding, and sufficiently bold. This will set the stage for further cuts, and we will seek to include all nuclear weapons states in this endeavor.

To achieve a global ban on nuclear testing, my Administration will immediately and aggressively pursue US ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. After more than five decades of talks, it is time for the testing of nuclear weapons to finally be banned.

And to cut off the building blocks needed for a bomb, the United States will seek a new treaty that verifiably ends the production of fissile materials intended for use in state nuclear weapons. If we are serious about stopping the spread of these weapons, then we should put an end to the dedicated production of weapons grade materials that create them.

Second, together, we will strengthen the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a basis for cooperation.

The basic bargain is sound: countries with nuclear weapons will move toward disarmament, countries without nuclear weapons will not acquire them; and all countries can access peaceful nuclear energy. To strengthen the Treaty, we should embrace several principles. We need more resources and authority to strengthen international inspections. We need real and immediate consequences for countries caught breaking the rules or trying to leave the Treaty without cause.

And we should build a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation, including an international fuel bank, so that countries can access peaceful power without increasing the risks of proliferation. That must be the right of every nation that renounces nuclear weapons, especially developing countries embarking on peaceful programs. No approach will succeed if it is based on the denial of rights to nations that play by the rules. We must harness the power of nuclear energy on behalf of our efforts to combat climate change, and to advance opportunity for all people.

Cited from the speech by US President Barack Obama

Hradčany Square
Prague, Czech Republic
5 April 2009

Available at <<http://prague.usembassy.gov/obama.html>>. Accessed 5 March 2009.

“To cope with this threat to international peace and security and the very survival of humanity we have to look to cooperative multilateral action.”

security and the very survival of humanity we have to look to cooperative multilateral action as the only effective and durable way out of this crisis.

A Nuclear Weapons Convention in draft form is on the agenda of the UN General Assembly proposed by Costa Rica and Malaysia. It is ready for negotiation and this will take time to ensure that the security of all states—nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon—is guaranteed and that adequate verification procedures are put in place. The path to zero nuclear weapons must begin with the legal abolition of all nuclear weapons—as it did with biological and chemical weapons.

Expectations in the Obama Administration

The Obama Administration has come to power amidst great expectations. These expectations were justified by the confirmation hearings of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who promised to resubmit the CTBT to the Senate and engage the Russian government in negotiations for new nuclear arms reduction treaties. Although the former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) of the Department of State—dismantled by the Clinton Administration in a Faustian bargain with the Republicans—has not been restored there have been some good appointments of experts knowledgeable on nuclear disarmament issues.

However, the nuclear weapons lobby has been active. Articles have appeared arguing that the US nuclear weapon arsenal is ageing and requires renovation; that the experts with weapons expertise are retiring and need to be replaced with new recruitment and that US security can only be ensured by a credible nuclear deterrent.

The Global Zero campaign launched in Paris in December 2008 with many prestigious names came out, as an anticlimax, with a road map with elimination targeted for 2035 after a series of incremental steps. They talk of coming down to a thousand nuclear warheads and modest steps like ratifying the CTBT, replacing START 1 and refurbishing the US nuclear stockpile.

Admittedly the international financial crisis triggered off by US fiscal indiscipline and Wall Street greed has preoccupied Obama’s attention. But when the nuclear weapon complex is estimated to cost US \$52 billion a year (more than what the United States spends on international diplomacy and foreign assistance) the arguments for deep cuts make economic sense.

An article at the beginning of 2009 in *Foreign Policy in Focus* by Darwin BondGraham and Will Parish entitled “Anti-nuclear Nuclearism” warned, “The Obama Administration is likely to continue a policy that we call ‘anti-nuclear nuclearism’. Anti-nuclear nuclearism is a foreign and military policy that relies upon overwhelming US power, including the nuclear arsenal, but makes rhetorical and even more substantive commitments to disarmament, however vaguely defined. Anti-nuclear nuclearism thrives as a school of thought in several think tanks that have long influenced foreign policy choices related to global nuclear forces. Even the national nuclear weapons development labs in New Mexico and California have been avid supporters and crafters of it”.⁴

Re-emergence of the debate over nuclear weapons

William Walker in a paper for the Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI) walks us through four reasons for the re-emergence of the debate over nuclear weapons and five obstacles to the elimination of nuclear weapons before concluding with lowered expectations of “the international nuclear order’s stabilization and the avoidance of nasty surprises”⁵. Specifically, Walker predicts that at the end of the Obama first term there will have been “(...) no military use of nuclear weapons anywhere, no threshold-crossing by Iran, no discovery of additional clandestine programmes, no resumption of serious arms racing among the great powers (including in space) and

⁴ Darwin BondGraham and Will Parrish. 2009. “Anti-nuclear Nuclearism.” *Foreign Policy in Focus*. 12 January. Available at <<http://www.fpiif.org/fpiifxt/5782>>. Accessed on 5 March 2009.

⁵ William Walker. 2009. “President-elect Obama and Nuclear Disarmament. Between Elimination and Restraint.” Proliferation Papers. Institut Français des Relations Internationales. Available at <http://www.ifri.org/files/Securite_defense/Walker_Obama_nuclear_disarmament.pdf>. Accessed on 5 March 2009.

Against the background of the international financial crisis "the arguments for deep cuts make economic sense."



a record of co-operation with Russia, China, France, India and the UK in pegging nuclear arsenals to low numbers of weapons (...) a reasonably successful NPT Review Conference in 2010 (...) progress in bringing the CTBT into force and negotiating the FMCT (...) a strengthened export control and IAEA safeguards system"⁶. So this is what the cumulative effect of the campaign for a nuclear weapon-free will end four years hence?

Meanwhile, the recent mid-Atlantic collision between nuclear-armed submarines of France and the United Kingdom remind us of the scary potential of nuclear accidents. The global disarmament community, especially in civil society, must be vigilant of this trend to go back to the past betraying the 'the audacity of hope' which brought in the Obama Administration. It will certainly not ensure the success of the NPT Review Conference of 2010, let alone prevent the feared cascade of proliferation especially to terrorist groups.

Dr. Jayantha Dhanapala

Dr. Jayantha Dhanapala is former Deputy UN Secretary-General and member of BICC's International Board

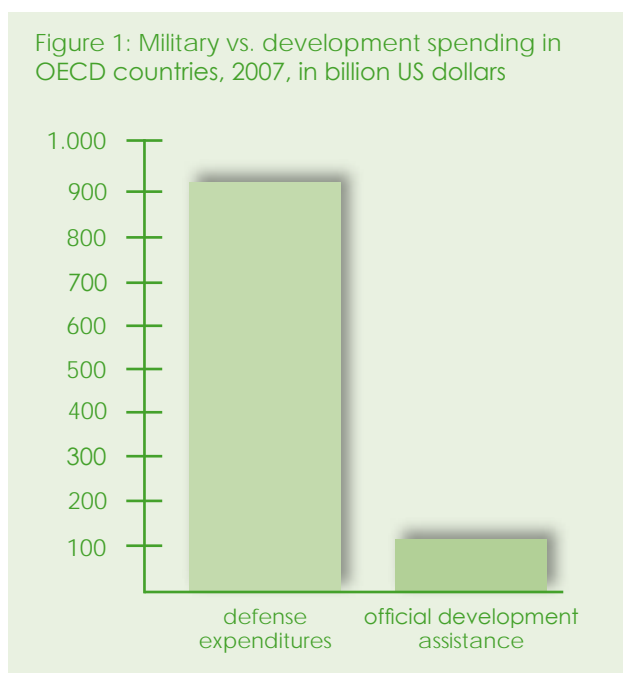
⁶ ibd.

Global trends in military expenditure and armed violence

The overall growth of global military expenditure continued in 2007, the latest year for which comprehensive data was available. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)¹, it amounted to all together US \$1.339 billion, which is a real-term increase of six percent in comparison to 2006 and of 45 percent since 1998.

Almost 70 percent of worldwide defense spending—US \$919,8 billion—can be attributed to the 30 member states of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). By comparison, these same countries spent US \$103,5 billion on official development assistance (ODA) in 2007. Hence, on average military spending dwarfed development expenditure by a factor of nine (see Figure 1). As ODA has somewhat decreased over the last years whereas military expenditure is on the rise, the gap between resources spent on the military and resources spent on development is therefore becoming larger.

¹ See: *SIPRI Yearbook 2008*.



Faster growth rates for threshold countries

As SIPRI points out, the sub-region with the fastest growth rate over the last ten years has been Eastern Europe, mainly due to the expansion of military arsenals in Russia, on the one hand, as well as to modernization programs within the armed forces of new NATO members, on the other. Moreover, countries with the most rapid increases in defense spending were by and large those with, simultaneously, the fastest growing economies—an observation, which we elaborated upon in last year's Annual Report. Most relevant here are the so-called threshold countries in Asia such as India, Indonesia, Malaysia and, particularly, China. By way of contrast, the regions with the lowest growth rate in military expenditure over the past two years were Western Europe and Central America.

US military spending exceptional

In absolute terms, and taking into account purchasing power parity, the countries to devote most resources to the armed forces were the United States, China, Russia, India, and the United Kingdom. However, in global comparison, US military spending remains exceptional. Not only has it doubled since 2001, but at US \$578,3 billion in 2007 it accounted for almost 45 percent of total defense expenditure worldwide.

Since then US military spending has continued to increase. In 2008, it consisted of a base budget of US \$481 billion plus additional outlays of US \$189 billion to finance the ongoing 'global war on terror'. For 2009 the approved base budget of the Pentagon amounts to US \$513 billion, which—when adjusted to inflation—is the highest since the end of World War II. Including the expected extra-budgetary funding for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, military spending in 2009 will therefore in all likelihood, again, exceed the expenditure of the previous year.

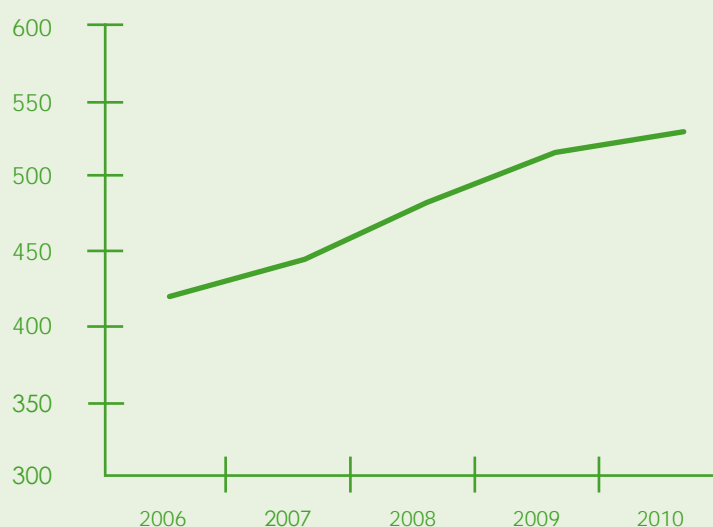
Neither the newly elected US Administration under President Barack Obama who has promised to withdraw troops from Iraq and continually emphasizes the role of the United States as a 'soft power', nor



“US military spending in 2009 will in all likelihood, again, exceed the expenditure of the previous year.”

the global financial crisis, which has propelled the US government to spend almost US \$800 billion on a ‘stimulus package’ for the economy, are likely to fundamentally reverse the trend of an annually growing US military budget in the short term. Barack Obama never promised any cuts to defense spending. On the contrary: his budget proposal for 2010, which was officially announced on 26 February 2009, stipulates a base budget for the Pentagon of US \$533,7 billion, which is an increase of four percent in comparison to 2008 (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Pentagon base budget, 2006–2010, in billion US dollar



Military trends in Germany: Expenditures and exports

The German military budget has grown steadily since 2006. Following an increase of €1.7 billion from 2008 to 2009, it has now peaked at around €31.2 billion—a level which is to be sustained up to at least 2012. This makes the German defense department the second largest ministry in terms of government resource allocation (see Figure 3). Taking into account NATO criteria for military expenditure, which in addition considers certain allotments to other ministerial budgets, German military spending would be even higher, effectively amounting to €33.5 billion.

A considerable portion of the military budget—€5.3 billion—is devoted to purchasing new weapons systems. Indeed, investments for weapons acquisitions have increased by 25 percent since 2007. Moreover, the *Bundeswehr* have also stepped up their efforts to ‘outsource’ secondary military functions to the private sector: whereas the 2006 budget allotted €651 million to commercial contractors, in 2009 this figure had increased to €1.5 billion. With the planned increase of the number of *Bundeswehr* soldiers in

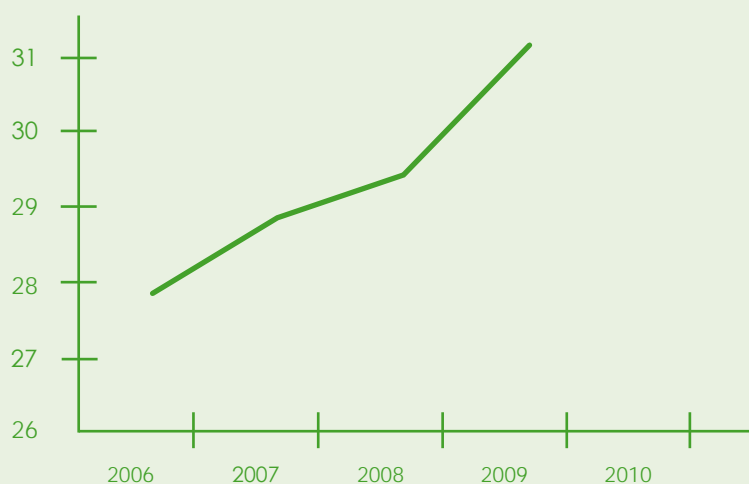
Afghanistan from 3,500 to 4,500, which was approved by the Parliament in October 2008, it can also be expected that costs for military missions abroad—€911 million in 2007—will further grow over the coming years.

