Contributions to the Annual Report 2007/2008

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The Land of North Rhine-Westphalia is the center of the German North-South relationship. In no other federal state are there more institutes that work in international development cooperation. With great commitment, many of them have embarked upon new avenues, each in their respective areas of expertise. When it comes to applied research, the Bonn International Center for Conversion, in short BICC, has already given proof of its innovative spirit. As an ‘institution of the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW)’ whose aim is to take the international lead in still unexplored fields of peace and conflict research, BICC is strengthening Bonn’s role as a center in the North-South dialogue and is providing a visible contribution to raising NRW’s profile as center of competence in the field of global peace, security and development policy.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank you, the staff of BICC, for all this. The fact that the government of NRW rates your work very highly is expressed in the Development Policy Guidelines of the Land of NRW1 of 2007. The action plan, drawn up by the responsible ministry, the Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration, states that the Land supports “research and consultancy, particularly on questions of development and security policy, as well as conflict management and democratization in developing countries.”

The mutual trust between the Land and BICC runs deep. It is based in particular on BICC’s many years of experience in the field of peace and conflict research. BICC’s experience as well as its excellent contacts with state institutions, international research institutes and regional and international diaspora communities mean that BICC is not only an indispensable adviser to policymakers and administrations, but also a valuable partner for many non-governmental organizations. In recent years, BICC has been devoting its attention to developing novel approaches to key questions raised on the international political stage, questions which are often not accompanied by perspectives for action. A prime example of this is the question of migration and development; a topic, which is becoming increasingly important for North Rhine-Westphalia. No other federal state has larger diaspora communities from the Global South, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, than NRW.

Through its applied research, BICC is providing an important contribution to developing new approaches within this relatively new field. How can we improve integration opportunities for migrants from developing countries? How can we tackle the challenges resulting from the increasing number of people migrating from regions of crisis? Which role do they play in international conflict dynamics? These are merely three of numerous other questions on which we know far too little.

This may be due to the fact that in development policy debates the contribution of international diaspora communities to the development of their countries of origin is still seen primarily in financial terms. But the political and social engagement of these groups is no less important. BICC is therefore providing an important, and enriching, contribution to this discussion by pointing to the role of the African diaspora in conflict dynamics and by turning its attention to their contribution to conflict resolution in their countries of origin. BICC also points out concrete avenues of how this commitment can be fostered.

A further area of cooperation between NRW and BICC results from the new partnership established in 2007 between North Rhine-Westphalia and the Republic of Ghana. Here, too, BICC can fall back on practical experience. For some time now, the Center has been cooperating with Ghanaian research organizations and supports the work of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra in the field of peace and security.

All of these points highlight the fact that BICC is optimally positioned to respond to future challenges in international cooperation with cutting-edge answers. But its expertise as an applied research organization is not the only reason why it is an important partner of the Land NRW. With its commitment, BICC is also a flagship of North Rhine-Westphalia for the world. It shows that the people of the most populated (18 million people) federal state in Germany, situated right at the center of Europe, are willing to look beyond their own backyard and to support global engagement. The Center’s Annual Report bears witness to this. I wish BICC every success with its work in the future.

Armin Laschet
Minister for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration of the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia

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1 See: <www.mgffi.nrw.de/internationale-zusammenarbeit/index.php>.
The Annual Report 2007/2008 sets out to provide information on how BICC is engaging throughout the world at the nexus between development and peace in the fields of applied research, consultancy and capacity-building.

We have made it our mission to contribute towards peace and development by devising measures to prevent violent conflicts and to transform such conflicts constructively. Conflicts form an overarching work area. We loop our methods and topics to link applied research, consultancy and capacity-building. The projects described in the Annual Report reflect how we are redesigning and systematically developing our key foci in the fields of research and consultancy.

We are proud to have a very prominent guest author for this year’s Annual Report: Professor Dr. Hans Blix, Chair of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC), Stockholm, and a member of BICC’s International Board. His editorial deals with the opposing trends in global security. The data section of the Annual Report reflect how we are experiencing “a revival of Cold War politics without the Cold War—a Cold Peace if you will.” Blix defines the supreme objective as finding new approaches to abolishing all weapons of mass destruction.

We want to contribute to this objective with our project work on small arms control as small arms are currently the most commonly used weapons of mass destruction. A special training module is devoted to (safe) stockpiling and surplus weapons, as well as to marking and tracing of small arms and ammunition. BICC also intensified its consultancy and training work on small arms control in Southern Sudan, where it advised the government on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R) and organized workshops on the issue of small arms control, thereby involving civil society and the media.

BICC also offers an innovative approach to its database services. In 2007, the arms exports database (www.ruestungsexport.info) was extended to include an Internet-based maps component which provides additional multifaceted information. With its Resource Conflict Monitor (RCM), on the other hand, BICC has succeeded in developing a database on 90 countries which are rich in natural resources, but have only low or medium incomes. This database provides information on conflicts, resource governance and involvement in international treaties over the last 11 years. The RCM is part of BICC’s research work in select fields at the nexus between development and security.

BICC is project coordinator for the German branch of Fatal Transactions, an international campaign, which supports the just and fair exploitation of natural resources in Africa.

In Liberia, BICC worked within the framework of a European consortium to evaluate the UNDP program to reintegrate former combatants.

BICC’s study on the connection between security technologies and jobs, based on the example of Dusseldorf Airport, represents a very different kind of consultancy project. Other BICC projects, which come under the heading of applied research include the projects on the United Nations peace missions, the contribution made by German development cooperation to peacebuilding, as well as the role of the security sector in authoritarian regimes in Central Asia.

Finally, an international project sponsored by the European Union involves a completely new topic area for the Center. The project sets out to study the example of the Horn of Africa and consider the influence of the activities of diaspora communities on countries of origin and receiving countries as well as at the transnational level. The decision to include migration and diaspora research in its portfolio, means that for the first time BICC is now dealing with the interrelation between migration, integration, development and peace.

The sheer range of our work confronts us with special challenges which we have been able to master thanks to the high motivation of our staff, the excellent cooperation with our partners and the continued support of our funding agencies. The Annual Report 2007/2008 provides details of our work. We invite you to take part in the discussions.

Peter J. Croll
Director of BICC
We have the privilege to be living in an era of unprecedented global interdependence, international trade and cultural exchange. The spread of information is instant and there are virtually no limitations on our possibilities to travel around the globe. There are no longer any deep ideological divides and entrenchments between the big powers—rather these states are also entering a complex symbiosis of trade and other economic activities. The fear of a major showdown between superpowers has faded.

The world is slowly becoming a better and safer place for more and more people. The number of wars and armed conflicts is steadily decreasing and the numbers of casualties in the conflicts that do take place are fewer than before. The ambition to ensure security for states against threats and attacks from the outside has been complemented and expanded to a much broader ambition to ensure security for individuals against threats of hunger, natural and environmental disaster, violence and oppression—even when threatened by their home states.

Globalization has given us an incentive for international cooperation unparalleled in history. The nature of current threats to our security—and our ability to meet these threats—also forces us to work together. Viruses like avian flu travel anywhere without visa and must be stopped by common efforts. We have a common atmosphere—and we must jointly tackle the threat of global warming. Technological advances have also provided new methods and arenas for organized crime and terrorist networks. The threat posed by such groups knows no borders and we must work together to counter it.

The first world organization, the League of Nations, survived only some 20 years—between World War I and World War II. Its successor, the United Nations, has now lasted over 60 years.

At the same time, tensions are rebuilding between Russia and China on the one hand, and the United States and Western Europe on the other. Global military expenditure has reached levels well over one trillion US dollars annually. We have seen a total breakdown of international negotiations on arms control and disarmament. Discussions in international fora suffer from distrust and divisions.

Instead of conducting constructive negotiations we are moving towards new arms races, not intensified by conflicting political interests, but rather driven by strategic positioning for an uncertain future. The United States is determined to maintain absolute military supremacy and other powers are afraid to lose influence if they fall too far behind. We see a revival of Cold War politics without the Cold War—a Cold Peace if you will.

These are seemingly contradicting trends. The window of opportunity to create a new world order based on cooperative security that opened at the end of Cold War was left flapping in the wind and national security and defense policies continue in old tracks, while globalization explodes in other fields.

Peace and disarmament through cooperative security

To give an account of current trends in armament and disarmament, one needs first to look at current trends in international security in general. Any successful disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation must rest on the premise that states feel secure enough without weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to stay away from and to do away with them. This requires a credible international security architecture providing a sense of security for all states—not just the ones powerful enough to fend for themselves.

Let me therefore go through the current standing of the international legal rules restricting the use of force between states, which are part of that architecture.

The authors of the UN Charter, in San Francisco in 1945, were no pacifists. But they knew the horrors of war and in Article 2.4 of the Charter, they laid down a general prohibition of the threat or use of force between members. They made only two exceptions:
First, states have the right to use force in self-defense “if an armed attack occurs”, until the Security Council has taken the necessary measures. This right has generally been interpreted to comprise the use of force when an attack is ‘imminent’. States do not have to wait for the bombs to fall on their territory but can meet the bombers even outside the territory.