According to the latest Arms Export Report (“Rüstungsexportbericht”) published by the German government, the total value of approved licenses for German arms exports amounted to €8.7 billion in 2007 and had thus increased by roughly one billion Euro since 2006 (see Figure 4). This is largely due to the growing cooperation of the German arms industry with other European arms manufacturers. It therefore particularly refers to increasing exports of single components of weapons systems, which are assembled abroad. By contrast, the direct export of military weapons was valued at €1.03 billion and has therewith slightly decreased in comparison to previous years.

Marc von Boemcken

“Following an increase of €1.7 billion from 2008 to 2009, the German military budget has now peaked at around €31.2 billion.”

Figure 3: German military expenditure, 2005–2009, in billion Euro



Trends in armed violence

The report on the “Global Burden of Armed Violence”, which was published in early 2008, set out to study armed violence as a whole, and not only from the point of view of violence in conflict situations². The results are remarkable because they focus awareness on countries, which have previously not been the subject of media attention. The Report finds that some countries in Southern Africa and Central America have an enormously high homicide rate although they are not currently affected by an armed conflict. It illustrates how important it is to consider homicides which are not caused by conflicts, such as murder and disappearances, in addition to homicides due directly or indirectly to conflicts or in the follow-up to conflicts. The Report concludes that the number of homicides due to violence outside conflict areas is several times higher than in wars and conflicts, whereby light weapons are the primary killing instruments used in most cases. Furthermore, armed violence is

² The Report “Global Burden of Armed Violence” was published in May 2008 by the Geneva Declaration with the support of authors of the Small Arms Survey. It is available at <<http://www.genevadeclaration.org/>>.

responsible for a huge loss of human capital and productivity.

Conflicts and wars

As far as political violence in 2008 was concerned, the ConflictBarometer of the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research—HIK³ registered 144 violent conflicts, five fewer than in the previous year. This suggests a turn in the trend towards an increase in violent conflicts seen in recent years. The panorama continues to be dominated by internal conflicts. When considering the three types of violent conflicts defined by the HIK (crisis with

the outbreak of sporadic violence, severe crisis with the repeated and organized use of violence, and war with the regular and systematic use of violence with massive destruction) there was a shift away from crises towards a slight increase in the other two types of conflicts. The HIK identified nine conflicts as wars. These included in Europe the Georgian-Russian war, in Africa the civil wars in Chad, Sudan (Darfur) and Somalia, in Asia the war of secession involving the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) in Sri Lanka and the conflict between islamists and the government in Pakistan, and in the Middle East the civil wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Turkey.

This means that in 2008, too, the challenges facing the international community did not become less. International missions are active in most of the above regions, ranging from humanitarian aid and peace-keeping to extensive combat operations such as in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition to the United Nations and individual states such as the United States, the European Union has also increased its presence

³ The HIK’s complete barometer can be found at: <<http://www.hiik.de/de/konfliktbarometer/index.html>>.



“International crisis prevention continues to focus primarily on military solutions to crises and conflicts.”

in international crisis regions with its own missions. Nevertheless, international crisis prevention continues to focus primarily on military solutions to crises and conflicts. The inner-societal processing of violent conflicts is often overlooked. The Report on the “Global Burden of Armed Violence” describes the consequences of armed violence, both inside and outside the context of wars and conflicts, and points out just how important it is to attach more importance to this topic and to strengthen civil conflict processing initiatives.

Case Study 1: Georgia-Russia—War on the outskirts of Europe

In Summer 2008, armed conflict came closer to Central Europe than it had done for many years when the skirmishes and occasional confrontations between Georgia and Russia escalated into open war. Since Spring, there had been increasing tension over the province of South Ossetia, which had been striving for secession. Russian troops attacked Georgia in response to massive attacks by Georgian troops in South Ossetia in August. Within a few days they occupied South Ossetia and advanced far into Georgian core territory. Furthermore, Russia imposed a

maritime blockade on Georgia and occupied the second breakaway province of Abkhazia. Both sides claimed that the other had violated international law. Intensive crisis diplomacy managed to persuade the two sides to cease hostilities after five days. However, Russia's recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states has made it virtually impossible to solve the question of the status of the two breakaway provinces. Nicaragua is the only other state to recognize their independence.

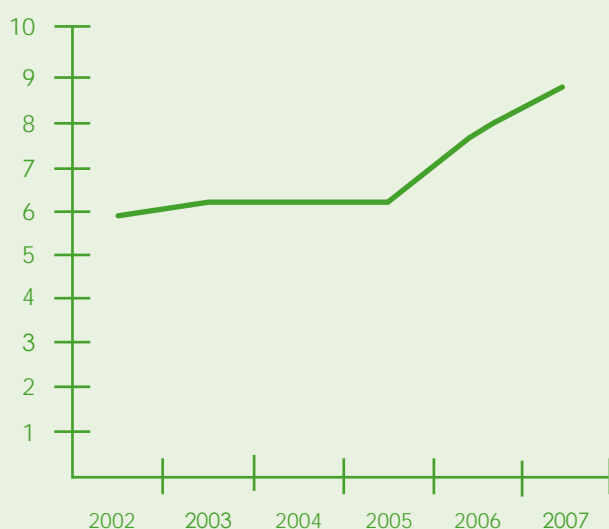
The war was politically explosive because the topic of Georgia's NATO accession had been on the agenda only that Spring. Had Georgia already become a member of NATO, the mutual assistance pact within the Alliance would have directly involved Europe and North America in a war with Russia. For years, Russia has been making it clear that it regards Georgia's accession to NATO as a threat to its security. In retrospect, it proved to be a wise decision on the part of the Europeans to fundamentally approve Georgia's accession but to defer the actual date. The war caught the Europeans absolutely unaware and on-the-spot crisis prevention through OSCE, EU and UN missions failed. The fact that Russia was not unprepared for the war is

demonstrated by its fast and precise counter-attack, which can only be explained by the preventive, mass stationing of Russian troops in the region. Even today, it is still proving difficult to prevent the resurgence of violence in South Ossetia. It is impossible to say at the moment what consequences the stationing of large formations of Russian troops in the two provinces will have for regional security or for European arms control regimes within the framework of the CFE and ACFE treaties.

Case Study 2: Iraq between stability and terror

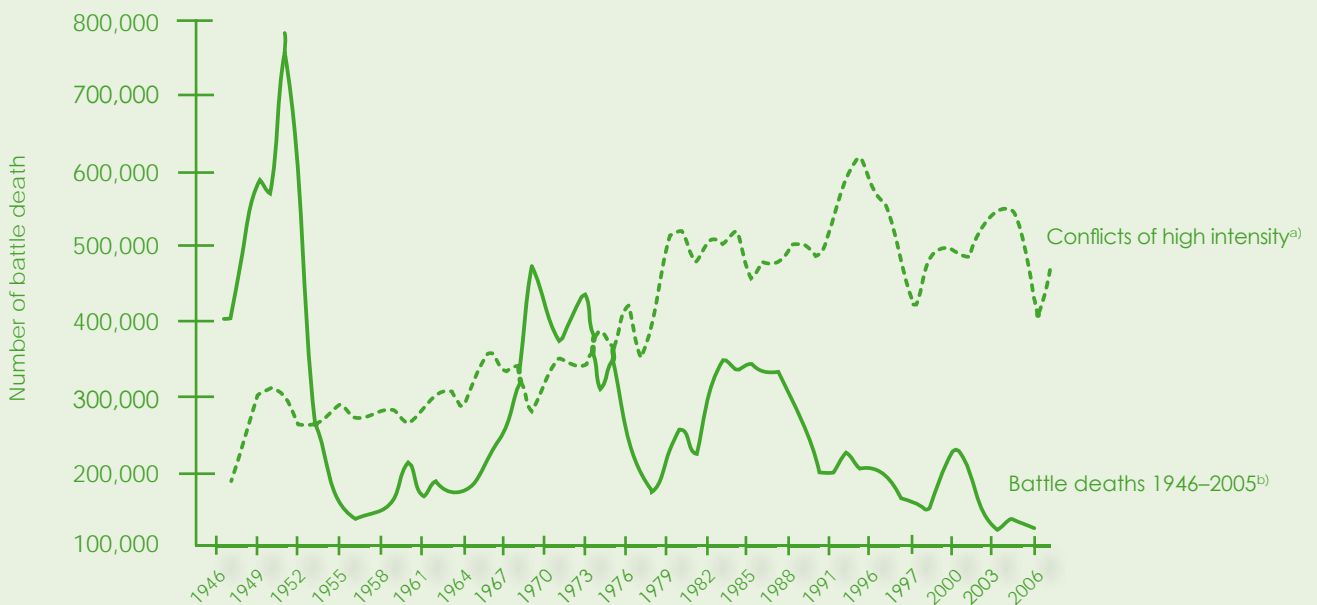
The situation in Iraq remains dramatic in year five following the US-led operation to overthrow Saddam Hussein's Baath regime. Although the security situation in 2008 had improved compared with the two previous years, according to information from “Iraq Body Count”, 9,200 people nevertheless

Figure 4: Total value of approved export licenses for German arms exports, 2001–2007, in billion Euro



“The situation in Iraq remains dramatic in year five following the US-led operation to overthrow Saddam Hussein's Baath regime.”

Figure 5: Battle deaths and violent conflicts of high intensity 1946–2007



a) Conflicts of high intensity: Conflict Barometer 2008, HIIK
<http://www.hiik.de/de/konfliktbarometer/pdf/ConflictBarometer_2008.pdf>

b) Battle deaths: PRIO Battle Deaths Dataset version 2.0
<<http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/Battle-Deaths/The-Battle-Deaths-Dataset-version-20/>>

died a violent death. The UNHCR continues to warn of a serious humanitarian crisis in the country. The number of internally displaced persons is still estimated to be approximately 2.8 million. In addition, there are approximately two million refugees in neighboring countries. The Security Council's mandate to the US-led Multi-National Force (MNF-I) expired at the end of 2008 and was replaced by a stationing agreement, which provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops by 2012. Just how closely the situation in Iraq is linked with that of its neighbors was demonstrated in Spring 2008 when Turkish troops launched an offensive against PKK positions in Northern Iraq lasting several days.

The stabilization of Iraq thus plays an important role in stabilizing the entire region. The streams of refugees both within and out of Iraq are the biggest in the region since the 1948 Israeli-Arab war and are having

a destabilizing effect on neighboring countries. The continued presence of Islamic terrorism in Iraq in the form of Al-Qaeda and local Sunni and Shiite groups poses not only a danger to regional stability but perhaps even also to the security of Europe. Solutions to other pressing problems in the Middle East, for example the question of uranium enrichment in Iran and the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, are not made easier by the conflict in Iraq. The Europeans must therefore be all the more interested in forcing the pace of a solution in conjunction with the United States and the Iraqi government, but without releasing the United States from its responsibility for the consequences of its anti-regime war. A peaceful Middle East also serves to guarantee peace and security in Europe.



“The conflict between the Mexican drug cartels and the Mexican state has now developed into a serious crisis.”

Case Study 3: Drugs war in Mexico

Mexico has been subjected to a very eventful history and has had a lot of experience with violent conflicts over the last hundred years. Since the Mexican revolution in the 1920s, diverse guerrilla groups have repeatedly fought against the state and for revolutionary change in various regions. No one would have expected that the conflict with the drug cartels, which use Mexico as a transit country for smuggling drugs into the United States, would develop into a serious crisis. At the end of 2007, the newly elected Mexican President Felipe Calderón called for a war against the drug mafia and dispatched 45,000 soldiers and 5,000 police officers. More than 5,000 people died in the conflicts in 2008. The victims are increasingly innocent civilians whose deaths the drug mafia's militias consciously accept or who are the 'collateral damage' of excessive military operations.

The conflict with the drug cartels is being accompanied by a steady deterioration in public security. Along with armed raids, kidnapping now poses the greatest security problem today, affecting almost all societal groups. The ransoms demanded are often as low as 500 US dollars. The figures fluctuate between 65 and 500 kidnappings per month. In most cases the police are not notified as people no longer believe that the state is able to solve the problems. This is also demonstrated by the high level of crime—over 95 percent—which go unpunished. A further expression of the poor security situation is the large number of journalists who have been murdered. Most of them have lost their lives because of their research into drug smuggling and mafia-related crimes. With ten journalists murdered in 2008, Mexico takes second place on the black list behind Iraq.

The conflict between the Mexican drug cartels and the Mexican state has now developed into a serious crisis, if not even into war. This is suggested, on the one hand, by the high number of victims and, on the other, by the heavy weapons used by the drug cartels and the huge number of soldiers which Mexico is throwing into battle. Some problems which fuel the conflict, such as impunity, corruption in the state machinery, and rural poverty are homemade and en-

demically to the Mexican system. Other problems come from outside, such as the great demand for drugs in the United States or the smuggling of weapons across the Mexican-US American border. Like Colombia and Afghanistan, Mexico is facing the question of whether it should not adopt other methods in the fight against the drug cartels. In February 2009, the Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy, which includes former Latin American Heads of State such as Ernesto Zedillo and Henrique Cardoso, declared the war on drugs as failed and called for a search for workable alternatives.

Felix Koltermann

The BICC Global Militarization Index (GMI)

For the past 15 years, the main focus of BICC has been on conducting applied research with regard to military capacities, structures and resources. In general, we have found that the size and composition of a state's military apparatus may have a major impact on its human and economic development as well as on overall levels of violence or violent conflict—both internally and externally. The Global Militarization Index (GMI), presented here for the first time, will be helpful to all those who wish to explore this relation further.

Most fundamentally, it represents the relative weight and importance of the military apparatus of a state in relation to society as a whole. Militarization is thus defined, in a narrow sense, as the resources and capacities available to a state's armed forces. The weight of the armed forces is defined in terms of six indicators, which may be, in turn, grouped into three overarching categories: military expenditure, military personnel, and military weapons (see Table 1).

Military spending in relation to GDP and health services

An important question for determining the size and capacity of a country's armed forces concerns the total amount of resources devoted by the government to the military or defense budget. The GMI employs two basic indicators to describe this factor as a relative value. On the one hand, this is public spending on the military as percentage of gross domestic product (GDP)—a description, which has become commonly used in various assessments of military capacities. It has therefore received a comparatively high weighting in the GMI.

However, this value alone does not necessarily reflect the relative importance attributed to the military sector in relation to overall public resource allocations. In order to take this factor into account, the GMI uses an additional indicator, which compares the total military budget to government expenditure on health services.

We compiled all data on military expenditure from the *2008 SIPRI Yearbook*. Most figures refer to the year 2007. However, in cases where up-to-date information was missing, we adopted the latest available figures, provided they were not older than 2002. Should this be the case, the year to which military data refers is given in brackets behind the country name in the Index.

Countries for which SIPRI does not provide any current data on military expenditure have not been included in the GMI. This applies, for example, to Cuba, Vietnam or North Korea. Moreover, it is important to note that although SIPRI may currently be regarded as the most reliable source, data on military expenditure has to be treated with extreme caution. For many countries, especially in the developing world, the figures are but rough estimates. If, based on our own research, we felt that the SIPRI military data for specific countries was inaccurate, those countries were also not considered in the Index. This holds particularly true for a few states in Central Asia, namely Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan.

Data on gross domestic product was taken from the World Bank, on health expenditure from the World Health Organization.

The method of the GMI

In order to increase the compatibility between different indicators and preventing extreme values from creating distortions when normalizing data, in a first step every indicator was represented in a logarithm with the factor 10. Second, all data was normalized using the formula $x = (y - \text{Min}) / (\text{Max} - \text{Min})$, with Min and Max representing, respectively, the lowest and the highest value of the logarithm. In a third step, every indicator was weighted in accordance to a subjective factor, reflecting the relative importance attributed to it by BICC researchers (see Table 1). In order to calculate the final score, the weighted indicators were added together and then normalized one a last time on a scale ranging from 0 to 1,000.



The ratio of (para)military personnel, reserve forces, and physicians

Besides military expenditure, the second major category considered in the GMI concerns military personnel, which we have divided into three separate indicators. The first and most important one refers to the number of military and paramilitary forces in relation to total population. Paramilitary personnel were included here, since in many countries the regular military alone does not adequately reflect the total size of the armed forces. The main criterion for coding an organizational entity as either military or paramilitary is that the forces in question are under the direct control of the government in addition to being armed, uniformed and garrisoned.

To the extent that the relative militarization of society does not simply express itself in the size of active forces, the second indicator takes into account the percentage of reserve forces in total population. This factor is relevant for while some countries, such as Switzerland, have a comparably small standing army, the amount of available reserves within society may be all the more substantial.

The third indicator compares the total amount of military and paramilitary forces with the number of physicians in a country. In doing so, the GMI does not only consider the overall density of soldiers (or reserves) in a population, but—more specifically—also examines the proportion between military and non-military skills within a society, which is expressed here as relation

between military expertise and (non-military) health expertise.

All data on military, paramilitary, and reserve personnel was compiled from the *Military Balance 2008*, published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London. Population size figures were taken from the most current *Vital Statistics Report* of the United Nations, data on the number of physicians from the World Health Organization.

Heavy weapons: How many armored vehicles, artillery, combat aircraft and major fighting ships?

Finally, degrees of militarization may also be expressed in terms of the amount of heavy weaponry available to the armed forces of a country. Simply put: the military does not only consist of resources and personnel but also of specific types of war-fighting equipment. The GMI therefore takes into consideration the number of an armed forces' heavy weapons in relation to the total population. Heavy weapons are defined

Table 1: GMI indicators and weighting factors

Category	Indicator	GMI Weighting Factor
Expenditure	Military spending as percentage of GDP	5
	Military spending in relation to health spending	3
Personnel	Military and paramilitary personnel in relation to population	4
	Military reserves in relation to population	2
	Military and paramilitary personnel in relation to physicians	2
Arms	Heavy weapons in relation to population	4



here as any piece of military equipment which fits into either one of four categories: armored vehicles (armored personnel carriers, light tanks, main battle tanks), artillery (multiple rocket launchers, self-propelled artillery, towed artillery) above 100mm caliber, combat aircraft (attack helicopters, fixed-wing fighter aircraft), and major fighting ships (submarines, major surface combatants above corvette size).

All data on weapons holdings was collected by BICC from different sources, mainly the Military Balance from IISS. Country-specific data on the amount of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is extremely difficult to come by and, more often than not, very unreliable. Hence, it was not included in the GMI.

The GMI as a tool for creating policy-relevant country evaluations

It is important to realize that the GMI does not indicate the level of violent conflict within a country (as for example the Global Peace Index by Vision of Humanity) or its degree of development (as the Human Development Index by the United Nation Development Programme, UNDP). Neither does it consider the overall level of militarization of society as a whole, an important indicator of which might be the relative distribution of SALW throughout the entire populace. Yet, precisely this limited focus of the GMI on the armed forces of the state also contributes to its potential usefulness. For it may be employed to identify possible correlations between degrees of state militarization, on the one hand, and—for example—the type of political system, violent conflicts and development levels, on the other.

Moreover, unlike most other governance indices—Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, Bertelsmann's Transformation Index or the World Bank's 'Good Governance' Indicators—the GMI does not represent a normative ranking of states. That is to say: a comparably high degree of militarization may not necessarily always be 'bad'. Indeed, although the GMI ranking places, for example, Israel in the third-highest position, the relatively large amount of economic and human resources devoted to its military sector may arguably be considered as legitimate

and necessary given the threats with which it sees itself confronted.

Conversely, low levels of militarization could also be highly problematic. As is apparent from the GMI, many countries with a low score are so-called weak or fragile states, unable or unwilling to successfully enforce and uphold a monopoly of violence within their territories. A weak public security sector may well prompt non-state armed groups to pursue economic objectives by violent means or even directly challenge the regime for political power. Indeed, it seems that many countries with a low ranking on the GMI experience high levels of internal unrest and violence.

In and by itself, militarization is therefore neither 'good' nor 'bad'. However, a high score on the GMI can, of course, still point to serious governance shortcomings. A case in point is Eritrea—by all means the most militarized country in the world, spending more than 20 percent of its GDP on the armed forces and, by way of comparison, only 3.7 percent on public health services. Given the extreme poverty of Eritrea, reflected in its low level of human development, this disproportionate relation between military and social expenditures can be considered highly problematic. Indeed, resources devoted to the Eritrean defense sector ought to be urgently shifted to other areas. This would not only go some way in improving the overall living conditions of the populace, but also de-escalate the dangerous arms race between Eritrea and Ethiopia, which still contributes to a high degree of regional instability in the Horn of Africa.

It is thus that we hope the GMI, in combination with other indices as well as country-specific information, will be of valuable assistance to both policy-relevant country assessments and further research in the field of security governance.

Marc von Boemcken

“Indeed, it seems that many countries with a low ranking on the GMI experience high levels of internal unrest and violence.”

The Global Militarization Index (GMI)

No.	Country	Index
1	Eritrea (2003)	1000
2	Syria	877
3	Israel	837
4	Singapore	768
5	Jordan	705
6	Oman	704
7	Kuwait	664
8	Saudi Arabia	637
9	Bahrain	623
10	Korea, Rep.	619
11	Brunei	617
12	Lebanon	616
13	Russian Federation	613
14	Taiwan	612
15	Angola	597
16	Bulgaria	591
17	Greece	588
18	Belarus	569
19	Djibouti (2002)	561
20	Algeria	558
21	Azerbaijan	549
22	Burundi	537
23	Egypt	526
24	Morocco	525
25	Libya	524
	Cyprus (2006)	524
27	United Arab Emirates (2005)	517
28	Macedonia	507
29	Chile	504
30	Iran	497
31	Guinea-Bissau (2005)	493
32	Mauritania (2006)	492
33	Georgia	488
34	Ukraine	484

No.	Country	Index
35	Armenia	478
36	Namibia	474
37	Croatia	471
38	United States	468
	Turkey	468
40	Finland	467
41	Sri Lanka	457
	Yemen	457
	Pakistan	457
44	Ecuador	456
45	Mongolia (2006)	444
46	Montenegro	442
47	Botswana	437
48	Colombia	434
49	Laos, PR (2001)	429
50	Malaysia	428
51	Romania	425
	Portugal	425
53	Kyrgyz Republic	417
54	Denmark	408
55	Estonia	404
56	Fiji	403
57	Thailand	401
58	Serbia	398
59	Poland	394
60	Slovenia	393
61	Sudan (2005)	392
62	Seychelles	385
63	Peru	382
64	Cambodia	381
65	Italy	378
	Norway	378
	United Kingdom	378
68	France	375

No.	Country	Index
69	Latvia	370
70	Albania	367
71	Tonga	362
72	Hungary	357
73	Lithuania	348
74	Sweden	347
75	Slovak Republic	344
76	Congo, Rep. (2006)	341
77	Spain	337
78	Austria	335
79	Kazakhstan	332
80	Switzerland	330
81	Gabon	327
82	China	323
83	Australia	321
84	India	315
85	Rwanda	310
	Afghanistan	310
87	Brazil	309
	Zimbabwe (2006)	309
89	Uruguay	305
90	Netherlands	304
91	Bolivia	303
92	Tunisia (2006)	300
93	Czech Republic	297
94	Germany	292
95	Indonesia	290
96	Sierra Leone	288
97	Lesotho	287
98	Ethiopia	280
99	Bosnia and Herzegovina	271
100	Chad	270
101	Canada	269
102	Swaziland (2004)	266
103	Guinea (2004)	259

No.	Country	Index
104	Togo (2005)	256
	South Africa	256
106	Uganda	252
107	Mali	250
108	Belgium	246
109	Paraguay	245
110	Congo, DR	239
111	Nepal	234
112	Bahamas	228
113	Senegal	227
114	Barbados (2006)	224
115	El Salvador	214
116	Tanzania	207
	Malta	207
118	Honduras	205
119	Nicaragua	203
120	Moldova	202
	Venezuela	202
122	Luxembourg	200
123	Japan	198
124	Côte d'Ivoire	196
125	Cameroon	195
126	New Zealand	192
127	Guatemala	189
128	Burkina Faso	186
129	Dominican Republic	181
130	Bangladesh (2006)	180
131	Zambia	179
132	Central African Republic (2005)	176
133	Philippines	167
	Benin (2006)	167
135	Kenya	166
136	Panama (2000)	164
137	Argentina	154

No.	Country	Index
138	Ireland	153
139	Cape Verde	148
140	Mozambique	146
141	Madagascar	139
142	Mexico	106
143	Jamaica	96
144	Niger (2005)	95
145	Nigeria	91
146	Ghana	81
147	Malawi	52
148	Liberia	33
149	Gambia, The (2005)	16
	Papua New Guinea	16
151	Mauritius	0

The bracketed value refers to the latest year for which figures on military expenditure were available. If no value is indicated, the year is 2007.





Project reports

Reintegrating guerilla and paramilitaries in Colombia: Monitoring and evaluating its progress

Reintegration has never been, even at the best of times, an easy task; reintegration during an ongoing conflict presents even further challenges. By using lessons learned from both prior domestic processes and efforts from other corners of the globe, Colombia is trying to succeed in this endeavor. With reintegration as its central role, the Office of the High Commissioner for Reintegration (ACR) was established in 2006. At present the ACR attempts to reintegrate about 31,200 combatants, all over the country. In support of this Colombian initiative, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), through the German Development Cooperation (GTZ) is funding BICC's work in advising the ACR. BICC's role is principally focused on finding a way to both monitor and evaluate the reintegration of thousands of demobilized Colombian ex-combatants.

The question of reintegration is not a simple one: Once having decided what reintegration should aim to do, the quantification of the levels of reintegration remains a key challenge. A further difficulty is the identification of indicators to measure the success of the effort. What parameters should be used to identify such indicators? What services should be included in an effort to reintegrate? Many other questions need to be asked and answered in order to ensure a successful reintegration effort.

Reintegration efforts in Colombia today primarily cater to the thousands of paramilitaries who formally belonged to the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia—the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) who were key players in the Colombian conflict. These groups have had a tumultuous relationship with the Colombian government. Whilst originally they shared a common goal, the defeat of the guerrillas, and hence were tolerated by the governmental security apparatus, in later years these militias became increasingly problematic to the government. The AUC presented a growing challenge for the government as with their brutal tactics, they were terrorizing the population by widely violating human rights, confiscating land under dubious pretences, and trafficking coca paste; all for the private benefit of their leaders. The latter posed a particular challenge to the national government as they could not, on the one hand, be seen to openly accept the involvement of paramili-

taries in the drug trade and, on the other hand, align themselves with the United States' efforts to curb the drug supply from the region. A key success in eliminating the paramilitary problem was the 2004 ceasefire declaration by the AUC leader Carlos Castana. The ceasefire was promptly followed by the challenge of how to ensure that the ex-paramilitaries are reintegrated into peacetime society. This challenge led to the creation of the ACR in 2006.

Reintegration: Meeting the challenges

Whilst the disarmament process was by no means straightforward, it managed to successfully disarm and demobilize a huge proportion of the armed paramilitary contingents. However, this was only the first step to ensuring that ex-combatants become valuable members of society.

Since its inception the ACR has opened multiple service centers around the country. Their efforts have come to include psycho-social support, and activities as well as services aimed to strengthen the educational and vocational training skills, as well as the employability of ex-combatants. Whilst the program is holistic in its conceptualization, whether the goals have been met by the tools used remains a partially open question. At the global level, the ACR provides services and organizes activities within the different subject areas, which are aimed at ensuring that ex-combatants progress in their psycho-social behavior, and are able to secure a reliable economic livelihood. However, this is harder to execute than to conceptualize. The psycho-social efforts, for example, have no data on individuals who are not ex-combatants, nor do they have data on individuals prior to their participation in the conflict. Therefore, the goal of establishing whether psycho-social reintegration has taken place is a daunting task. Particularly when behavior identified as 'anti-social' could very well be similar to that exhibited by members of the population who have never been combatants. The less evident challenges include, for example, the self-perception that ex-combatants have in relation to their psycho-social wellbeing and reintegration. In the area of education and technical training other challenges exist. How can expectations mirror reality? The time investment on the part of individuals can be high; this coupled



with high expectations and a lack of understanding of the economic realities can lead to disillusionment. This disillusionment can be almost expected when training does not immediately lead to reliable employment. While efforts are continually made by the ACR to ensure employability of ex-combatants, unsurprisingly employers favor job applicants without conflict-related records. In tandem with this, self-employment initiatives may not yield as expected. The economic compensation given to participants, on the other hand, may ensure participation in efforts which are not perceived as beneficial by the participants themselves other than the immediate personal economic gains. On the whole, the efforts by the ACR are undoubtedly well intended and far reaching. Yet their ability to measure their support for any one category of beneficiaries and the perceived impact of any one service or activity remains elusive. As an example: The question of how many conjugal partners and children of ex-combatants are being provided with education services at any given time is highly cumbersome to answer. The ability to measure how participants perceive any one type of activity in relation to the success of their reintegration, or perceive their progress in their own reintegration, is currently impossible given the available data and the way it is managed.