Second, the Security Council can decide on or authorize the use of force in a broader category of cases, namely, when it determines that there is a “threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.”

During the Cold War, Security Council action was largely blocked by the veto given to each of the five permanent members. However, the situation changed drastically when the Cold War ended. Consensus decisions became common in the Security Council. Most importantly, in 1991, the Council authorized the broad alliance created by President George H. Bush to use force to stop Iraq’s naked aggression against, and occupation of, Kuwait. President Bush spoke at the time of a new “world order”.

Regrettably, this order did not last. In March 2003, the Alliance of Willing States invaded Iraq in the absence of an armed attack or a direct threat posed by Iraq—and in the full awareness that the Security Council would not authorize the armed action. The political justification given for the Iraq war was above all the contention that Iraq retained and developed weapons of mass destruction in violation of Security Council resolutions. It is unlikely that any other argument would have persuaded the US congress or the UK parliament to authorize armed action.

The United States did not officially argue that the war was justified as a pre-emptive or preventive action against an Iraqi threat, but there is no doubt that this view was held. This conclusion is further supported by the US National Security Strategy, which had been published in September 2002. It stated flatly that a limitation of the right to use armed force in self-defense to cases where “armed attacks” were occurring or were “imminent” (the situations widely accepted as justifying action in self-defense) would be insufficient in the era of missiles and terrorists. Instead it stated that the United States felt free to intervene militarily—if necessary unilaterally and without any authorization from the United Nations—against any growing threat from ‘rogue states’ or terrorists. The United States needed no ‘permission slip’ from anyone.

As I see it, the 2002 strategy and the 2003 war show that the Bush administration threw the legal restrictions that the United States had helped to formulate in 1945 overboard. And it is hardly the UN Charter restrictions that, so far, have held back the United States in the case of Iran.

How damaging to the UN legal restrictions on the use of armed force the unauthorized 2003 invasion of Iraq really was is hard to say. Others disregarded the restrictions before, especially during the Cold War. However, such actions have not been preceded by national doctrines amounting to a renunciation of the restrictions.

It is certain that already existing doubts over the effectiveness of the UN Charter—doubts that had seemed to fade with the Gulf War in 1991 and the new potency of the Security Council—came back with a vengeance with the Iraq war in 2003. This is a potentially dangerous development. A freedom for every state unilaterally to launch preventive wars against any state they claim is a threat that would be destabilizing to say the least.

However, the window that opened at the end of the Cold War has not yet been completely shut. In fact, we may soon find ourselves back in a period of opportunity. The failure of the war in Iraq—a costly illustration of the limitations of military might—has lead even the current US administration to conclude that it cannot alone change the world. The administration is taking a considerably more cooperative and conciliatory approach to international security today than just a few years ago. I see it as a positive sign that former UN ambassador John Bolton has expressed serious dissatisfaction with the Bush administration’s current foreign policy.

“We see a revival of Cold War politics without the Cold War—a Cold Peace if you will.”
More important than the subtle shift in policy during the Bush administration’s last term in office, however, is the fact that issues of international relations and global peace and security have become hot topics in the US political debate. There is a chance for a renewed US leadership towards strengthened multilateral institutions and cooperative security after the election in November. I am not suggesting that this is the single silver bullet that would bring universal salvation. But surely, the international community would be better off with the United States in the driver seat in this development rather than slamming the breaks.

Reviving disarmament

During the Cold War, we worried about the risks of nuclear war and “Mutually Assured Destruction” (MAD). We were right to worry—and we came dangerously close to such a war on a few occasions. These fears, and commendable political leadership, led to direct negotiations and agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union on arms control and reductions in existing stockpiles. This development was continued during the first part of the 1990s: in 1993, the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) was concluded—after some 20 years of negotiation; in 1995, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was extended indefinitely; in 1996 the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) was adopted; and from a Cold War peak of some 55,000 nuclear warheads, the number has gone down to some 27,000.

The last decade, however, has been a dark period for international negotiations on arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation. The Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva, the principal international forum for disarmament negotiations, has been plagued by distrust, tactics, and blocked negotiations. For over ten years the Conference has not even been able to adopt a work program. Its latest achievement, the CTBT, has yet to enter into force. At the NPT Review Conference in May 2005, delegates could not even agree on a final document and at the UN Summit later the same year the whole section on disarmament and non-proliferation was taken out of the outcome document, as member states could not agree on the text.

The stalemate in international negotiations on disarmament is serious. What is even more serious, however, is the number of signs indicating that we are even moving back into renewed arms races. In the last few years, we have seen the US administration proposing to develop a new standard nuclear weapon (Reliable Replacement Warhead) and increasing its budget for the missile shield project to US $11 billion in 2007; China modernizing its armed forces and shooting down one of its own weather satellites, demonstrating a capability for military action in space; Russia resuming routine long-distance flights with nuclear armed planes; and the United Kingdom deciding to keep open the option of continuing the nuclear Trident submarine program. We have also witnessed North Korea dismiss international doubts over the country’s nuclear capabilities by detonating a nuclear device with at least partial success; and Iran continuing its development of a uranium enrichment capability that could in the future be used to produce material for nuclear weapons, destabilizing an already fragile region.

It is time we wake up to this reality and revive international disarmament efforts. The NPT remains the fundamental pillar of international efforts to rid the world of nuclear weapons. The grand bargain that constitutes the basis for the Treaty is designed to rid the world of all nuclear weapons. The Treaty committed the non-nuclear weapon states parties not to acquire nuclear weapons, while the then five nuclear weapon states bound themselves to negotiate in good faith toward nuclear disarmament.

Evidently, since there are now four more nuclear weapon states than in 1970 and still tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, the Treaty has not yet achieved its aims. Some even warn about a possible collapse of the Treaty and a ‘cascade’ of states developing nuclear weapons. However, in several respects the NPT has been a great success. Only three states, India, Israel and Pakistan, abstained from joining the Treaty. Further, it is only these three and—perhaps—North Korea that
are today new de facto nuclear weapon states. Iraq and Libya tried but were stopped. Iran is under suspicion. The good news is that the world is not milling with would-be nuclear weapon states.

It should also be noted that Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, that had nuclear weapons on their territories, transferred them to Russia and joined the NPT. South Africa, too, walked back from a nuclear weapon status. Others, including my own country Sweden, renounced nuclear weapons, and espoused the idea of a world free of such weapons.

But there is a lack of faith in the NPT today. States that have renounced nuclear weapons find it is not enough that the number of nuclear weapons has gone down since the Cold War. They see it as objectionable that the nuclear weapon states parties, which would be expected to draw up time tables for the phasing out of their arsenals, are in fact doing the opposite: working on time tables for the modernization of their weapons.

So, are there any prospects for the much-needed revival of arms control and disarmament? There are some important indications that we might be moving towards a period of opportunity and hope for international disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The article in Wall Street Journal, by former national security architects Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, William Perry and Sam Nunn in January 2007—and the follow up in 2008—have lit a new hope that it is possible to reach a broad political agreement on the necessity of moving towards disarmament. In the article these four seasoned statesmen and former US national security architects urged the United States take the lead in an initiative with the other nuclear weapon states in order to—stepwise—get to nuclear disarmament. The authors called for renewed leadership and courage to change the outdated Cold War posture of deployed nuclear weapons and to increase warning times to reduce the danger of accidental or unauthorized use. They also argued convincingly, from a security perspective, for further reductions of nuclear stockpiles, renewed efforts for the entry into force of the CTBT, and a negotiated ban on the production of fissile material for weapons purposes.

With new leadership in Washington, Moscow and elsewhere—a new generation of international leaders—the window of opportunity is once again open to redefine relationships and reconsider positions. It is time to turn away from outdated Cold War military strategies to collectively meet the challenges of the 21st century.

The major transformation of the international scene during the last decades, not least the development described above towards increasing global interdependence and the revolutionary technological progress, has fundamentally changed the threats to our security and the means needed for defense against these threats. Nuclear weapons have no meaningful role in the fight against international terrorism or in efforts to stop atrocities in ethnic conflicts. Today, there is no conceivable use for nuclear weapons and their deterrent effect is becoming increasingly ineffective. In regions where deterrence might be a real basis for security, other measures such as integration into the fabric of the international community, is likely to be more effective.

The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission—Steps towards disarmament

On 1 June 2006, the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, which I had the honor to chair, presented its Report: “Weapons of Terror: Freeing the World of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Arms.” The report is built around the unambiguous premise that “so long as any state has [weapons of mass destruction]—especially nuclear arms—others will want them. 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.” The Report was unanimously adopted by the 14 commissioners, distinguished experts with different backgrounds and from different parts of the world. It contains ideas from earlier works, but also a number of new recommendations. All in all 60 recommendations, 30 of which deal with nuclear weapons, point to possible ways forward on the path to the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. Two years after the launch of the Report, we have ac-

The Commission urged all parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to revert to the fundamental bargain of the Treaty. The regime is in need of restored credibility and confidence. We also proposed a large number of concrete measures to bring the disarmament agenda forward.

No measure, the Commission underlined, could be more important than bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) into force. Lacking ratifications from nine of the 44 Annex 2 States currently bar the Treaty from entering into force—China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan and the United States. The entry into force of the CTBT is vital for efforts to prevent the development of a new generation of nuclear weapons, and to help reduce reliance on nuclear deterrence in security policies. The entry into force of the CTBT would reset the clock for global nuclear disarmament, signaling to the world that leading states, once again, stand firmly behind their commitments to disarmament.

Despite the reluctance of some key states to ratify the CTBT, there is a strong political barrier against testing. Since the conclusion of the CTBT in 1996, only India, Pakistan and—last year—North Korea, have conducted tests. The reaction from the international community has been almost unanimous condemnation. North Korea’s test on 9 October 2006 was unanimously condemned by the Security Council—as were the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in May 1998. Notably, the North Korean test was explicitly held by the Security Council to constitute a threat to international peace and security and sanctions were imposed.

The second most urgent issue is to reach agreement on a verified treaty prohibiting the production of fissile material for weapons. Combined with a continued reduction in the number of existing nuclear weapons, a verified closing of the tap for more weaponusable fissile material would contribute to reducing the world inventory of bombs.

If reliance on nuclear power increases, as is expected, the need for a greater production of low-enriched uranium fuel and for the disposal of spent fuel can be anticipated. This must occur in a manner that does not increase the risks of proliferation and the diversion of nuclear materials. Various proposals are on the table, and the possibilities should be explored for international arrangements to ensure the availability of nuclear fuel for civilian reactors while minimizing the risk of weapon proliferation. The IAEA, where these matters are currently discussed, is the most suitable forum for such exploration. The production of highly-enriched uranium should be phased out.

Regional approaches should be pursued, especially in areas of tension. It would be desirable to obtain commitments from the states in the Middle East (including Iran and Israel) to accept a verified suspension of the production of enriched uranium and plutonium for a prolonged period of time, while obtaining international assurances of the supply of fuel for civilian nuclear power. Similar arrangements are foreseen for the Korean Peninsula.

Lastly, international professional inspections, as have been practiced by the United Nations, the IAEA, and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), remain an important and effective tool for verification, and should be utilized and developed. Such inspections do not conflict with national means of verification. Rather, these two fact-finding methods can supplement each other. Many states have no national means that they can use and should not have to be dependent upon the intelligence gathering of other states. States that do operate such intelligence resources may,
in one-way-traffic arrangements, provide information to the international verification systems. International reports can also offer governments a chance for a quality check on their national systems and corroboration of their conclusions.

Final remarks

One of the main challenges of this generation of political leaders is to deal with the astounding capacity that mankind has gained for war and destruction—manifested in its worst form by nuclear weapons. It is absolutely necessary to revive disarmament and redouble our efforts to prevent further proliferation of such weapons. The security threats of today cannot be met by a Cold War approach to security. We need cool-headed analysis of the real challenges ahead, and modern responses to counter the threats.

While some developments are truly worrying, on balance, I believe the prospect for peace and disarmament is good. We do not need a new roadmap or a groundbreaking political formula. The path forward may not be easy, but it is known. The blueprints for progress are on the table. A heavy responsibility rests with the states possessing nuclear weapons—but we must all do our part.

Hans Blix

Prof. Dr. Hans Blix is Chair of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC) and member of BICC’s International Board.
The overall trend toward global re-armament, which began in the late 1990s and sharply accelerated following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, continued throughout 2006, the latest year for which comprehensive data was available. Between 2001 and 2006, global military expenditure increased in real terms by approximately 30 percent (see Figure 1). As for 2006, it amounted to an estimated US $1.179 billion at international market exchange rates (MER) for constant 2005 prices. The US defense spending alone comprises nearly half of this, namely US $528 billion. To a large extent, the continual rise of the US military budget over the last six years thus accounts for the overall growth of global defense expenditure over the same period. Yet, global defense spending has also increased regardless of the United States, albeit at a comparably lower growth rate of only 15 percent between 2001 and 2006. Of 171 countries examined by BICC, 69 have clearly increased their defense budgets over the past two years, whereas a visible and lasting reduction of military spending could be found in only 22 countries.

Within the OECD, government spending on the military was about nine times as high as spending on development. Whereas official development assistance amounted to about US $104 billion in 2006, the 30 OECD member states spent US $891 billion on defense.

Apart from the United States, in 2006 the countries with the largest military budgets were the United Kingdom (US $59 billion), France (US $53 billion), China (US $50 billion) and Japan (US $44 billion). However, it needs to be noted that these figures are calculated in market exchange rates and exclusively restricted to governmental allocations, mostly to defense ministries. As such, they do not necessarily indicate the actual amount of resources available to the military apparatus, nor do they always reflect its relative size and capacity. For example, the above figure on US defense spending does not take into account those resources spent on the ‘war on terror’, which are largely provided through extra-budgetary supplements (approximately US $120 billion in 2006). Moreover, many military establishments—most notably the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army—engage in income-generating activities, the profit of which is usually not added to the official state budget. The same is true for Indonesia, where official government expenses on defense are estimated to account for only one-third of the total resources available to the military.

Finally, it may also make sense to display military expenditure in gross national product-level purchasing power parity (PPP) when attempting to compare the defense budgets of two or more states. Particularly when the states in question possess large domestic arms industries. However, the data thus produced relies heavily on rough estimates and is therefore not very reliable. For instance, considering PPP estimates as well as revenues generated by the military itself, 2006 Chinese military expenditure—undoubtedly a lot higher than the official US $50 billion—according to different sources may vary between US $117 billion and US $188 billion.

Military expenditure by region

Although global military expenditure has generally increased, a regional perspective reveals considerable differences. The regions spending by far the most money in absolute terms on the military are North America and

Figure 1: Estimated global military expenditure, 2001–2006, in billion US dollars (at market exchange rates constant 2005 prices)

![Figure 1: Estimated global military expenditure, 2001–2006, in billion US dollars (at market exchange rates constant 2005 prices)](image)

1 This includes not only the budget of the US Department of Defense but also military-related spending of other government bodies, most notably the Department of Energy.

2 The data differs from that provided in the previous Annual Report of BICC, since US dollar figures were calculated in accordance to a different base year.
Western Europe (see Table 1). Whereas, however, defense spending in North America has risen by 52 percent between 2001 and 2006—more than in any other region in the world—in Western Europe it has increased by only four percent over the same period. Western Europe is thus the region with the smallest growth rate in terms of defense spending worldwide. Indeed, since 2004, military expenditure has actually been declining, mainly due to a reduction in the defense budgets in Germany and Italy (see Box on armament trends in Germany).

In Central/South Asia, East/South-East Asia, Middle East/North Africa as well as Eastern Europe/Caucasia/Russia military expenditure has increased at an average of 25 to 30 percent since 2001. In South Asia, military spending is fueled most notably by the ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir region. Despite a number of tentative confidence-building measures following the ceasefire of 2003, the arms race goes on as both countries have continued to build up their militaries. Increased armament as a result of regional tensions is also discernible in parts of East/South-East Asia, where—above all—China, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore are devoting a growing amount of resources toward expanding their military sector. In particular, China’s military spending, according to some sources, increased by 77 percent between 2001 and 2006, although due to lack of transparency the precise figure remains a matter of great controversy. In 2007, China renewed its threats to attack Taiwan should it declare independence.

Regional instability in the Middle East has prompted a number of countries in the area to expand their military capacities. Above all, Iran and Saudi-Arabia are competing for regional influence by means of military power projection. Notable increases could also be observed in Kuwait and Oman. Since 2001, not a single country in the region has engaged in a sustained effort to reduce military expenditure.

A more mixed picture is encountered in Eastern Europe. On the one hand, Russian military expenditure grew considerably between 2001 and 2006. In 2007, as a response to the United States’ plans to establish a missile defense system in Eastern Europe, Russia announced its intentions to further boost its military spending in the years to come. On the other hand, a number of Eastern European countries have reduced their defense spending since 2001. This is most obviously the case in the Balkans, with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia having decreased their military budgets by altogether approximately 30 percent. Croatia, Macedonia and Albania are engaged in extensive defense reform processes with the goal of establishing small, modern, effective, deployable and professional armies.3

Table 1: Military expenditure by region, 2001–2006, in billion US dollars (at market exchange rates constant 2005 prices)

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<th>Region</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>542</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
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<td>231</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/South-East Asia</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East/North Africa</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>63</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central/South Asia</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australasia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 See: BICC brief 34.
Apart from Australasia, the regions allocating the least amount of resources to the military are also the poorest in terms of economic and human development. In both Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, military expenditure increased by an average of only 10 percent between 2001 and 2006. While military spending in Colombia and Chile has significantly grown, Guatemala, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic and Uruguay all seem to be engaged in a long-term process of reducing their defense budget. Likewise, in Sub-Saharan Africa, Liberia has significantly cut down its defense expenditure as part of the extensive demobilization program following the end of the civil war in 2003.