Working with the ACR

The reintegration of combatants and the measurement of its success or failure is a daunting task. Working on behalf of the German Government, BICC has been advising the ACR on how to put in place a system that ensures they are able to measure not only the progress made by any one individual, but also the perception of success of any one service or activity conducted by the ACR.

The principal goals of the projects are threefold:

1. The development of one common data system to manage information. When using this data system, the ACR will be able to monitor progress made by any individual currently being reintegrated. This includes knowing what kinds of services have been provided to the individual, what kinds of activities the individuals have participated in, and how the individual is progressing through the stages of reintegration identified by the ACR.
2. The ability to measure the perception of the services provided and activities organized. This component of the endeavor includes a series of anonymous perception surveys amongst ex-combatants, their families and communities, which is able to track their participation in the survey, but will not associate responses to any one individual. Thus, ACR hopes to generate data that is reliable and accurate and which will be used to measure the perceived impact of services provided and activities organized by the ACR.
3. Lastly, the effort aims to allow for quick and reliable tracking and analysis of statistical data. This will permit the ACR to measure the number of individuals who have at any given time received any service or participated in any activity. In turn, this data can be analyzed to determine which activities appear to be more or less successful in supporting the reintegration of ex-combatants.

The project is still in its infancy, with the pilot phase of the new tools starting as this report goes to print. Thus far the cooperation progress made in designing the system is very encouraging. The current aim is to provide the ACR with the tools and support necessary to allow them to incorporate the new monitoring and evaluation mechanisms into their daily operations. The project aspires to successfully conclude in end- 2010.

Dr. Ananda S. Millard

Project title:	Advising the High Commissioner for Reintegration in Colombia
Duration:	Since June 2008
Sponsored by:	GTZ (German Development Cooperation)
Coordination:	Dr. Ananda S. Millard
Project leader:	Wolf-Christian Paes
Collaboration:	Nathalie Gendre
Publication:	cf. "List of Publications"

Wartime rape and post-conflict research in El Salvador and Bosnia and Herzegovina

Sexual violence in armed conflict has reached epidemic proportions. Evidence from conflicts over the last decade shows that, in some cases, war allows for sexual violence within armed groups to remain hidden in the shadows of history, which can translate into the acceptance of post-war sexual violence and its impunity. In other cases, sexual violence has been deliberately and systematically used as a method of warfare. From November 2008 to April 2009, BICC has conducted a study, which was financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), on the effects of wartime rape and post-conflict needs of victims and their communities. The project team conducted fieldwork in El Salvador and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Wartime rape is nothing new, nor is it used or perpetrated in the same way or for the same purpose in all cases. In some cases, rape is used to further the war effort, while in other cases, rape is opportunistic. Sometimes, rape is targeted toward civilians, whereas other times, rape occurs within the ranks, or against members of opposing armed groups.

Part of this disturbing reality was acknowledged through the Rome Statute (1998), and again in June 2008 with the unanimous adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, which demands a complete halt of all acts of sexual violence against civilians in armed conflict—the protection of females in fighting forces, however, is not explicitly covered.

How victims are raped, by whom, for what purpose, in what way, and who is a victim are by no means universal. Therefore it should not be assumed that wartime rape always has the same implications and consequences in the post-conflict period. In order to better understand this disturbing phenomenon, it is crucial to first identify the different types of wartime rape and examine their implications separately.

Research on the post-conflict implications of wartime rape

From November 2008–April 2009, BICC undertook a research study on the post-conflict implications of wartime rape. First, this study aimed to construct a preliminary ‘typology’ of wartime rape committed by

“I was, in one way or another, involved in the guerrilla movement since I was seven years old. When I was about 14, I was captured by the armed forces and raped while in custody. I never saw who raped me, I was held blind folded and naked the whole time I was in custody. This is how I discovered that I could be used sexually. Before they released me they made me swear I would not tell anyone about the rape. They threatened to kill my mother and one of my sisters if I did not follow their orders. (...)

When I returned to the guerrilla I denied having been raped; the guerrilla knew what they did to captured women, so they didn’t believe me and were afraid I had given information to the opposition (...) then the guerrilla commander (...) put his fingers into my vagina to check if I was telling the truth. It was like being raped again (...) it was one of the barbarities they committed against women in those days.

After I returned to the guerrilla, I had a boyfriend (...), so that people would think that I lost my virginity to him. He died soon after, and although his death saddens me, at the time a part of me was grateful that he had taken my secret to his grave. (...)

I had lied, but I lied because I was scared and ashamed [of what had been done to me]. I kept my secret from everyone from 1987 to 2005. Then, in 2005, I was in a room filled with women who had similar stories, and for the first time I told mine (...) it was like a weight off my shoulders (...). I have taken control of my own history.”

Compiled from an oral history interview with Cayatana dal Transito Lopez Ascancio by Elvan Isikozlu and Ananda S. Millard, San Salvador, El Salvador, 6 February 2009.

armed groups. Elements such as the characteristics of raped individuals, perpetrators, perpetrator motivations and the manner in which rape is perpetrated were considered.



Second, it identifies characteristics of the consequences of each 'type' of wartime rape, and what these consequences mean for the political, social, and economic participation and post-conflict development of individuals raped in wartime and their communities.

Third, it is to present the research findings to help inform the design and prioritization of development policy and programming on the post-conflict needs of women and men who have been raped during war and their communities.

Case studies on wartime rape in El Salvador, and Bosnia and Herzegovina

This project examined two cases of wartime rape: El Salvador, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These cases were selected because they each represent at least one particular type of wartime rape perpetrated by an armed group and can therefore offer key insights.

In the case of El Salvador, during the civil war, rape was perpetrated both by one party against the other, but also by male guerrillas against their female counterparts. In the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, rape was mainly (but not exclusively) perpetrated by male soldiers against civilians of a different ethnicity. The nature of and motivation for rape also differed in both cases.

The post-conflict period in both countries exceeds 10 years, allowing an appropriate amount of time to consider the longer-term consequences and effects of wartime rape on the social, cultural and economic development of individuals who have been raped and their communities.

While the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is more comprehensively documented, the case of El Salvador offers the opportunity to examine multiple types, including a lesser-known type of wartime rape and brings together primary and secondary sources to fill a major gap in the understanding of wartime rape.

Research questions to improve support of the victims

Each act of rape is an equal and gross violation of human rights and international law. The effects of these violations, however, should not be considered as one and the same. This study supports the need to examine the type of rape in war in order to better promote the recovery of individuals raped in war and their communities.

This study has also identified a number of new avenues of research that have important policy implications. For example, more research is needed in order to examine the relationship between wartime and peacetime rape; the way gender/sexuality is framed during conflict and how this affects gender roles in the post-conflict period; and how community development is affected by the victimization, shaming and isolation of individuals who were raped.

BICC plans to continue to engage in this and other research on wartime rape. Only with greater understanding of this phenomenon can we hope to end its devastating legacy in post-conflict societies and prevent such atrocities in the future.

Elvan Isikozlu

Project title:	Rape and war: Sexualized violence against women in armed conflicts
Duration:	Since November 2008
Sponsored by:	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Project leader:	Elvan Isikozlu
Collaboration:	Dr. Ananda S. Millard
Publication:	cf. "List of Publications"

Small arms control in the Great Lakes region

The widespread proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the African Great Lakes region regularly leads to violent conflicts. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has commissioned BICC to conduct a broad survey of the possession and proliferation of small arms in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in association with the Belgian research institute GRIP (Groupe de recherche et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité). Furthermore, BICC is working on behalf of GTZ in providing support for a study by the Secretariat of the East African Community (EAC) on the small arms situation in its member states.

It seems to be a never-ending story: In October 2008, rebels of the breakaway Tutsi General Laurent Nkunda threatened the provincial capital Goma and set off a new wave of plundering, expulsion and rape in eastern Congo. A local peace agreement had only been concluded just a few months earlier—in January of the same year—providing, among other things, for the disarmament of those Hutu militias, which gave Nkunda the excuse to march on Goma. The reasons behind the repeated outbreaks of violent conflict in the Great Lakes region are not only the area's rich deposits of minerals and other resources, but first and foremost the uncontrolled proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

A number of East African states, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and its neighbors Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda, already agreed on extensive measures to control arms trading and the possession of weapons within the framework of the "Nairobi Protocol" in May 2006. Among other things, this agreement bans the private possession of automatic and semi-automatic weapons, and demands the registration of all weapons in the hands of civilians as well as common standards for the production, storage and tracing of small arms. Furthermore, a United Nations Security Council embargo penalizing imports of weapons and ammunition by non-state armed groups in the DRC has been in force since 2003.

Despite these measures, there appears to be no shortage of illegal weapons in the Great Lakes region—in the hands of both militias and civilians. The fact that this problem also exists outside the known trouble spot of the eastern DRC was demonstrated not least by

the serious clashes between different ethnic groups following the Kenyan parliamentary elections in December 2007, which cost more than 1,000 lives. Modern firearms played an important role in this conflict in addition to traditional weapons such as spears. Many observers were surprised that criminal political groups such as the Kikuyu *Mungiki* militia appeared to have such a large arsenal of weapons at their disposal. The Kenyan press reported that politicians and security forces supply these militias with weapons and money.

Small arms study in the eastern DRC

BICC was commissioned by UNDP to conduct a broad survey of the possession and proliferation of small arms in the east of Congo against the background of the renewed outbreak of violence in parts of the DRC. Approximately 10,000 representatively selected Congolese men and women are to be questioned about their attitude to firearms in the course of this project, which BICC is performing in association with the Belgian research institute GRIP. Furthermore, 50 focus group interviews will be conducted, for example with representatives of women's and youth organizations.

The study is based on the hypothesis that the long-term disarmament of the civilian population is only possible if state forces are in the position to effectively protect the security of the people in the eastern DRC. Furthermore, the study will also deal with small arms legislation, cross-border transfers and the effects of the violence on economic development and human security. Geographically, the study is concentrating on Ituri, North and South Kivu, Maniema and Tanganyika. Teams of Congolese staff are responsible for conducting the study in each of these five regions. The project has begun with a training event on data collection in Bukavu in April 2009. The results could be ready for presentation towards the end of the year.

Cooperation with the East African Community

Apart from the states parties to the Nairobi Protocol, the newly founded East African Community (EAC) has also become involved in standardizing small arms legislation and combating cross-border transfers since 2007. The Community, with its seat in Arusha, Tanzania, consists of Burundi, Kenya, Ruanda, Uganda and Tan-



zania, and sees itself primarily as an economic community. All the member states are affected to various extents by the proliferation of illegal small arms, whereby the continuing conflicts in the DRC, Somalia and Sudan contribute significantly to the magnitude of the problem. On the other hand, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam are important ports of entry for legal and illegal goods destined for the Great Lakes region.

Against this background, BICC is working on behalf of GTZ in supporting a study by the EAC Secretariat on the small arms situation in the member states. Local teams of researchers will draw up a total of five country reports based on standardized criteria in the fields of legislation, production, possession, effects on economic development, and human security. These national reports will be presented at an EAC summit, together with an overview of supra-regional developments—e.g. the smuggling of weapons from the EAC's neighboring countries. The summit will then discuss the development of joint efforts to combat the problem of small arms.

Wolf-Christian Paes

Project title:	Small arms survey in the Democratic Republic of the Congo/ Further consultancy in the field of small arms
Duration:	Since November 2008
Sponsored by:	United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and GTZ (German Development Cooperation)
Coordination:	Wolf-Christian Paes
Collaboration:	Lena Guesnet, Elvan Isikozlu and Dr. Ananda S. Millard
Publication:	cf. "List of Publications"

A practical education and training manual on small arms control

A joint project of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, KAIPTC, the ECOWAS Small Arms Unit, the German Development Cooperation (GTZ) and BICC has elaborated a training manual on small arms control. It offers practical assistance for civil society actors and organizations active in this field.

ECOWAS has long faced the devastating consequences of the uncontrolled and illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in the sub-region. Recognizing the need for a more definitive approach to reducing the threat posed by these weapons, the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials was signed on 14 June 2006.

The Convention is a legally-binding instrument that provides a comprehensive framework to effectively address the problem of SALW, their ammunition and other materials in West Africa. Subsequent to its signature, the ECOWAS Small Arms Programme (ECOSAP) was established for a period of five years to build the capacity of member states to implement the Convention to its fullest.

A manual supporting small arms control

This manual evolved from the need to adopt a more practical approach towards realizing the objectives set out in the ECOWAS Convention. It is the result of a collaborative effort between the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), the ECOWAS Small Arms Unit, the German Development Cooperation (GTZ) and BICC, and was validated at an expert workshop on SALW at the KAIPTC in April 2008. The workshop was attended by representatives of ECOWAS, civil society organizations and government agencies from across West Africa and beyond.

The purpose of this manual is to help strengthen the capacity of the West African community to deal with the devastating consequences of the uncontrolled proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). It is intended as a primer for those with little or no experience in SALW action, and as an *aide memoire* for those well versed in these issues.

Each of the eight sections of this manual can be read on its own or in a different order than presented here. The manual is designed to be used by a diverse audience and easily adaptable to a variety of contexts.

It first offers an introduction to the topic and asks the general question: "What is small arms control?" by presenting an overview of international agreements on small arms control, such as the UN Firearms Protocol, the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (UN Programme of Action) and the ECOWAS Agreement.

The chapter on Small Arms in West Africa sheds light on interdependencies of small arms with drugs, ethnicity and local artisanal arms production. The section "Civil Society and Small Arms" challenges the cooperation with the government, the relation to security forces as well as the organization and management of civil society. It demands a strengthening of public awareness and also involves the media presenting participation in weapons collection programs.

An important political dimension is shown in the chapter on the SALW-DD&R-SSR-CIMIC nexus, which deals with disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, security sector reform and civil-military cooperation.

Finally, the manual postulates more research on small arms issues. Each of the chapters has an annex in which more useful resources and a selected bibliography can be found.

Training and capacity-building

The initial target group for this manual was civil society actors and organizations engaged in the SALW issue. However, the expert workshop made clear the need to build capacity, trust and confidence between all key actors involved in this issue. Each section was therefore written with all three actors in mind. More specifically, sections six and seven discuss the interaction between civil society, security service personnel and government agencies on SALW control issues, and identify entry points for better coordination and cooperation.



The goal of this manual is not only to serve as a back-grounder for SALW issues in West Africa, but also as a capacity-building tool. With this in mind, several features appear throughout the manual to facilitate education and training on the SALW issue. For example, readers are provided with reminders, additional resources, tables and checklists to facilitate action and understanding. Boxes describe cases of SALW control in various West African countries.

Finally, trainer notes are included where they can facilitate the structure and delivery of the issue at hand. The result is a highly practical, modifiable and flexible manual on SALW control for West African practitioners, policymakers and researchers alike.

Dr. Michael Ashkenazi / Elvan Isikozlu



Project title:	Supporting the development and implementation of a civilian SALW training program in West Africa
Duration:	Until September 2008
Sponsored by:	GTZ (German Technical Cooperation) and KAIPTC (Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre)
Coordination:	Dr. Volker Franke
Project leader:	Dr. Michael Ashkenazi
Collaboration:	Elvan Isikozlu, Helen Radecke
Publication:	cf. "List of Publications"

New chances for a compromise in the nuclear dispute with Iran?

On 4 December 2008, BICC and the *Deutsche Welle* invited international experts from the United States, Iran, Sweden and Germany to a half-day conference entitled "After the US elections: New chances for a compromise in the nuclear dispute with Iran?". Venue was the *Deutsche Welle* in Bonn. The discussions focused on the interdependence of international politics and Iran's internal development.

The West's policy towards Iran had reached a dead-end. Despite several rounds of UN and EU sanctions, there was still no sign of a solution to the dispute over the Iranian nuclear program. Meeting just a few weeks after the US elections, the international conference set out to analyze in how far military threats, sanctions and preconditions for negotiations, such as those demanded from Iran by the six powers (France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Russia, and United States), facilitated or hampered a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The conference was particularly interested in what new approaches can be expected from President Obama. However, it also took a closer look at the often ignored effects of Western policies on Iran's economic development and political power relationships inside the country, where a new President is to be elected on 12 June 2009.

International experts conduct discussions in Bonn

In order to illuminate these issues, to take stock of Western policy towards Iran in the past, and put forward possible alternatives, BICC and the *Deutsche Welle* invited five panel members whose expertise and background promised an across-the-board analysis of this topic. Dr. Hans Blix, Stockholm, is former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna and is now Chairman of the International Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction. Dr. Ebrahim Yazdi, Tehran, was Iran's Foreign Minister in 1979 and is currently Secretary-General of the opposition party "Freedom Movement of Iran". Dr. James Walsh, Boston, from the Security Studies Program of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was one of the authors of the highly acclaimed paper "A Solution for the US-Iran Nuclear Standoff". In this paper, US diplomats and academics speak out in favor of allowing Iran to operate

a uranium enrichment plant on its territory. However, this should be owned by an international consortium and be operated under strict international controls. The German peace and conflict research scene was represented by Dr. Bernd Kubbig, Project Director for Ballistic Missile Defense Research at the Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt/Main (HSFK), and Jerry Sommer, Research Associate BICC.

In her welcoming address, Sybille Golte-Schröder, Head of Asia Services of the *Deutsche Welle*, first described the social-political situation in Iran today. Almost two-thirds of the country's population are under thirty years of age. The results of an Internet survey show that the majority of the population between 20 and 29 years of age is against the politics of the Islamic Republic, and only six percent share the views of the government. The majority of this young sector of the population identifies itself with Iran's traditional culture and civilization—but not with religious or ethnic topics.

This effort to provide a differentiated assessment of the situation in Iran and a balanced analysis of the threat potential with regard to the country's nuclear program was characteristic of all the discussions between the members of the panel.

Negotiations without preconditions

In his statement, the former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr. Hans Blix, expressed the view that one should stick to the goal of preventing all forms of uranium enrichment in the Middle East while preconditions for negotiations with Iran, were a mistake, precisely against this background. Blix called upon the United States to present new offers to Iran. "In return for Iran not pursuing sensitive nuclear programs, the United States could offer guarantees against attack and attempted regime change and diplomatic relations—as it does in the case of North Korea."

In his contribution, opposition politician Dr. Ebrahim Yazdi explained why for most Iranians the lack of democracy and the violation of human rights by the ruling forces is considered to be a greater danger than Iran's nuclear program. He called for a compre-



hensive and strategic dialogue and warned against negative consequences of sanctions. "These sanctions are actually hurting ordinary Iranians, not the authorities. Furthermore, the overall climate of confrontation created by US administrations provides excuses to Iranian authorities to put more pressure on political activists and is thus hurting the cause of democracy in Iran."

US academic Dr. James Walsh invited President Obama to abandon his predecessor's unrealistic goal of zero-enrichment in Iran. As the new target of negotiations, he suggested transferring uranium enrichment activities in Iran to a multilateral consortium. "Multinationalization would reduce the chances that Iran will develop nuclear weapons." Walsh analyzed the expected new US policy towards Iran and pleaded for a real change, as "the 'steady as she goes' approach may take us down a path that later results in military conflict before the end of Obama's tenure".

The Frankfurt peace and conflict researcher, Dr. Bernd W. Kubbig, analyzed statements by Barack Obama on Iran before he was elected President. "What is striking is that, with the exception of exploring the option of a high-level dialogue with Iran, the elements of continuity are prevailing." At the same time, Kubbig admitted that new US governments were always good for a surprise—and hoped that this could be a positive one in the case of Barack Obama.

BICC Research Associate Jerry Sommer criticized dubious 'certainties' put forward by politicians and the media—such as "Iran wants the bomb", "Iran wants to wipe Israel off the map"—as one-sided and rash. "Exaggerated apocalyptic threat scenarios don't help in making sound policy decisions." New 'red lines', which focus on the international control of Iranian nuclear plants and a new fundamental approach are necessary. "A policy of détente towards Iran could probably yield much better results than a policy of confrontation and isolation."

Searching for 'red lines'

BICC has been taking part in the discussion on Iran's nuclear program since 2006 with various events, conferences and publications. BICC also presented the

results of the conference with the *Deutsche Welle* in the form of a publication funded by the Foundation for International Dialogue of the *Sparkasse* in Bonn and documenting the contributions of the panel members. "Exaggeration and demonization are not the way to develop good policies. It is hoped that BICC's documentation with articles by international experts will be able to help to make the discussion more objective and show a way out of the dead-end", said Peter Croll, BICC's Director, on the occasion of the publication of "New Chances for a Compromise in the Nuclear Dispute with Iran?"

Susanne Heinke

Project title:	After the US elections—before the elections in Iran: On the interdependency of international politics and the internal development of Iran—New chances for a compromise in the nuclear dispute with Iran?
Duration:	October 2008 to April 2009
Sponsored by:	Foundation for International Dialogue of the <i>Sparkasse</i> in Bonn
Project leader:	Susanne Heinke
Collaboration:	Jerry Sommer
Publication:	cf. "List of Publications"

Mercenary identities: The self-image of employees of private military-security companies in Iraq

The involvement of private contractors in Western military missions is controversial. How can one ensure the social and democratic control of private soldiers in war regions? A BICC project funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) is starting with the players themselves and asking them about their social values and norms. Employees of the most prominent security companies working in Iraq are taking part in an Internet-based survey.

NATO forces are relying increasingly on the services of private military and security companies in order to be able to perform the progressively more complex tasks occurring within the framework of current military operations. These do not merely involve logistical and technical support services but also armed tasks with regard to property and personal security. Iraq in particular seems to be a busy field of activity for the military security sector, which employs an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 armed employees working on behalf of the Pentagon, large industrial concerns and aid organizations. Their tasks include safeguarding oil pipelines and military bases, mobile convoy protection, and the protection of diplomatic and humanitarian personnel.

The participation of private firms in Western military operations has been the subject of controversial discussion in recent years. Critics deplore in particular the lack of political regulation through state and international institutions, as well as legal grey areas. Advocates of the privatization of military functions, on the other hand, emphasize the increase in the efficiency, professionalism, effectiveness and flexibility of the armed forces, which seems to go hand-in-hand with privatization.

"There's only a few things in this world I can do really, really well. War is one"

The debate on the advantages and disadvantages of employing private military and security companies in war operations revolves largely around the control of violence. In the past, little attention has been paid

to the question of social or democratic control. Military sociology has studied the social control of regular soldiers in Western armed forces in detail and how these are integrated in society's system of norms and values. In the case of the *Bundeswehr*, this is reflected, for example, by the principle of 'Internal Leadership' or, in the case of the US military, by the term 'Citizen Soldier'. By contrast, there is a drastic lack of information regarding the norms and values of employees of private military firms.

Admittedly, the majority of private soldiers were originally socialized in the Western armed forces. But whether individual concepts of values and norms change when soldiers move from the regular armed forces to private contractors has yet to be studied. The International Peace Operations Association (IPOA), an umbrella organization of private US military contractors, has drawn up a code of conduct for its members, which, for example, emphasizes respect for human rights as its first principle. It remains open as to how far individual members of staff actually understand these values as an element of their professional self-image. Profit motivation does not *per se* exclude the possibility of social control, as the discussions on corporate social responsibility have shown in other branches. But since private military contractors profit directly from war and insecurity, it is certainly possible that the scope for developing certain concepts of norms and values is considerably more limited in this sector.

Empirical survey of private soldiers in Iraq

The aim of BICC's project, which is funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF), is therefore to systematically assess the self-concept of private soldiers as well as to study in how far this group has an occupational image which lends it an identity.

The BICC researchers plan to study the following questions:

- In how far can one assume the development of vocation-specific forms of identity from the behavior and the self-evaluation of employees of private military and security firms in Iraq?

¹ Statement by a private security contractor in Iraq.



- Is there such a thing as a 'mercenary identity'? What characteristics depict this identity? What discourses, values, definitions and resources is it based on? How does it distinguish itself from the identity and self-image of professional soldiers?

The second phase of the study will involve more detailed research into the connection between the professional identity and the social control of employees of military security contractors:

- In how far do the vocational identities of employees of military security companies reflect the norms of a democratic community of values?
- Does the formation of a specific vocational identity tend to weaken or strengthen the social control of private military companies?

BICC is conducting an Internet-based survey on employees of the most prominent security companies working in Iraq in order to collect data and answer its research questions. The BICC experts are using a number of established instruments and scales and are supplementing these with individual questions. These involve the specific context of 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'.

To enable an initial comparison between the self-image of private soldiers and that of professional soldiers, the study is considering value concepts which play a decisive role in determining military identity. These include conservatism, patriotism and the willingness to go to war as well as support for multilateral operations, international institutions, peacemaking measures and civil-military cooperation. BICC will evaluate these attitudes on the basis of specific measures which have already been tested within the framework of numerous empirical studies on the self-image of US officers.

Marc von Boemcken

Project title:	Mercenary identities: The self-image of employees of private military-security companies in Iraq
Duration:	Since September 2008
Supported by:	German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF)
Project leader:	Marc von Boemcken, Dr. Volker Franke
Cooperation:	Jan Grebe
Publication:	cf. "List of Publications"

Forced migration and displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa

BICC organized the international conference on "Migration and Displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Security-Migration Nexus II" which took place in Bonn on 13 and 14 February 2009. The event was sponsored by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and was devoted to South-South migration with a focus on displacement. Experts presented the current status of research giving examples of case studies, considered aspects of future studies and discussed concrete political approaches.

Contrary to public perception, South-South migration in Sub-Saharan Africa far exceeds South-North migration. More than two-thirds of international migration from countries in Sub-Saharan Africa takes place within the region. Displacement accounts for a large share of these population movements. Approximately 20 percent of all refugees worldwide (approx. 2.3 million)¹ and around half of all internally displaced persons (IDPs; 12.7 million)² live in Africa. Apart from refugees and internally displaced persons due to conflicts, increasing numbers of people also have to leave their homes as a result of environmental catastrophes, the destruction of their environment, and development projects.

Approximately 150 participants from the fields of research, politics, and civil society came to Bonn at BICC's invitation to discuss the causes and types of displacement as well as strategies for migration governance and humanitarian aid. Speakers included prominent representatives of the field of research, the relevant ministries, and African regional organizations as well as local and international humanitarian organizations.

Causes and effects of displacement

In his introductory presentation, Dr. John Oucho, University of Warwick, Coventry, emphasized that it is difficult to distinguish between migration and displacement, particularly because of the complexity of the causes of migration. Academic concepts cannot always be applied in practice.

According to the research results of Dr. Wim Naudé (UNU-WIDER, Helsinki) conflicts are the most important factor behind streams of refugees. Dr. Koko Warner (UNU-EHS, Bonn) stressed the complex relationship between environmental change and migration in West Africa.

The conference also discussed the humanitarian, legal, and social consequences of displacement for the people affected. It considered the effects of involuntary immigration and emigration, resettlement and return on the social, political, and economic conditions of the countries of origin, transit countries and host countries. In his talk, Joseph Chilengi (Africa IDP Voice, Lusaka) examined the social vulnerability of refugees and IDPs. Nuur Mohamud Sheekh of the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) in Geneva concentrated on the special situation and needs of internally displaced persons, describing the progress made and the obstacles encountered in implementing the "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement" approved ten years ago and quoting the examples of Somalia and Kenya. Dr. Sadia Hassanen of the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) in Stockholm spoke about the return, resettlement, and reintegration of Eritrean refugees in Sudan.