Military expenditure and development

Countries’ trends in defense spending tend to vary with regard to their overall degree of development. States which were classified by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as having a high level of human development increased their military expenditure by altogether 29 percent between 2001 and 2006 (but only by 7 percent when disregarding the defense budget of the United States). By way of comparison, military spending grew at a significantly faster pace in countries with medium human development, namely by 50 percent over the same period. The smallest growth rate in military expenditure was encountered in states with low human development. Here, defense budgets increased by only 8 percent between 2001 and 2006 (see Figure 2).

With the exception of the United States, the ongoing global trend toward re-armament is most pronounced in large, ‘up-and-coming’ developing countries with rapidly growing economies, such as China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Russia. By contrast, military expenditure in highly industrialized and wealthy states, particularly in Western Europe, tends to remain rather constant or is even declining.

Also, the worldwide growth in defense spending is not mirrored in the poorest countries. This is not to say, however, that in many least developed areas of the world excessive military expenditure may yet seriously impair human development. For example, in Central Asia and a few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, government spending on the military exceeds the resources devoted to the health sector (see Table 2).
Military expenditure has risen once again since 2006

Germany’s military expenditure is rather low by European standards and fell by a total of approximately nine percent in the period between 2001 and 2006. Although Germany takes third place behind France and United Kingdom in absolute terms, the German defense budget amounted to just 1.3 percent of Gross Domestic Product in 2006 and was thus well below the Western European average of 1.7 percent.

However, 2006 saw the beginning of a new trend in German defense policy: military expenditure began to rise once again—initially from €27.87 billion in 2006 to €28.4 billion in 2007. Departmental Budget 14 of the new budget, which was approved by the Bundestag on 30 November 2007, makes funds of €29.45 billion available for the defense budget in 2008. It appears that this gradual increase in German military expenditure is to be continued in future budgets and is due to pass the €30 billion mark by 2010.

Increasing investments but falling operating expenses

Furthermore, a shift in the use of these resources is also becoming apparent. The funds available for military investments rose by 1.3 percent between 2007 and 2008. There are plans to increase the share of investments in the defense budget from the current level of approximately 25 percent to 30 percent by 2012. Parallel to this increase in investments, the share of operating expenses is to fall. Savings can be seen in the field of personnel in particular. The number of Bundeswehr soldiers dropped by approximately 20 percent between 2001 and 2008, from 308,400 (2001) to 244,800 (2008). This reduction was achieved inter alia by outsourcing more and more functions to private companies, particularly in the fields of logistics, maintenance and IT.

On the one hand, the increase in overall expenditure coupled with savings in operating expenses is intended to ensure that sufficient funding is available in the future for the Bundeswehr’s expensive missions abroad. In early 2008, the Bundeswehr was participating in eight foreign missions involving a total of approximately 6,640 soldiers. The largest of these missions were the ISAF mission in Afghanistan (3,350 soldiers) and the KFOR mission in Kosovo (2,200 soldiers). These missions cost a total of approximately one billion Euro per year and in the past were usually considerably more expensive than originally foreseen in the budget.

On the other hand, the increase in investment expenditure is intended to fund the procurement of new, and the modernization of existing, weapon systems. For example, the Army is planning to purchase 272 Boxer armored personnel carriers at a cost of €891 million. The firm of ARTEC GmbH in Munich, which is owned inter alia by the German firms Krauss-Maffei Wegmann and Rheinmetall, has been commissioned to produce these vehicles. Four Class 125 frigates have also been ordered at a cost of €2.2 billion, as have two Class 212A submarines for €864 million. These are all to be delivered by 2012/13. The Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft and the Nordseewerke are involved in their production. Finally, the German branch of the Eurocopter Group has also received an order, initially for €176.6 million, for the comprehensive modernization of the Bundeswehr’s CH-53 transport helicopter fleet.

German military exports

The German defense ministry is not the only important customer for German arms firms. Exports of German military equipment also rose considerably in 2006. Although the value of exports of war weapons was lower than in 2005 at €1.3 billion compared to €1.6 billion, the value of individual and collective exports licenses for military equipment rose from €6.2 billion (2005) to €7.7 billion (2006). Military equipment worth €933 million was exported to developing countries in 2006. Germany has thus become the biggest exporter of military equipment in the European Union and the world’s third largest exporter behind the United States and Russia.

mvb
“In 2006, an estimated 27.73 million people were enlisted in national armed forces.”

Global trends in military and paramilitary personnel

Despite the global increase in military expenditure, the number of personnel employed in military and paramilitary forces has slightly declined since 2001 (see Table 3). In 2006, an estimated 27.73 million people were enlisted in national armed forces, which constituted a decrease of approximately two percent when compared to 2001. This suggests that additional financial resources are invested primarily in acquiring new weapons systems and/or modernizing existing ones.

Table 2: Comparison of military expenditure and health expenditure, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Military expenditure/GDP (in %)</th>
<th>Health expenditure/GDP (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyz Republic</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Saharan Africa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Personnel in state military and paramilitary forces, 2001–2006, in million

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.24</td>
<td>28.17</td>
<td>27.99</td>
<td>28.10</td>
<td>27.86</td>
<td>27.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Countries with the largest military and paramilitary forces (2006), number of soldiers in million

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Military and paramilitary personnel according to region

By far the most soldiers are enlisted in East Asia, particularly in China, which has the largest armed forces in terms of personnel worldwide (see Table 4). China is, however, planning to reduce the overall size of its army, while at the same improving training and equipment of personnel. Another notable surge could be observed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East/South-East Asia</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central/South Asia</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East/North Africa</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe, Caucasia and Russia</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australasia</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 This figure only considers state forces; it does not include personnel enlisted in or employed by non-state armed groups.
in Indonesia, namely from 492,000 soldiers in 2001 to 582,000 in 2006. Despite this increase, the Indonesian armed forces still struggle to maintain stability over the vast territory of the country. In 2007, violent clashes between Muslims and Christians were still commonplace in many areas of Indonesia.

Despite the overall global trend toward a reduction of armed forces personnel, in Central/South Asia, Latin America and North America the number of soldiers and/or paramilitaries has grown by an average between four and eight percent. The most significant increase is certainly the surge of the United States’ armed forces from 1.48 million soldiers in 2001 to 1.8 million in 2006 in response to the personnel requirements of large-scale overseas deployments in the ‘war on terror’.

The number of soldiers in the Middle Eastern countries declined by about four percent between 2001 and 2006. A main reason for this development is, of course, the dissolution of the Iraqi armed forces following the United States’ invasion in 2003. However, quite a few other countries in the region have continually expanded the size of their military apparatus. A case in point is Saudi Arabia. As part of its overall armament process, the size of the armed forces increased from 217,000 to 241,000 between 2001 and 2006.

By contrast, European states have tended to downsize their armed forces. In Western Europe, the number of soldiers decreased by nine percent between 2001 and 2006, mainly due to force reductions in Germany and the United Kingdom (see Box on armament trends in Germany). However, the most pronounced downsizing of armed forces took place in Eastern Europe, where the number of soldiers declined by 15 percent as a result of demobilization on the Balkans (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia) as well as defense reform programs of the new NATO members.

In Sub-Saharan Africa demobilization programs in Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia and Angola have also contributed to an overall cutback of 12 percent in armed forces personnel.

Trend in arms imports by region, 2001–2006

In absolute terms, the largest amount of weaponry was exported to East Asia and the Middle East between 2001 and 2006 (see Table 6). Over that period, China was the world’s biggest importer of arms, receiving weapons systems worth approximately US $26.680 million, mainly combat aircraft from Russia. Russia exported aircraft technology to Laos, too, which spent more than 50 percent of its total military expenditure between 2001 and 2006 on acquiring arms on the international market (see Table 7). The Communist government of Laos is engaged in a long-running conflict with Royalist forces of the ethnic Hmong population. According to human rights reports, the Laotian military launched several organized attacks against civilians throughout 2007.

In the Middle East, the United Arab Emirates spent more money on arms imports than any other country in the region, amounting to altogether US $10.810 million since 2001. The main suppliers to the United Arab Emirates were France and the United States, which delivered mainly missiles and combat aircraft.
Table 6: Arms imports by region, 2001–2006, in million US dollars at constant 2005 prices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Million US dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East/South-East Asia</td>
<td>49.440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East/North Africa</td>
<td>39.498</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>25.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central/South Asia</td>
<td>22.149</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>21.407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>9.726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australasia</td>
<td>7.393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>6.659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>6.332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Greece was the by far the largest European importer of arms. Since 2001, it bought weaponry worth about US $11.870 million mainly from France and the United States (missiles, combat helicopters, aircraft) and Germany (mostly tanks). The second and third largest arms importers were the United Kingdom (US $5.060 million worth of imports) and Italy (US $3.299 million), with the United States being the main supplier to both. By contrast, the militaries of France and Germany relied less on external arms imports, which amounted to a share of respectively only 0.1 and 0.5 percent of total defense spending between 2001 and 2006. Both countries, like the United States, acquire weapons primarily from the domestic arms industry rather than from imports.

In South Asia, most arms were imported by India, which is the second largest importer of weapons worldwide with a total of US $16.590 million and Pakistan (US $3.666 million). Whereas Russia was the by far most important supplier of weapons to India, most Pakistani arms imports were of Chinese origin. However, both countries also received considerable amounts of weaponry from member states of the European Union. Despite the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports from 1998, which prohibits the export of weaponry should it contribute toward fostering regional instability (Criterion 4), EU arms exports amounted to about US $1.876 billion to India and about US $1.076 billion to Pakistan between 2001 and 2006. Moreover, in 2007 Pakistan concluded a deal worth €1.2 billion to purchase three German-made U-214 submarines.

In Latin America, most arms were exported to Chile, which received a total of US $2.882 billion worth of weapons systems, mainly submarines (from France and Spain) and frigates (from the Netherlands and the United Kingdom). In Sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa has also invested considerable resources in modernizing its naval forces. Since 2001, it has received submarines and frigates from Germany, making it the largest recipient of weapons in absolute terms on the continent.

In relative terms, above all Eritrea has spent huge amounts of resources on acquiring arms. Indeed, between 2001 and 2006 its arms imports comprised more than 70 percent of its total military expenditure (see Table 7). Almost all arms exports to Eritrea were of Russian origin and mainly consisted of combat aircraft. Given renewed tension in the border conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2007, these considerable arms imports mark a particularly worrisome development.

Table 7: Largest importers of arms as share of total military expenditure, 2001–2006, in percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gambia</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equatorial Guinea</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2006, the share of global military expenditure in global gross domestic product (GDP) amounted to 2.7 percent, global per capita defense spending to US $180. The worldwide ratio of civilians to soldiers was 251:1. Table 8 shows, however, that the degree of militarization differed vastly from region to region.
With respect to the share of defense spending as part of GDP and the number of citizens per soldier, the Middle East was the most militarized region in the world. This is particularly evident in Syria, Oman and Saudi Arabia (see Table 9). By contrast, Sub-Saharan Africa as well as Latin America showed the least military capacities relative to GDP and citizens. Nevertheless, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa quite a few countries, such as Angola, Burundi or Guinea Bissau, displayed a degree of militarization far above the global average. In Eritrea, the ratio between citizens and soldiers was 14:1.

Marc von Boemcken

Table 9: Countries with the highest share of military expenditure/GDP, 2006, in percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kyrgyz Republic</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Militarization according to region, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Military expenditure as share of GDP (in %)</th>
<th>Military expenditure per capita (in US dollars)</th>
<th>Citizens per soldier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle East/North Africa</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1,648</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe, Caucasia and Russia</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central/South Asia</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/South-East Asia</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australasia</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on Data

Data for military expenditure, military personnel and arms imports is largely based on estimates published by both the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London. By the time of writing, the latest available year for military data was 2006, and thus most findings consider regional military trends for the period from 2001 to 2006. Especially for developing countries, data on defense-related aspects is often arrived at by speculation rather than actual evidence. Indeed, individual figures quite often vary considerably depending on the source consulted.
Project reports
New data base service analyzes natural resource wealth and conflict

On 12 March 2008, BICC presented a new English language data base service, the Resource Conflict Monitor (RCM). With the support of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, BICC experts have been able to develop a data base on 90 resource-rich countries, which over the past eleven years gives an insight into the effects of resource governance on the relationship between natural resources and violent conflict.

Conflicts are by no means the logical consequence of the existence of natural resources and their use by different parties. Greater efforts are needed to test how a better understanding of the way in which natural resources are governed could contribute to conflict prevention and transformation measures. This is exactly where the BICC Resource Conflict Monitor steps in.

The importance of resource governance for the resource-conflict dynamic can be shown with two examples: The export of timber, diamonds and minerals supplies Botswana with the necessary funds for the development of the country. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) shows a totally different picture. Here, the wealth of natural resources can indeed be called a curse, as it contributed to the financing of bloody conflicts, while the population suffered from extreme poverty, corruption and the failure of its government.

Curse or blessing? The examples of Botswana and the DR Congo

One look at the Resource Conflict Monitor—www.bicc.de/rcm/—provides more facts. Charts give a direct overview of conflicts, resource governance and the involvement in international control and protection regimes.

We learn about the DR Congo: From 1997 to 2005, a highly violent conflict raged across the country, which only abated in 2005 and 2006. Resource governance comprises indicators such as regime type, civil liberties, freedom of assembly and association, workers’ rights as well as the compliance with international agreements. The rate here lies between 2 and 3 on a scale of 10 points. The compliance with international regimes is measured with the Resource Regime Compliance Index (RRCI) in an independent curve, which indicates the commitment to twenty international agreements, amongst which are the Convention of the Safety and Health in Mines, the Convention against Child Labor, but also the Kyoto-Protocol on ecological questions and the Kimberley Process for the trade with conflict-free diamonds. The curve moves between 2 and 8 and shows that commitment to international control regimes has apparently received very low priority during the war in the DRC.

In Botswana, there is a totally different picture: No conflict in the past eleven years; resource governance lies at an average of 6.29, and the curve of the Resource Regime Compliance Index lies between 7 and 9.

“Where development succeeds, countries become progressively safer from violent conflict, making subsequent development easier. Where development fails, countries are at high risk of becoming caught in a conflict trap in which war wrecks the economy and increases the risk of further wars,” is the thesis of Paul Collier, Director of the Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University.

Empirically-based insights into resource governance of 90 countries

The Resource Conflict Monitor combines secondary data on natural resources, conflict and resource governance for 90 countries. It follows the hypotheses:

- The higher the resource dependence, the higher the risk/level of intensity of violent conflict.
- Good resource governance (represented by the Resource Governance Index (RGI)) reduces the duration/level of intensity of violent conflict.
- Good resource governance increases the prospects of durable peace and reduces the risk of violent conflict.
The data base provides an empirical measure of resource governance with the aim to contribute to discussions on new policy options and instruments to improve and support good resource governance in conflict-prone developing countries. Database and website are planned to be updated on a regular basis. BICC experts intend to address the question in how far a propensity for conflict depends on the existence of certain natural resources or their mode of extraction. Finally, country studies are planned to shed light on regional developments and the implementation of resource governance.

Based on the evaluation of the comprehensive data, BICC concludes that improving resource governance, including the integration of international control regimes and conventions, should be a key focus of development assistance. Resource governance, good governance and transparency are fostered by the cooperation on the international, regional, national and local level.

Susanne Heinke

Developing peace

United Nations peace missions grant civil stakeholders and development cooperation instruments a central role in tackling the structural causes of conflict by peaceful means and establishing a stable peace. In a preliminary study on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), BICC has taken initial stock of the contribution made by German development cooperation (DC) to United Nations peace missions and has developed a theoretical model for studying the projects of German development stakeholders with regard to their relevance within the peace process.

The term peacebuilding, on which BICC’s preliminary study is based, covers the “sum of all measures to establish local, social, political and economic capacities within the framework of a peace process with the aim of developing and consolidating the corresponding societal and institutional structures for the long-term avoidance of a relapse into violence”.

Aims and phases of peace processes

A sustainable peace process must guarantee security and create stable state institutions. A further decisive factor is that it must deal with the socio-economic causes of conflict. Civil and military stakeholders perform tasks in four closely related sectors:

- Security and public order;
- Governance and participation;
- Justice and reconciliation;
- Socio-economic well-being.

But how can the peace process be firmly anchored in society? How can it play an active part in establishing peaceful and stable structures? Not only must the DC activities be devoted to special infrastructure measures in all sectors, they must also contribute to improving and stabilizing relations between the societal groups. Mindsets such as ‘attitudes towards conflict’ and ‘enemy images’ must also be taken into account in order to promote sustainable development and positive peace.

Peacebuilding through German DC—A stocktaking

The preliminary study shows that, in addition to emergency measures, German DC remains particularly active in the classical fields of development policy, i.e. promoting infrastructure and the economy, providing support for education, training and employment, and improving health care. However, in recent years in particular, stakeholders have also engaged increasingly in peace consolidation, especially in the fields of DD&R (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, under the ‘security’ heading), transitional justice (under the ‘justice and reconciliation’ heading), as well as support for good governance.

Based on the examples of Cambodia and Sierra Leone, the project analyzes in how far German DC stakeholders provide a contribution towards implementing the goals stated above. The BICC study also considers the situation in Croatia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda and Timor-Leste.

Example Sierra Leone

All in all, GTZ, KfW and InWEnt have implemented 18 German DC projects since the peace agreement was signed in 1999. The German contribution to DC represents an attempt a) to help stabilize society and overcome social injustices, for example the collapse of the education sector and lack of economic and social prospects for children, adolescents and young adults, b) to reintegrate former combatants and c) to reconcile the warring parties as quickly and as sustainably as possible.