The panel discussion on the nexus between migration and security dealt with the special aspect of human security as well as the role of, and the limits to, international legal standards.

Approaches to and instruments of "migration governance"

But precisely what concrete approaches and "migration governance" instruments must policymakers, civil society and international organizations develop?

¹ UNHCR. 2008. 2007 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum seekers, returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons. Available at <<http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/STATISTICS/4852366f2.pdf>>.

² IDMC. 2008. Internal Displacement. Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2007. Available at <[http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/BD8316FAB5984142C125742E0033180B/\\$file/IDMC_Internal_Displacement_Global_Overview_2007.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/BD8316FAB5984142C125742E0033180B/$file/IDMC_Internal_Displacement_Global_Overview_2007.pdf)>.



The panel discussed *inter alia* the refugee integration strategy developed by the Republic of South Africa and the Ugandan legislation on refugees and IDPs, which was introduced several years ago. The conference also reviewed approaches and initiatives developed by the Economic Community Of West-African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) for dealing with flight and displacement and making migration voluntary and legal.

In his talk, Dr. Loren B. Landau (University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg) discussed the issues of internal displacement, climate change, human trafficking, and humanitarian reform and took a critical look at the role of international stakeholders in these areas.

Representatives of the UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) and the KfW *Entwicklungsbank* also expressed their views, speaking out in favor of a fair distribution of the burden between the countries hosting refugees and the international community.

Conference recommends closer links between research and politics

As one conclusion of the conference, Baffour Aboa of the West African Action Network on Small Arms (WAANSA), Accra, demanded that research on migration in Africa be speeded up and linked more closely with politics. This also called for improvements in the collection of data in Africa.

A legal basis for preventing persecution and forced displacement exists in almost all African states. Existing national and international law as well as local structures must be strengthened in order to develop a sustainable strategy for preventing flight and displacement. The conference called for a paradigm change in development cooperation—the international community should focus its attention more on issues of prevention and the causes of flight.

The conference is to be the starting point for establishing a network of researchers and practitioners to

promote exchanges and cooperation in the field of migration and displacement. BICC also plans to hold further workshops on the topic of migration and security as well as a follow-up conference which is to take place in 2010, if possible in Africa.

Clara Fischer / Ruth Vollmer

Project title:	Migration and displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa
Duration:	Until May 2009
Sponsored by:	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Project leader:	Clara Fischer
Cooperation:	Ruth Vollmer, Andrea Warnecke, Heike Webb, Susanne Zacharias, Susanne Heinke, Robert Willeke
Publications:	cf. "List of Publications"

www.here-there.org: Online communication of and with diaspora organizations

The partner projects DIASPEACE and INFOCON (see boxes) have developed a joint online-forum, which is geared to the specific needs of transnational communities. It aims at supporting migrant organizations to actively contribute to integration, cultural dialogue, human rights issues, conflict resolution and development. At the same time, www.here-there.org intends to be a platform for non-governmental organizations (NGOs), researchers and governments through which they can interact and cooperate more directly with transnational community organizations.

Migrant networks form a vibrant and indispensable part of European civil society. Additionally, many of them have also become transnational actors who contribute substantially to development and peacebuilding in their regions of origin, or are engaged in knowledge transfer and cultural exchange. Their websites and online communities provide information and, most importantly, facilitate communication both between scattered transnational communities, and between these communities and their respective places of origin.

On the pragmatic level, the Internet can help facilitate contacts between diaspora organizations trying

to find cooperation partners for peace and development projects in their countries of origin. Second, and even more importantly, the Internet allows for a continual exchange of views and information between diaspora groups and other actors in the country of origin, thereby allowing diasporas to stay in close touch with political, social and cultural developments 'at home'.

New links and opportunities

Most of the migrant/refugee groups studied by DIASPEACE and INFOCON researchers might well be labeled transnational communities (TCs). Many of them have their origins in violent conflicts and their members are facing obstacles establishing themselves in their new homes. But in spite—or because—of this two-fold challenge, TCs have become actors building and maintaining multiple links between "here" and "there".

In an effort to narrow the gap between transnational migrant organizations and European/international stakeholders, such as NGOs, civil society organizations (CSOs) and state actors, the two partner projects funded under the 7th EU Framework Programme,

have pooled their resources to develop a joint online tool geared towards the specific needs of transnational communities. The tool strives to empower migrant organizations to contribute to the knowledge related to challenges faced by their communities, be they integration or cultural dialogue, human rights issues, conflict resolution, or development. At the same time, www.here-there.org also seeks to provide a platform for NGOs, researchers and government organizations to engage more directly with transnational community organizations and benefit from each other's expertise.

Being aware that several of the communities studied are already well connected online, the concept of 'HereAndThere' has been designed to facilitate new links, and possibilities, rather than duplicating existing networks. Likewise, in an effort to

DIASPEACE

DIASPEACE stands for "Diasporas for Peace: Patterns, Trends and Potentials of Long-distance Diaspora Involvement in Conflict Settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa". It is a non-partisan, academic research project financed by the European Union under the Seventh Framework Programme, looking at the chances and challenges of diaspora involvement in countries of origin, in this case Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

The DIASPEACE researchers come from eight different universities, independent research institutes and NGOs. The University of Jyväskylä (Finland), Bonn International Center for Conversion and the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Germany), the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (Norway), the African Diaspora Policy Centre (the Netherlands), Centro Studi Politica Internazionale (Italy), the Forum for Social Studies (Ethiopia) and the Academy for Peace and Development (Somalia).

www.diaspeace.org



INFOCON

INFOCON aims to promote a better understanding of how civil society organizations representing transnational communities can work on preventing and resolving conflicts in Europe and worldwide. Financed by the European Union under the Seventh Framework Programme, this three-year research project was launched in April 2008. Coordinated by the Internationalist Foundation, INFOCON is a joint endeavor of several research institutes such as the Université Catholique de Louvain (research direction), University of Kent, Universität Duisburg-Essen, Institut d'Études Politiques de Lille, Stichting Katholieke Universiteit, Université de Liège, Université Laval (Québec) and CSOs based in the Netherlands, Kosovo, Belgium, United Kingdom and Germany.

www.infocon-project.org

The overall website will eventually hold a huge collection of organized data and will appear as a portal that has several uses:

- An interactive publication database, where one can find papers, articles and document thanks to an intelligent search engine.
- A participative media portal, gathering news, events, articles and media content published by the users of the website. An intelligent search engine will permit users to easily find what they are looking for.
- An organization directory, allowing users to easily find and get an overview on the organizations registered, each of which has its own virtual space.
- A platform of cooperation where the different stakeholders can create networks.

Andrea Warnecke

build a huge network beyond their own regionally, politically or otherwise defined circles, the site has especially been devised as a space that can be used in a both exclusive and inclusive manner, thereby giving the user a sense of control and ownership.

Hence, 'HereAndThere' has been designed to be used flexibly in both a participatory/interactive and a more exclusive way—depending on the user's preferences. The design of the website allows users to both create exclusive spaces only accessible to registered members while at the same time providing easy-to-use, state-of-the-art technology to present one's organization and activities to a larger public, engage in discussions and look out for like-minded partner organizations through an array of discussion fora, messaging functions and databases. Ultimately, the goal of 'HereAndThere' is to narrow existing communication gaps and facilitate contacts between various TCs, as well as among TCs and other stakeholders in the fields of migration, peacebuilding and development. Thus, we aim to contribute to the empowerment of groups that have so far operated in relative isolation, and provide them with an opportunity to benefit from and participate in ongoing discussions around the topic of migration.

Project title:	DIASPEACE—Diaspora for Peace: Patterns, trends and potentials of long-distance diaspora involvement in conflict settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa
Duration:	Since March 2008
Sponsored by:	7th EU research framework programme
Coordination:	Peter J. Croll
Project leader:	Andrea Warnecke
Cooperation:	Bettina Conrad, Clara Fischer
Publications:	cf. "List of Publications"

A photo exhibition explains: Resources for a fairer world

"Resources for a Fairer World" is the title of a new exhibition project, which BICC has organized in conjunction with Bread for the World, EIRENE, Fatal Transactions, FIAN, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, medico international, MISEREOR and Urgewald. The exhibition, which is sponsored by InWEnt (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung) with funding from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), examines the consequences of exploiting natural resources for countries in the South, and asks what Western consumers can do to ensure greater justice.

What does cocoa have to do with war and child labor? How is the diamond engagement ring on someone's finger linked to bloodshed in Africa? Why is biodiesel made from soya not a blessing for the climate, but often a curse for the rainforests and small farmers?

The world economy is dependent on exports of large quantities of natural resources from over 50 developing countries. However, their richness in natural resources is not the source of improved welfare for many of these countries in the South, but a disaster. It frequently undermines the regular economy, leads to wars and the violation of human rights.

Africa's richest country in natural resources, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has been suffering decades of conflict 'thanks' to its wealth of natural resources such as gold, diamonds, tropical timber and tantalite (coltan). 'Blood diamonds' have also financed civil wars in Angola and Sierra Leone. Social structures are collapsing in the oil-rich regions of Nigeria, Chad and Sudan. Whole regions are affected by destruction and despair.

The "Resources for a Fairer World" photo exhibition presents the examples of diamonds, gold, crude oil, uranium, tropical timber, soya and cocoa. It provides information on the individual natural resource and describes the problems associated with its exploitation. Most importantly, however, it asks what changes can be made, and how consumers can help to ensure a fair market through their purchasing decisions.

Example cocoa

Three million tons of cocoa are produced worldwide every year. Côte d'Ivoire in West Africa is the world's biggest exporter of cocoa, with a share of 37 percent.

Civil war has been smoldering in the north and west of the country since September 2002. The government used tax revenue from cocoa production to pay for weapons and deploy foreign mercenaries. The rebel movement *Forces Nouvelles* also financed its struggle with cocoa smuggling.

Despite its position as the leading exporter of cocoa, Côte d'Ivoire is one of the world's twenty poorest countries. According to the United Nations Human Development Index, it takes 166th place (out of 177). Child labor—particularly involving child migrants from neighboring countries—is widespread in the Ivorian cocoa sector.

What can be done? Companies should introduce an independent and reliable supervision and control system in accordance with the Harkin-Engel Protocol¹ to ensure that their suppliers do not use child labor. In addition, they should establish reliable programs to assist the rehabilitation of the children affected and provide compensation.

The United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Russia are the world's biggest consumers of cocoa. The *per capita* consumption of chocolate in Germany alone is nine kilos per year. The question of "What can be done?" is thus directed immediately at the consumer.

The alternative is chocolate which is produced and traded fairly, such as that offered by *gepa* (the Fair Trade Company) with the TransFair seal. Certified fair trade cocoa and chocolate must be produced and processed under strictly controlled conditions. These include environmentally friendly production methods and the elimination of child labor.

¹ A voluntary protocol agreed to by the chocolate industry to ensure US chocolate products aren't made using illegal child labor.



An exhibition organized by NGOs to provide information on development policy

The exhibition is a further joint activity of the “Resources for a Fairer World” alliance, which, apart from BICC, also includes Bread for the World, EIRENE, Fatal Transactions, FIAN, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, medico international, MISEREOR, and Urgewald.

These organizations are acting to encourage changes in the conditions surrounding the extraction of natural resources in the South. They support the commitment, capacity to act and initiatives of the people affected. They voice criticism because very often natural resource extraction does little to benefit economic development in the respective country. Powerful international companies, which can dictate their own conditions, often have sole responsibility for exploiting these resources. Land and water are used to extract them—at the expense of the population. Social conflicts occur because the people who are directly affected do not have a say when projects are planned. The extraction, transport of and trade with natural resources regularly involves bribing officials at local, regional and national level, corruption and the misappropriation of large sums of money.

The alliance first got together at the German Protestant Church Congress in Cologne in 2007, where it organized a joint stand. It will also be present at the Church Congress in Bremen in May 2009.

The 25 photos in the exhibition and a map showing the incidence of natural resources and conflicts in Africa illustrate the problems, inform and provide food for thought. This is not the first time that BICC has worked with the international photo agency *laif*, whose photographs stand for informative and committed photojournalism.

The practical format of the photographs (40 cm x 60 cm) means that it is easy for NGOs, schools, universities and other groups to present the exhibition on their premises. So far, it has been seen *inter alia* at MISEREOR's open day in Aachen, on UN Day and within the framework of the international Fatal Transactions conference in Bonn, at a conference on natural re-

sources organized by Eirene in Neuwied, and at the beginning of MISEREOR's fasting campaign in Stuttgart.

Thanks to the initiative of a group of students studying Online-Journalism at Darmstadt University (h_da), the exhibition's homepage www.rohstoffgerechtigkeit.de provides useful information on the exhibition. A video shows the opening of the Fatal Transactions conference in Bonn.

Susanne Heinke

Project title:	Resources for a Fairer World—Photo exhibition
Duration:	Since April 2008
Sponsored by:	InWEnt (<i>Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung</i>) with funding from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Project leader:	Susanne Heinke
Publications:	cf. “List of Publications” www.rohstoffgerechtigkeit.de

Côte d'Ivoire: Cocoa, oil and diamonds between war and peace

In the framework of the European Fatal Transactions network, a BICC team traveled to Côte d'Ivoire to conduct field research. The focus of the research was the question how natural resources influence the transition from war to peace. For this purpose, the project team interviewed government and company representatives, members of civil society and international organizations, a group of peasants as well as members of the rebel movement Force Nouvelles and other militia groups.

The case of Côte d'Ivoire is a good example of how natural resources have contributed to violent conflict. At the same time, it can be used to illustrate in which way the wealth in natural resources can be harnessed to contribute to peace and development.

Located on the gulf of Guinea and neighboring Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso and Mali, for decades, many considered Côte d'Ivoire to be the 'West African Switzerland'. Under the autocratic leader Houphouët-Boigny, the country became the leading economic powerhouse of the region during the 1960s and 70s. This position was mainly based on the production of coffee and cocoa. Up until today, cocoa alone brings a yearly US \$2 billion into the Ivorian economy.

With the decline in world market prices for commodities in the 1980s and the death of Houphouët-Boigny in 1993, the country entered a phase of political and economic turmoil and instability, which found its tragic climax in the civil war and division of the country in 2002.

The violent conflict began with an attempted coup d'état by parts of the armed forces in September 2002. As a result of the failed uprising in Abidjan, the country disintegrated into two parts—the north led by rebels and the south controlled by the government. The warring parties were separated by a corridor, the so-called 'zone of trust' (*zone de confiance*). Later, the rebels regrouped themselves under the name of the *Forces Nouvelles* (FN) and claimed to fight for an end of discrimination against the inhabitants of the north of the country.

A peace deal, known as the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA), between Ivorian president Laurent Gbagbo and FN rebel leader Guillaume Soro was reached in March 2007. But the agreed-upon reunification of the country is still ongoing, and the country faces serious challenges, such as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R) of rebels and pro-government militia, the preparation of elections, and the reinstatement of administrative and economic unity.

Natural resources in conflict

Côte d'Ivoire is the biggest producer of cocoa worldwide and the income from cocoa exports has long been the most important source of income. For a long time, the thus created revenues have been the most important source of income for the country—which also holds true for the financing of the warring parties.

On the side of the rebels, the control of cocoa exports from their territory translated into an estimated yearly income of US \$30 million from 2004 onward¹: The cocoa produced in the area under control of the FN was smuggled mainly to Ghana and Togo.

According to the United Nations Group of Expert's report of 2005², the Ivorian government mainly relied on revenues from cocoa for its military expenditure. In 2003 alone, taxes from the cocoa sector worth US \$2.3 billion, designated to be reinvested into the sector, went into the increasing war expenditure.

In addition to cocoa, the government is suspected of having used revenues from the newly emerging petroleum industry "to defray military expenses"³. This resource was unavailable to the rebels, as Ivorian oil is located off-shore (thus in the south).

¹ Global Witness. 2007. "Hot Chocolate. How cocoa fuelled the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire." Report. June.

² United Nations. United Nations Group of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire. 2005. "Report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 7 of Resolution 1584 (2005). S/2005/699.

³ United Nations, United Nations Group of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire. 2007. "Report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 7 (e) of Resolution 1727 (2006)." S/2007/349. p. 3.



On the other hand, the FN was able to gain money in illegal diamond trade, as the diamond deposits of the northern and central region had fallen into their hands. In reaction and in order to cut the FN off this source of revenue, the UN Security Council adopted an embargo on Côte d'Ivoire for the export of conflict diamonds in December 2005. Nevertheless, the FN was able to continue illegal exploration and export of diamonds worth between US \$9 and US \$23.5 million a year⁴. According to an expert mission of the Kimberley Process (in which a BICC staff member participated), these diamonds continue to reach the global market via neighboring states of Côte d'Ivoire.

Good resource governance for peace and development

When reinstating unity in Côte d'Ivoire, the economic integration of both parts of the country is one of the major challenges. FN leaders in the North have greater interest in retaining the control over all economic activities, as this is their most important source of income. Under the Peace Agreement (OPA) the redeployment of state authority is foreseen and small steps are being taken towards regaining state control over trade and taxes in the north.

The two other hurdles to be taken on the road to lasting peace are the holding of elections and the DD&R of all ex-combatants. At the heart of the violent conflict lay claims of discrimination along identity lines, and the preparation of elections touch upon this sensitive topic. For the FN, elections have to come before DD&R whereas the government wants DD&R of the FN to be completed before elections are held. To hold elections and to implement DD&R simultaneously—as is foreseen in the OPA—is thus a cautious balancing act, and in consequence a slow process.

The BICC study concludes that improved resource governance is an important factor in the development and the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire.

Resource governance describes the way in which governments regulate and manage the use of natural resources as well as the redistribution of costs and revenues deriving from those resources. Good resource governance implies transparency in the entire management of natural resources—from the awarding of concessions and contracts to the revenues generated in each sector. This has to be combined with accountability of the government towards society—especially with regard to the way in which revenues from natural resources are spent.

After analyzing the current situation in Côte d'Ivoire it becomes obvious that the country is still far from such ideal state. But first steps towards greater transparency and accountability can be identified and allow for some hope.

Lena Guesnet

Project title:	EU NGOs—Activities to sensitize the public for development issues in the framework of the Fatal Transactions campaign
Duration:	Since January 2007
Sponsored by:	European Commission (EU)
Project leader:	Wolf-Christian Paes
Cooperation:	Lena Guesnet, Jolien Schure
Publications:	cf. "List of Publications"

⁴ United Nations, United Nations Group of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire. 2006. "Report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 2 of Resolution 1708 (2006)." S/2006/964.

Digging for peace: Private companies in conflict zones

BICC, in association with the European Fatal Transactions network, held the international conference "Digging for Peace: Private companies and emerging economies in zones of conflict" at the *Deutsche Welle* in Bonn on 21 and 22 November 2008. Representatives of civil society, companies and politics discussed the role of private companies in conflict zones.

What role do private companies play in conflict zones? What are the consequences of their behavior? What positive contributions can they make to peace and development in the sense of corporate social responsibility? BICC invited representatives of companies, which are active in conflict zones to Bonn to analyze these questions together with representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments. The conference also devoted particular attention to aspiring companies from threshold countries, especially China. The aim of the conference was to conduct an exchange between representatives of industry and civil society, political stakeholders and academics.

Options for action were to be identified on the basis of experience with attempts to regulate the diamond trade (Kimberly Process) and encourage transparency in the extractive sector (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, EITI). Peter Eigen, Chairman of the EITI and founder of Transparency International was patron and chaired the conference.

Festus Mogae, former President of Botswana explained how good resource management can contribute towards peace and development.

Extracting natural resources in conflict zones: Examples from Africa

The conference discussed the problems of extracting natural resources in conflict zones, quoting the examples of Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and Sudan.

Alfred Brownell of the Liberian NGO Green Advocates explained how the extraction of natural resources in Liberia, especially wood, aggravates conflicts over land possession.

Jolien Schure, BICC, presented the case of Côte d'Ivoire. Revenue from the cocoa industry and diamond trade funded the violent conflicts in 2002. The aim must be to administer revenue wisely and to use it to help the country's development. Companies, NGOs and consumers can exercise a positive influence in this respect and demand good resource governance.

James Ninrew, Executive Director of the NGO Assistance Mission for Africa, described the links between war, the extraction of natural resources and negative consequences for the population in oil-rich Sudan. Forced evictions, for which the victims had received no compensation, were a particular problem.

The responsibility of Western companies

Representatives of international companies considered their responsibility in conflict zones. Central issues were the security of investments, human rights and codes of conduct. Andrew Bone, Director for International Relations at De Beers made it clear that investments and security go hand-in-hand. Development can only take place with both.

John O'Reilly, former Senior Vice President for External Affairs at British Petroleum, demanded that companies must respect human rights. There were opportunities for more efficient codes of conduct in the future. Binding regulations were still a long way off, however.

Philip Sigley, Director General of the Federation of Cocoa Commerce (FCC), presented the FCC's concept for communal infrastructure development on a public-private partnership basis.

Salil Tripathi, Senior Policy Adviser at International Alert, pleaded for more self-reflection by companies in conflict zones. These could never be regarded as neutral, but always as stakeholders. Companies should base their decisions on this awareness.

The issue of China: Who is the better investor in Africa?

The complex relationship between Africa, China and Europe was a further central issue at the conference.



Ana Cristina Alves, Researcher, China in Africa Project at the South African Institute of International Affairs, SAlIA, explained the “Angola-Model” under which China provides credits for infrastructure development in exchange for minerals. China’s financial engagement in Africa is far higher than that of the World Bank, France and the United States combined.

Bo Kong, Director Global Energy and Environment Initiative, dismissed claims that Chinese companies are the new colonialists, operating as puppets of their government, who merely wanted to outdo the West and encouraged corruption and instability.

Félicien Mbikayi, GAERN (Groupe d’Appui aux Exploitants des Ressources Naturelles), discussed Chinese investments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). There was a tremendous need for investments, particularly in the field of natural resources. National and international human and labor rights as well as environmental and transparency standards should apply for all investors. The government of the DRC was weak, however, and there was reason to fear that Chinese investors, in particular, did not see sufficient cause to take these regulations into account.

Anders Lustgarten, Counterbalance, considered the West’s criticism of China to be unfair. For example, the European Investment Bank, as one of the largest public donors worldwide, did not adhere to the EU’s social and environmental standards. He called upon European consumers to demand responsible behavior on the part of their institutions.

Jonathan Holslag, BICCS (Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies), explained the approaches adopted by the European Union when dealing with China in Africa. There had initially been ambitious proposals for constructive cooperation and ownership on the part of the African states, but these proposals had failed inter alia due to the different interests of the various EU member states.

Finally, Wenran Jiang (China Institute, University of Alberta) and Alfred Brownell warned against hypocrisy and double standards with regard to China. Ultimately, it had to be the sovereign decision of the African states whether they wanted to do business with China or not.

Fatal Transactions supports the dialogue

The conference provided a platform for a dialogue between civil society from the North and the South, private companies and politicians. This type of exchange between the relevant stakeholders is an important aspect of the Fatal Transactions campaign, providing an opportunity to name and discuss problems without excluding individual players. Such a dialogue is necessary to ensure that the extraction of natural resources serves the interests of peace and development in Africa, instead of encouraging war and destruction.

One conclusion drawn at the conference is that initiatives such as the EITI and the Kimberley Process have established the right approaches to solving these problems. It is now a matter of learning from these initiatives and broadening their basis. BICC will continue to support Fatal Transactions through its applied research in this field.

Lena Guesnet

Project title:	Digging for Peace: Private companies and emerging economies in zones of conflict. International Fatal Transactions conference 2008
Duration:	September 2008 to April 2009
Sponsored by:	Foundation for International Dialogue of the <i>Sparkasse</i> in Bonn, Oxfam Novib, European Commission (EU)
Project leader:	Wolf-Christian Paes
Cooperation:	Lena Guesnet, Jolien Schure
Publication:	cf. “List of Publications” www.fataltransactions.de www.fataltransactions.org

Yardsticks for conflict management in multiethnic federations

In the period 2005 to 2008, a project funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) studied ethnic federalism and considered the institutional preconditions for stability and conflict settlement. Four multiethnic federations—Russia, India, Nigeria and Spain—served as examples. A book is to be published in 2009.

The coexistence of ethnic groups within a state frequently leads to conflicts. The project considered the ability of multiethnic federations to settle conflicts. It used ten yardsticks to measure the potential of ethnofederalism for de-escalating or preventing conflicts and took stock of the situation in the states analyzed.

Discourses on multinationality

The policy of recognition with public discourses on multinationality and multiculturalism is probably the best-known antidote to ethnonationalism. Ethnofederalism gives both territorially concentrated groups and dispersed groups a feeling of security. Multiethnic symbolism is helpful, but, taken by itself, not sufficient for settling conflicts.

Democracy and rule of law

Ethnic federations threaten to mutate into ethnocracies when certain ethnic groups appropriate the apparatus of state for themselves. Once available, ethnic federalism becomes a means for the exclusive distribution of power and resources, encouraging group protectionism and ethnic clientelism. There is abundant evidence of such ethnic patronage in India and Nigeria, as well as in Russia. Ethnic 'elitocracy', the protection of patriarchalist orders, denigration and intolerance towards 'minorities in the minority' are to be seen particularly in some regions in Russia and Nigeria. The empirical findings show that ethnic exclusivity and authoritarian rule are mutually supportive. Ethnic conflict settlement therefore needs competition within ethnic and religious groups, not between them.

Barriers to centralism and ethnic hegemony

The central government in multiethnic states is often tempted to extend its influence on the regions, particularly when the ruling party fears loss of power. In

return, regional elites are tempted to emphasize their agendas and to weaken national policies. Centralist tendencies can be offset by the division of power within central government. Spain and India are positive examples in this context. Participation in power and thus the potential limitation of power is at least possible in Nigeria on the basis of the country's 'federal character'. Russia scores lowest in this context.

Negotiating arenas

The assumption of a fundamental contradiction between national and regional stakeholders is too simplistic because, aside from ethnic poker, there are always incentives to cooperate. Arenas for executive federalism create fora for decision-finding. India, Spain and Russia under Yeltsin were positive examples in the sense of open and unbiased inter-governmental negotiating arenas. The situation in Nigeria, on the other hand, is rather negative.

Neutral arbitrators

Supreme or constitutional courts can curb the expansion of central government providing that they are independent and neutral. India, Spain and, to a certain extent, Nigeria are positive examples of the possibility of judicial limitations on central government. The Constitutional Court in Russia, on the other hand, has shown itself to be dependent, opportunist and compliant to the wishes of the president in fundamental decisions.

Fragmentation and segmentation

There is a widespread view that the best solution is to draw regional borders in such a way that minorities become a regional majority. However, this is often at the price of ethnic expulsion. Multiethnicity in the regions can enhance the opportunity to forge regional identities instead of ethnic-exclusive identities.

Flexibility

The more the ethnic groups differ in their character, the more distinct their institutional character should be. State support should not therefore be based on the rhetoric of ethnopoliticians but on actual needs and democratic representation.



Cross-ethnic interests within the party system

The comparison between Russia, India, Nigeria, and Spain shows that the party system plays a decisive role for the involvement of regional elites. Politicians are all the more likely to demonstrate multiethnic behavior the less they can expect to gain absolute ethnic majorities and the more they can compensate for losses in their own camps by winning votes from people in other groups.

Public assets

In some cases, the establishment of ethnic regions has significantly encouraged development. Federal redistribution is, however, frequently conflictive because it is not transparent, and is based instead on political opportunism. Asset redistribution in Nigeria is extremely conflict-laden. The criteria in Russia were and remain obscure and depend on opportunist considerations. The highest level of predictability was to be found in Spain.