German DC stakeholders have played an active role in all areas of the peace process in Sierra Leone from the very beginning. Their attention has been focused primarily on sustainable social and economic rebuilding, usually with the specific aim of contributing towards improving interpersonal relations. Many of the measures also aim at effecting a change in attitudes or perceptions through peace education or promoting peace-

ful coexistence. Measures have included support for awareness campaigns and sensitization, reconciliation and inter-ethnic dialogue, as well as psycho-social counseling, peace education and steps to encourage peaceful coexistence.

Further need for research in a follow-up study

It is not possible to predict at the present time in how far these measures will actually lead to a cooperative attitude motivated by the desire for peace on the part of the people of Sierra Leone and to a reduction in the enormous potential for social conflict which still exists. The lack of long-term data means that any predictions made here can only be of a very speculative nature. Nevertheless, the study shows that values and attitudes represent a very important component of peace development as far as DC stakeholders in the field are concerned and that it is essential to consider these aspects, particularly in the course of efforts towards stabilization and consolidation.

The current study provides an initial insight into the profile of German public-sector development cooperation: at the same time, however, it also illustrates the need for deeper analysis. The next step now should be to complement the current study with a detailed evaluation of project (implementation) details. This would require interviews with project staff at the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) as well as the implementing organizations, since research has shown that the quality of data depends significantly on the ‘institutional memory’ of individual staff members. The preliminary study has produced a number of concrete recommendations for the objectives of a detailed follow-up study:

- Systematic analysis of all relevant German state and non-state stakeholders in the field of DC;
- Determination of best practice examples, paying particular attention to multi-national coordination, on the one hand, and the involvement of the local population, on the other.

Volker Franke
Southern Sudan: Dialogue and awareness-raising for SALW control and DD&R

From August 2007 to March 2008, BICC implemented a capacity-building project on small arms control and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R) in Southern Sudan. Working with local partners, members of civil society and the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), BICC delivered four workshops on various aspects of small arms and light weapons (SALW) control and another four training courses on DD&R. In addition, BICC worked with local media and outreach groups to raise awareness of these issues among a wider audience. The project, which is a follow-up project of other BICC activities in Southern Sudan was supported by the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT).

Despite the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, armed violence continues to plague the people of Southern Sudan. Small arms are still held and misused by civilians and armed forces alike, exacerbating inter-ethnic disputes and mistrust.

There is a need for greater dialogue, awareness and understanding of security and arms control issues in Southern Sudan. And not just from the top-down, but also the bottom-up—civilians and communities are critical stakeholders and their participation is necessary for enhancing peace and security. BICC’s approach to capacity-building therefore targeted not only the government, but also civil society. Through the transfer of knowledge, skills and materials, the Center’s efforts aimed to have a multiplier effect that reaches far beyond our courses, and which places ownership on the Southern Sudanese themselves.

Building capacity for DD&R...

In 2007, the Government body responsible for DD&R in the South—the Southern Sudan DDR Commission (SSDRC)—established a network of field offices and personnel across the ten States to be responsible for implementing a new country-wide DD&R strategy. This strategy aims at the gradual demobilization of significant numbers of soldiers in the North and the South. For example, in 2008, the SSDRC will be responsible for overseeing the demobilization of an initial 25,000 soldiers, with another 20,000 soldiers to follow soon thereafter.

To support the smooth and effective implementation of this process, BICC conducted a training program for professional staff of the SSDRC at headquarters and in the field. At the request of the SSDRC, and in close coordination with relevant United Nations (UN) agencies, over 80 men and women from the Commission received training on the technicalities, best practices and international standards of DD&R in a series of four courses held in Rumbek (Lakes State), Malakal (Upper Nile) and Juba (Central Equatoria). The courses were based on the UN’s Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS) with modifications to the Southern Sudanese context, and delivered by an international team of trainers.

... and SALW control

In parallel, BICC also delivered four civil society workshops in partnership with Pact Sudan, World Vision Sudan and the Institute for the Promotion of Civil Society (IPCS). Close to 100 participants were given an introduction to small arms issues, including an understanding of existing and possible SALW control mechanisms, the difference between SALW control and DD&R, and the role of civil society. While the content remained similar, the ultimate objectives of the workshops held in Bor (Jonglei), Yambio (Western Equatoria), Mayendit (Unity State), and Yei (Central Equatoria), differed according to the participants and the local context.

The success is therefore measured not only through the degree of knowledge transferred by the workshops, but also the degree to which this understanding is applied and spread through dialogue, performances, and other awareness-raising activities.

The hardest part is not convincing participants that SALW should be controlled, but rather in convincing them that they can do something about it. As of yet, Southern Sudan does not have a national arms control program, therefore much is left to the State and County authorities. This is why BICC encourages participants to use their position of influence with these authorities and their communities to bring about positive change. In so doing, BICC experts hope to create fertile ground upon which a broader arms control program can one day take root.
Spreading awareness through media

This year, BICC added a new awareness-raising component to complement its training activities. Working with local media partners, BICC supported the development of print material, songs and videos on SALW control and DD&R for distribution across Southern Sudan. One partner, the Southern Sudan Artists Association (SSAA), recorded four anti-SALW songs and music videos, while the Juba Post ran a series of inserts on DD&R and arms control issues. BICC also created its first ever comic book on disarmament and post-conflict issues in Southern Sudan for distribution across the region. These materials not only aim to promote a national dialogue on security and arms control issues, but to also entertain! They can be accessed at www.bicc.de/sudan.

Southern Sudan has suffered from conflict and insecurity for far too long. The signing of the CPA not only ushered in a time to rebuild the damage that was done through decades of war, but also to prevent such devastation from happening again. Through training and education on SALW control and DD&R, BICC helped build the capacity of the Government of Southern Sudan and its people to achieve this end.

Elvan Isikozlu

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<tr>
<th>Project Title:</th>
<th>Capacity-building on SALW control and DD&amp;R in Southern Sudan</th>
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<td>Duration:</td>
<td>August 2007 to March 2008</td>
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<td>Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)</td>
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<td>Coordination:</td>
<td>Wolf-Christian Paes</td>
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<td>Collaboration:</td>
<td>Dr. Michael Ashkenazi, Elvan Isikozlu, Lydia Stone</td>
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<td>Publication:</td>
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In 2007, a web-based interactive map component was added to the arms export database, which BICC has been using since 2006 to study how 170 countries comply with the requirements of the EU Code of Conduct for Arms Exports. An interactive map of the world provides access to the various contents of the database. It provides a global overview, enables a comparison of different countries in the global context or a regional analysis of specific world regions by zooming in on the map. The introduction of the WebGIS (Internet-based Geographic Information System) has significantly improved the database’s ability to provide in-depth analyses and evaluations.

Information on how 170 states are complying with the EU Code of Conduct for Arms Exports has been available at www.ruestungsexporte.de since 2006. BICC is continuously compiling various types of publicly accessible data on arms, the armed forces, security and governance. This data is assessed and graded according to the following seven categories of the EU Code of Conduct:

- UN and EU arms embargoes;
- Human rights;
- Good governance;
- Internal conflicts;
- Unauthorized re-exports;
- Behavior in the international community;
- Comparison of military and non-military capacities.

A color scale indicates the situation in the individual states with regard to each respective category: “green” is for safe, “yellow” for somewhat critical and “red” for extremely problematical.

More user-friendly accessibility of contents through maps

Maps have literally come alive, due not least to the Internet and to programs such as Google Maps and Google Earth. More than ever before, maps have become an everyday tool which is available to everyone. They are also being used increasingly as both an analytical and visualization tool in peace and conflict research, as well as in political consultancy.

Maps offer a genuine alternative to classical information carriers, such as databases, tables and written texts. They arouse our curiosity because they reveal information on complex subject matters at a glance and, more importantly, indicate connections which can otherwise only be found through lengthy research. In addition, digital, web-based maps interact with the user. He or she decides on the choice of levels and whether to zoom in on a particularly interesting area of the map. The map updates itself automatically after every interaction. Digital maps and web-based maps in particular provide us with a quick overview which we could otherwise only gain by painstakingly comparing the information on each specific country in the database.

Making the issue of arms exports more comprehensible—via interactive maps

The aim of the arms export database is to establish transparency, to demonstrate the obvious as well as deeper correlations. The database is intended to facilitate a critical study of the question of approving arms exports. By using web-based maps in this context BICC is aiming to increase this transparency even further. Through access to interactive maps, the users are provided with a quick, global, comparative overview of the situation with regard to the given criteria mentioned above. They are also given an overview of the countries receiving German military goods and weapons. Furthermore, by superimposing these different levels of information, BICC is able to generate a new quality in the data provided by the database. Information which could otherwise only be obtained by a meticulous comparison of country-specific data in the database is now only a mouse-click away. For example, one can see at a glance how the countries which receive German arms behave with regard to various criteria or an individual criterion. These interactive maps can also be printed as pdf. files or exported as graph files for further use.
Figure 1 shows the criterion of “Human Rights Situation” of the receiving countries superimposed with the arms exports which have been approved. One can see immediately that arms exports have been approved to many countries which are considered “highly problematical”.

In both examples, the superimposing of various information levels and the information provided prompt further questions. The user is challenged to take a closer, more critical look at the results shown or the individual countries depicted. It is up to the user to zoom in on the maps, to mark individual countries and to pose additional questions, which will produce further details from the database. The results of this search provide links with other projects or database pages. Here, as in the past, the user will find references and explanations regarding sources and the formulae used for calculations together with detailed portraits of the countries selected. These country portraits were last updated in Spring 2007. The number of pageviews (around 200,000) and visits (approx. 60,000) show, by the way, that a considerable number of web-users have made use of this service already since 2006.

The discussion on arms exports often suffers from a lack of information on the situation in the receiving countries, which is the basis for approving European arms exports. Using comprehensive and carefully selected material, BICC’s Internet service on arms exports makes reliable information more easily available. It allows a well-founded evaluation of planned arms exports by making this information more transparent. The database is funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and is a valuable tool for the Ministry’s decisions on arms exports as a member of the Federal Security Council. Linking the database with a WebGIS application was a logical step to further enhance this transparency.

Lars Wirkus

Project title: Security, armaments and development in countries receiving German arms exports
Duration: September 2007 to January 2009
Supported by: German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
Project leader: Marc von Boemcken
Collaboration: Lars Wirkus, Clara Fischer, Markus Kessel
Publication: Cf. “List of Publication”
When female combatants become seamstresses—Reintegration in Liberia

More than 100,000 former combatants in the civil war in Liberia have been demobilized. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the lead agency responsible for their reintegration, whilst other international donors, including the European Union and the United States, are providing financial contributions and organizing their own parallel programs.

Joyce Wea is sitting at an old Singer sewing machine and is sewing a colorful children’s dress. It is hot and sticky under the tin roof. Outside the mid-day sun is beating down on the bustling main street of Pleebo, a small town in the southeast of Liberia, near the border to Côte d’Ivoire. But the heat does not appear to bother Joyce or the sixteen other women who are being trained as seamstresses here. The women, aged between eighteen and forty, seem to radiate a zest for life. There is nothing to show that just a few years ago they were members of the much feared militias under the former President Charles Taylor.

Their biographies vary considerably: Whereas most of them had to carry loads, tend the wounded and cook for the soldiers, some of then fought voluntarily with a weapon in their hand, some even attaining officer rank. Like most women in Liberia, many of these women have experienced sexual violence and were forcibly ‘married’ off to older soldiers in the bush. The offsprings of these relationships play on the floor of the workshop, whilst their mothers learn to sew. Joyce and her colleagues are trying to return to civilian life and are being helped by a reintegration project sponsored by the United Methodist Church. In a course lasting eight months, the women not only learn the basics of a trade but also receive psychological help.

Social reintegration following the civil war

Joyce Wea is one of more than 100,000 former male and female combatants in the Liberian civil war who were demobilized by the United Nations from 2003 to 2004 and received a transitional payment. Although the process of demobilization was completed a long time ago, the Liberian government under President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is still working to overcome the consequences of the war. It is not only a matter of restoring the country’s infrastructure, which was completely destroyed, it is also important to mend the different forms of social and economic damages suffered. The social reintegration of former combatants is extremely important for the consolidation of peace in Liberia. Its failure would increase the risk of new outbreaks of violence.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the lead organization responsible for the reintegration of former combatants in Liberia. It administers the budget which consists of voluntary contributions from various states and organizations. One of the most important donors is the Commission of the European Union. As the reintegration program expired in 2007/2008, BICC was commissioned to evaluate parts of the program as a member of a European consortium. A team of three international experts was sent to Liberia for a month to conduct evaluation talks with international and Liberian stakeholders. Their task also included questioning former soldiers about their experiences.

Questions remain even after the completion of the program

One of the fundamental problems of many international peace missions became apparent in the first days following the team’s arrival in Monrovia: it was often difficult to reconstruct decision-making processes as most of the foreign aid workers were only in the country for a relatively short period and it is not usual to keep files in times of crisis. The situation with the local non-governmental organizations responsible for implementing the reintegration program on behalf of the United Nations was similar. Long-serving members of staff had sought new career opportunities towards the end of the program as funds gradually began to dry up.

Despite these problems, the experts were able to gain a comprehensive picture of the process of reintegration outside the capital. For example, they were surprised to find that in some cases the programs met with little interest from the former combatants. Whereas, in an earlier phase, too few places had been available due to lack of funds and some ex-combatants had even demonstrated violently demanding that the promises made should be observed, the situation has now altered. Representatives of aid organizations also report that many participants drop out of courses in order to
register with other organizations which offer better conditions. In some cases, members of the ex-combatants' families take part in the courses instead because it is generally considered that the courses are not individual reintegration measures but ‘compensation packages’ which can be passed on to others.

Several thousand former combatants attended an eight-month computer course although most parts of the country do not have reliable electricity supplies. The country’s enormous agricultural potential, on the other hand, goes largely unused. The former combatants have too little experience and show little interest in this sector.

The problem of lack of coordination and different types of incentives is exacerbated by parallel programs organized by foreign donors operating independently or only loosely coordinated with UNDP. The biggest problem is that—apart from a broad-based schooling component—the reintegration program in Liberia is based primarily on providing training in a craft and thus on economic reintegration. However, as long as there is no demand for the qualifications offered and the people who have completed the courses do not find employment, a large number of the former soldiers—both male and female—will ultimately be left to their own devices regarding their reintegration in society.

Wolf-Christian Paes
Power stabilizer—The security sector in Central Asia

What role do the security institutions play in the domestic power structure of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan? Do they contribute towards stabilizing undemocratic regimes in Central Asia? Are they instrumentalized by the ruling powers for domestic political purposes? A BICC research program funded by the Volkswagen Foundation is studying the “Role of the security sector for the stabilization and dynamics of semi-authoritarian and authoritarian regimes in Central Asia”.

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian states initially purported to introduce western minimum standards. For the first time, elected bodies and parliaments had an opportunity to vote on the level of military budgets. However, due to a lack of information and expertise and the concentration of power in the hands of the presidents, the Central Asian republics are still not in a position to ensure transparency and accountability, to control the military budget or determine the size of the armed forces. The legislative is not functioning as a counterbalance to the executive—inter alia because the presidents can threaten the parliaments with dissolution.

Everything under the control of the presidents

And so it is the presidents who decide on the deployment of the armed forces in the event of an attack or threat. The legislative only has to be informed after the event, even when a state of emergency is announced.

The presidents are the supreme commanders of the armed forces. They appoint the commanders of the army and other security organs. The defense ministers continue to be professional soldiers. There is a lack of democratic control mechanisms or measures to protect basic rights within the armed forces. The secret services, too serve the head of state exclusively.

Although the security councils, which are supposed to assist with the planning and coordination of security policy do include civilians—such as the prime minister, the parliamentary president and the foreign minister—their influence is limited to that of an advisory body.

The domestic political power of the security institutions

The constitutions of the Central Asian states allow the presidents to deploy the armed forces when internal security is threatened. The conditions for deployment are broadly defined. The forces responsible for internal security are far larger than the regular armed forces precisely because one of their main tasks is internal repression. Kyrgyzstan’s constitution, at least, includes reservations on the use of military forces at home, but there are no reservations whatsoever in the constitutions of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Several factors have contributed to the upgrading of the security institutions, particularly the domestic secret services. Since the 9/11 attacks, the opposition has been accused of Islamic fundamentalism. In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in particular, priority is being given to internal stability against the background of the chaos in Afghanistan. Even Kyrgyzstan, the former showcase state, has deliberately turned its back on its former Western orientation. It now prefers the more attractive role model of the assumption of political and administrative power by the security institutions as demonstrated by President Putin.

As a result of deep regional divides and unsolved transformation conflicts, the security institutions have developed to become a significant pillar of authoritarian rule. Their influence on domestic policy is an expression of the absence of a division of power and the lack of civil counterbalances.

The influence of civil society on security policy is thwarted not least by the state’s control of the media and the fact that potential actors for democratic change have no real access to the political system. If at all, the issue of democratic control of the security institutions in Central Asia is only on the agenda as a result of international initiatives. Factors here are the OSCE, NATO’s Partnership for Peace and the training of officers from Central Asia in the West.

How can democratic control be strengthened?

A sound political analysis is a precondition for any efforts to reform the security sector from outside. The study sets out to contribute to understanding the security sector in authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes. Apart
from specialist findings, the project intends to establish networks by cooperating with researchers in the countries under study, to promote expertise in these countries and contribute to strengthening democratic control of security policy issues.

As well as systematically analyzing primary sources and secondary literature, the project involves conducting interviews with official representatives of the security institutions, experts in the fields of academia and journalism and representatives of international organizations, including NATO, the OSCE, amnesty international, Human Rights Watch and political foundations.

Four or five cooperation partners in the countries under review are studying individual aspects on behalf of the project. These papers will be published at a later date. In addition, an international seminar with cooperation partners and further experts will take place in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) in July 2008 to exchange initial project results and agree on the methods to be adopted by all partners. The results of the project will be published in several articles and in book form.