Timely action

Yeltsin offered flexibility to accommodate the ethnic regions in the early 1990s. This was an alternative to secession. Spain took a spirited and flexible approach to federalization immediately after Franco. The Indian Union government, however, usually only reacted to escalations of violence. Nigeria demonstrates parallels with India in this respect: the system frequently only reacts when discontent is expressed violently.

Neither a Sleeping Beauty nor a monstrous Frankenstein

Under ideal circumstances, ethnofederalism leads to a regional identity which protects linguistic and cultural affinities and peculiarities, but does not elevate them to become the only yardstick for political identity. So far, however, ethnic federalism has hardly been able to offer solutions in certain conflict situations. These include in particular situations of tension caused by migration. Furthermore, granting autonomy regularly leads to more extensive demands. Finally, federalism does not have an answer to the problem that

secular nationalism can transform itself into religious fundamentalism which cannot be appeased by territorial autonomy.

Ethnic federalism in itself is neither a Sleeping Beauty nor a monstrous Frankenstein. It must have the support of federal values, constitutionalism, democratic decision-making processes, and an integrative party system.

Dr. Andreas Heinemann-Grüder

Project title:	Ethnofederalism: Institutional preconditions for stability and conflict management
Duration:	2005–2008
Sponsored by:	German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF)
Project leader:	Dr. Andreas Heinemann-Grüder
Publications:	cf. "List of Publications"

Annual business report

BICC, the Bonn International Center for Conversion, was founded in 1994 as a non-profit private limited company on the initiative of Johannes Rau, the Premier of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) at the time, and the NRW Ministry of Science. For 15 years now, BICC has been conducting research and advising and supporting the United Nations, the European Union, governments, local authorities, and societal groups on all questions of disarmament at the nexus of peace and development.

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BICC Trustees:

Land of North Rhine-Westphalia, Dusseldorf:	85%
Land of Brandenburg, Potsdam:	15%

With effect from November 2008, BICC GmbH now has only two trustees—the *Land* of NRW and the *Land* of Brandenburg. The shares of the LEG Landesentwicklungsgesellschaft NRW GmbH and NRW.BANK were taken over by the *Land* of NRW when the two concerns were restructured. As BICC's principal trustee, the *Land* of NRW is thus demonstrating its long-term commitment to development and peace.

BICC has a Supervisory Board which advises the Trustees and oversees the Center's management. It consists of seven members who are appointed by the Board of Trustees. The Supervisory Board is responsible *inter alia* for approving the Center's annual work programs and financial plans.

Members of the BICC Supervisory Board in April 2009:

1. Dr. Michael Stückradt, Chair of the Supervisory Board, Secretary of State, Ministry of Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia, Dusseldorf
2. Michael Deitmer, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia, Dusseldorf
3. Theo Goßner, Director, NRW.Bank, Dusseldorf
4. Franz Meiers, Director, LEG Stadtentwicklung GmbH & Co. KG, Dusseldorf
5. Winfried Mengelkamp, Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia, Dusseldorf
6. Dirk Reitemeier, Ministry of Economics of the *Land* of Brandenburg, Potsdam
7. Helmut Rubin, Finance Ministry of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia, Dusseldorf

BICC and its management are advised by an International Board on all questions concerning research, policy and project acquisition. The International Board puts forward suggestions concerning the Center's work program, comments on BICC publications and makes proposals regarding the content of BICC's work. Its members are appointed by the Board of Trustees.

BICC relies on an international team of staff in order to perform its diverse tasks and provide services in the fields of applied research, advisory services and capacity-building. In 2008, the Center employed an average of 34 members of staff. 12 of these were employed on a full-time and 22 on a part-time basis (including five student assistants, three research assistants and two people in marginal employment).

BICC also offers interns an opportunity to work at an international center and BICC's own project work often benefits greatly from such cooperation. More than 18 interns from six countries worked at BICC between January 2008 and March 2009.



BICC's International Board in April 2009:

1. Dr. Sverre Lodgaard (Norway), Chair of the International Board, former Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
2. Hans Blix (Sweden), Chair of the International Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction
3. Anke Brunn (Germany), former Minister, Member of Parliament of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia
4. Jayantha Dhanapala (Sri Lanka), former Under-Secretary-General, United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs (UNDDA)
5. Prof. Dr. Wolfram Hilz (Germany), Professor of Political Science, Institute of Political Science and Sociology, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn
6. Karin Kortmann (Germany), Parliamentary Secretary of State, German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
7. Dr. Patricia Lewis (Great Britain), Deputy Director, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS)
8. Prof. Dr. Volker Rittberger (Germany), CEO, German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF)
9. Dr. Michael Stückradt (Germany), Secretary of State, Ministry of Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia
10. Prof. Ramesh Thakur (Canada), Distinguished Fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Professor of Political Science, University of Waterloo
11. Dr. Reinhard Weise (Germany), CEO, Berlin-Brandenburger Flächenentwicklungs GmbH
12. Dr. Theodor Winkler (Switzerland), Director, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)

Financial development

BICC's finances as a non-profit limited company are based on two pillars: The first is the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), which provides the Center with basic funding as Principal Trustee. This enables BICC to acquire orders and funding from other donors within the framework of so-called third party operations. The tasks, which are linked with this funding range from research to advisory services, training and capacity-building, to other services. BICC is constantly endeavoring to increase the volume of third party funding. In 2008, BICC was able to keep third party funding at a constant level so that it once again almost equaled the funds provided by the *Land* of NRW.

The increased acquisition of third party funding and the further consolidation of all cost categories were central factors determining the course taken by BICC's management in 2008. It was essential to cushion a further reduction in funds from the Principal Trustee (minus 4.6 percent). This goal was almost achieved thanks to a considerable effort. Although BICC's performance was slightly below that of the previous year (minus 0.9 percent), the Center was almost able to make up for this drop by reducing its operating expenses by 1.1 percent and only showed a small deficit.

This meant that BICC was able to make up for the renewed reduction in support from the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia by increasing the average contribution of third party projects. This was due *inter alia* to the fact that the Center was able to acquire more application-oriented projects, which, in addition to financing direct project costs, also provide a contribution to covering the Center's overheads. BICC will continue its efforts to acquire such projects in future. This gives the Center the chance to improve its earnings-related situation in individual projects.

To a certain extent the trend towards application-oriented projects is at the expense of research work, where funding is often only provided to cover direct individual project costs (e.g. direct personnel costs, traveling expenses), but not overheads (e.g. infrastructure).

An overview of the most important projects in 2008/2009

Applied Research		Selection of products/ further information
DIASPEACE—Diaspora for Peace: Patterns, trends and potentials of long-distance diaspora involvement in conflict settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa	since March 2008	Project within the 7th EU research framework programme, cf. www.diaspeace.org
The role of the security sector for the (de)stabilization of the (semi-)authoritarian regimes in Central Asia	since July 2006	Research project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation
Mercenary identities: The self-image of employees of private military-security companies in Iraq	since September 2008	Explorative research study, funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF)
Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and small weapons as a factor for development	since November 2008	Case studies on Ghana, Uganda and East Timor, funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Wartime rape: Sexualized violence against women in armed conflicts	since November 2008	Pilot study with field research in El Salvador and Bosnia, on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Transportation infrastructure in Germany and its relevance to security technologies and employment	until November 2008	Short studies on behalf of the Hans-Böckler Foundation
Involvement of BICC in the <i>Friedensgutachten</i> (State of Peace Report)	since 1999	Book publication: cf. www.friedensgutachten.de
Consultancy		
Security, armaments and development in countries receiving German arms exports	since May 2002	Data bases and country reports with basic data on armaments, military, security, human rights and governance in 170 countries cf. www.ruestungsexport.info
Small arms survey in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	since November 2008	Survey and evaluation in association with GRIP, Belgium, on behalf of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Supporting the development and implementation of a civilian SALW training program in West Africa	until September 2008	Consultancy for a pilot training scheme at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)
Further consultancy in the field of small arms	since September 2008	e.g. advising the GTZ (German Development Cooperation) on small arms control in the East African Community (EAC)
Advising the High Commissioner for Reintegration in Colombia	since June 2008	Supporting the process of demobilization and reintegration in Colombia by advising the relevant government authorities on behalf of GTZ (German Development Cooperation)

Capacity-building

Capacity-building on small arms control and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R) in Southern Sudan	until March 2008	In cooperation with local partners, members of civil society and the government of Southern Sudan: cf. www.bicc.de/sudan
Participation in the Fatal Transactions (FT) network, lobby and education work on resources and conflicts, organization of the 2008 Annual Conference "Digging for Peace—Private Companies and Emerging Economies in Zones of Conflict", 20–21 November 2008	since January 2007	Research support, events, website, public relations work, exhibitions, expert talks: cf. www.fataltransactions.de
"Resources for a Fairer World"—Photo exhibition	since April 2008	Contribution to development policy education, funded by InWent (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung), cf. also www.rohstoffgerechtigkeit.de
International Conferences: "The Security–Migration Nexus I: Challenges and Opportunities of African Migration to EU Countries" and "Migration and Displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Security-Migration Nexus II".	until May 2009	22–23 February 2008 and 13–14 February 2009 in Bonn, funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Documentation for the <i>Deutsche Welle</i> Global Media Forum, organization of a workshop "Resources, Conflicts and the Role of the Media", 2–4 June 2008	until August 2008	Organization of a workshop, cf. also dw-gmf.de/archive/2008/1174.php



The question of financial contributions to EU projects also remains problematical. For example, the European Commission's EuropeAid Office for External Cooperation deals with areas which are attractive for BICC. Unfortunately, however, its project guidelines only provide for funding to cover just 75 percent of individual costs. This means that each of these projects requires a significant subsidy from other sources of revenue. The drop in funding from BICC's Principal Trustee thus also means that the Center has less scope for acquiring projects. This shows that BICC's ability to

perform such projects is limited without further support from the *Land* of NRW or other partners.

BICC's sources of funding are as varied as the Center's wide range of tasks and projects. Contributors include the German Federal Government, the European Union, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as well as foundations, companies, and other corporate bodies.

Michael Dedek

Profit and loss account for the financial year from 1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008

Actual 2008

Revenues

a) Main funding from the Ministry of Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the <i>Land</i> NRW	980,600
b) Revenue from completed projects	896,451
c) Reimbursement of costs and other income	21,530

Changes in totals in the case of unfinished projects	40,621
------------------------------------------------------	--------

Other operating income	17,316
------------------------	--------

Operating Performance	1,956,517
------------------------------	------------------

Material costs of projects	391,099
----------------------------	---------

Staff costs	1,235,134
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Planned depreciation	11,712
----------------------	--------

Miscellaneous operating expenses (office space, etc.)	338,306
-------------------------------------------------------	---------

Operating Expenses	1,976,251
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Financial result	11,799
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Surplus / deficit	-7,935
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List of publications (January 2008–April 2009)

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Feature: 15 years BICC, Peter J. Croll and Susanne Heinke.

BICC bulletin, No. 48, October–December 2008
Feature: A Development-oriented Approach—Resource Governance in Botswana, H.E Festus Mogae.

BICC bulletin, No. 47, July–September 2008
Feature: A light at the end of the tunnel?, Peter J. Croll.

BICC bulletin, No. 46, April–June 2008
Feature: Conflict and Violence: The Limitations of Northern Academic Perspectives, Kevin Clements.

BICC bulletin, No. 45, January–March 2008
Feature: The Security-Migration Nexus, Andrea Warncke.

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Imprint

BICC

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Facilitating Peace and Development through Research, Advisory services, Training

As an independent, non-profit organization BICC is dedicated to promoting and facilitating peace and development.

Our task

BICC seeks to assist in preventing violent conflict and hence contribute to their constructive transformation.

While disarmament frees resources, which can be employed in the fight against poverty, conversion allows for a targeted, best possible reuse of these resources.

Our work

- **Peace and development:** BICC offers advisory services on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R). It evaluates DD&R-related processes as well as peacebuilding tools, studies the role of the security sector, researches on the nexus between development and peace as well as early warning systems for crises.
- **Arms—global trends, exports and control:** BICC analyzes global trends in defense expenditures, armed forces personnel and militarization. It reveals interrelationships between arms exports, development aid and human rights and lobbies for global arms control.
- **Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW):** BICC offers advice and trainings worldwide on small arms control. It also consults on the marking and tracing as well as the safe stockpiling of SALW and ammunition. It collects data on SALW proliferation and evaluates small arms control activities.
- **Resources and conflict:** BICC studies the nexus between natural resources and conflict while lobbying and providing training on this topic.
- **Migration and conflict:** BICC carries out research on the nexus between migration in Africa and security. It discusses challenges of migration and displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa and studies the African diaspora in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), in Germany and in the European Union.
- **Base conversion:** BICC has carried out research on base conversion for 15 years—not only in Germany but worldwide.

Our services

- Applied research (research papers, background and evaluation studies, impact analysis, indicator development, data collection and analysis as well as project assistance and implementation).
- Advisory services (background analyses, policy recommendations, expert workshops).
- Capacity-building through the elaboration of concepts and modules for education and training.
- Public relations (publications, conferences, events, and exhibitions).

Our donors and partners

- International and UN-organizations
- Governments
- International and national foundations
- International and national research institutions
- International and national NGOs
- German federal states (*Länder*) and federal ministries.

Our organization

On the basis of applied research, BICC offers consultancy, policy advice and training. Its international staff carries out self- and third-party financed projects.

BICC collects and publishes information, carries out evaluations and prepares publications and makes these materials available to NGOs, governments and private organizations. It is co-publisher of an international scientific book series (Sustainable Peace and Global Security Governance) and the annual State of Peace Report (*Friedensgutachten*).

The Center organizes exhibitions, conferences, expert workshops and talks on a regular basis. These events help make the public even more aware of the issues that are important to BICC.

BICC was founded in 1994 with the support of the *Land* North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) as a non-profit limited liability company (GmbH). Shareholders are the *Länder* of NRW and Brandenburg. BICC bodies are its Supervisory Board, its Board of Trustees, and the International Board.