Andreas Heinemann-Grüder
Fatal Transactions—The campaign for the just use of natural resources

The EU-funded Fatal Transactions campaign, whose partners include inter alia BICC, NIZA (Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa), Pax Christi Netherlands and IPIS (International Peace Information Service, Belgium), supports the fair and just use of natural resources as a contribution to sustainable development and peace in Africa. BICC assumed responsibility for coordinating the Fatal Transactions campaign in Germany at the beginning of 2007 and since then has developed numerous activities, some of which are presented below.

Everyone is familiar with the term ‘blood diamonds’. The “Diamond Matters” exhibition, which BICC presented for the first time in Germany at the Bonn Science Center in Summer 2007, is intended as a wake-up call. The internationally renowned photographer Kadir van Lohuizen has documented the route which diamonds take from the inhumane working conditions in the mines of Africa to traders in Antwerp and the world of the jet-setters in New York and London. Van Lohuizen reports, “Many people die in the mining regions. There are shootings every day.”

And even though today war is no longer being waged in Angola, Sierra Leone or in the Democratic Republic of the Congo—there has been and still is a link between natural resources and violent conflict. The central question is: How can the exploitation of natural resources in the countries of Africa contribute to prosperity and social progress instead of to violence and war? This is where the Fatal Transactions (FT) campaign comes into action. Its aim is to inform, enlighten and trigger critical discussions through numerous exhibitions, media work and publications.

A trip by journalists to Sierra Leone

In April 2007, BICC and the Frankfurt aid organization Medico International organized a trip by five journalists to Sierra Leone. Today, this West African country is recovering from decades of war; a war which ended officially in 2002 and was financed primarily by exploiting the country’s diamond resources. Five years on, the country is now waging a battle against poverty and is endeavoring to repair the damage caused by years of war. A decisive question is in how far diamonds or other minerals contribute to the sustainable development of Sierra Leone today.

The journalists, among them representatives of the all-German daily newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung”, the weekly “Zeit” and broadcasting corporation “Deutsche Welle”, conducted interviews in Freetown, Makeni, Kenema, Bo and Koidu with miners, diamond traders, representatives of the Ministry of Mines and Mineral Resources, local officials responsible for the disarmament program, members of parliament and many others. The outcome of the trip was a series of articles and radio programs on Sierra Leone today, which provide an insight into current developments and are available inter alia on the Internet.1

Fatal Transactions and the Alliance for Natural Resources at the Congress of the German Protestant Church

“Greed for natural resources should not become a disaster for the local population.” This was the demand voiced by 14 organizations from the fields of human rights, environmental protection and development which have joined together to form an Alliance for Natural Resources and presented their work at the Congress of the German Protestant Church in Cologne in June 2007. BICC was among these organizations and presented the Fatal Transactions campaign. The Alliance drew attention to a number of its issues with a supplement in the all-German daily newspaper “tageszeitung”. In an interview with “tageszeitung”, Federal President Horst Köhler stressed, “Flows of finance connected with the extraction of natural resources must be made transparent. For example, all oil producing and oil consuming countries should join the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). And we should devote just as much attention to the involvement of stakeholders from industrial countries in corruption as to corruption in Africa itself.”2

Applied research and natural resources and conflicts

Wroclaw University became a partner in the Fatal Transactions campaign in 2007. The ambitious aim was to extend the campaign to the new EU member states in eastern and central Europe. The University’s contribution to the FT campaign will be primarily in the field of research. According to Dr. Dominik Kopinski, coordinator of the Polish Fatal Transactions partner, the Institute for International Relations of Wroclaw University states, “Conflict research and other disciplines dealing with the history, economics and development issues of the African continent are extremely rare at eastern European
universities.” Dr. Kopinski organized a one-week summer school at his university in September 2007 to which he invited in particular students from eastern Europe and Africa. BICC also played an active part in organizing the summer school with its training module on “External stakeholders in conflict regions and natural resources.”

The European Union was responsible for chairing the so-called Kimberley Process (Kimberley Process Certification Scheme) in 2007. This is a joint initiative involving governments, civil society organizations and the diamond industry which aims to put a stop to trade with conflict diamonds through a certification scheme. BICC staff member Willem Jaspers supported the work of the Kimberley Secretariat in Brussels until the end of the year at the recommendation of Fatal Transactions.

Key areas in 2008

In Spring 2008, experts from BICC studied the connection between conflict and natural resources in Côte d’Ivoire within the framework of field work in this West African country, which is the world’s largest supplier of cocoa. Since the beginning of the civil war in 2002, the cocoa trade has flushed US $118 million into the coffers of the government and of the Forces Nouvelles (FN) rebel group. According to UN estimates, despite a UN embargo, diamond smuggling from the north via Mali and Ghana earned the FN a further US $9 to 23 million. Whereas in the past, trade with natural resources has served to fuel conflicts, BICC’s experts working within the framework of the Fatal Transactions campaign wanted to study how it can contribute towards peace and rebuilding. To find the answers they questioned important stakeholders in politics, industry and civil society and will publish their results in a BICC brief and other publications.

In early January 2008, campaign members from Poland, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands met in Bonn for a strategy meeting of the Fatal Transactions campaign. One of the foci of the campaign this year is to be the implementation of the promises made at the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm in 2007 as well as the promotion and monitoring of other international initiatives in the field of resource governance. Consumer awareness must also be heightened. Fatal Transactions intends to use the opportunity of the Olympic Games in Beijing to participate in the debate on the role of Chinese invest-

ments in African countries by presenting concrete case studies. BICC is responsible for organizing this year’s Fatal Transactions Conference, which is due to take place in Bonn in November 2008.

The campaign’s website provides further information on the activities of Fatal Transactions Germany. It also gives an up-to-date overview of publications and media products, which are available to the public.

Susanne Heinke

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Project title: EU NGOs—Activities to raise public awareness of development issues
Duration: January 2007 to December 2009
Supported by: European Commission/ EuropeAid
Coordination: Wolf-Christian Paes
Collaboration: Jolien Schure, Lena Guesnet, Willem Jaspers, Verena Kantel
Publication: cf. “List of Publication”

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1 See: <http://www.fataltransactions.de/journalistenreise_sierra_leone.html>.
Diaspora as a peace-broker in the Horn of Africa?

The perception of migrants in the European Union has changed considerably in recent years. Increasing attention is now being focused on the complex political, social and cultural involvement of migrants from crisis regions in peace and development processes in their countries of origin. BICC is taking part in the multi-year international EU research project “Diasporas for Peace: Patterns, Trends and Potential of Long-distance Diaspora Involvement in Conflict Settings (DIASPEACE)”, which sets out to establish new findings on diaspora activities both in the countries of origin and receiving countries as well as on a transnational level.

For a long time, the European states saw international migration primarily in the context of the interests of the receiving countries. Migrants only played a role as workers to relieve a temporary shortage of labor, or as refugees and asylum seekers.

This perception in the European Union has changed fundamentally over the past few years. In addition to a large number of studies dealing with the financial potential of remittances by migrants and diaspora groups, increasing attention is now being focused on the complex political, social and cultural involvement of migrants from crisis regions in peace and development processes in their countries of origin.

The globalization of communication and transport is enabling even those groups, which were marginalized in the past to exert their influence and to engage in cross-border networking and cooperation to a previously unknown extent.

African diaspora activities as the subject of European research

Increasingly the question is now being raised as to the role of organized diaspora groups in the respective peace and development processes in their countries of origin. Whereas the activities of the Tamil or Kurdish diasporas in Europe have been relatively well researched, only comparatively little reliable information is available on the transnational networking and engagement of groups from Sub-Saharan Africa, whose potential to foster peace in their home countries has only recently been fully recognized.

The Horn of Africa is one of the regions most ravaged by political and humanitarian crises. Decades of wars between states as well as between hostile sections of the population have led to the weakening or even the collapse of state structures, particularly in Somalia, and to the formation of large diaspora communities in Africa, Europe and North America. Whilst the Somali diaspora has become one of the largest diasporas worldwide, Eritrea is considered a classic example of an economy, which is dependent on remittances from members of its diaspora. The Horn of Africa takes a particularly important place in European foreign and security policy, not only due to its historical ties, but also to its geo-strategic position.

Taking the example of the Horn of Africa, i.e. Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, a multi-year international research project under the 7th EU Research Framework Programme is studying the forms and effects of diaspora activities both in the countries of origin and receiving countries, as well as on a transnational level. Under the title “Diasporas for Peace: Patterns, Trends and Potential of Long-distance Diaspora Involvement in Conflict Settings (DIASPEACE)”, BICC and its international partners will gather extensive data on the transnational networks and activities of these diaspora groups and develop new approaches to evaluating the effects of their engagement.

The Jyväskylä University in Finland is leading the DIASPEACE project. Partners in addition to BICC are the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (MPG), the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO), the African Diaspora Policy Centre (ADPC), the Centro Studi Politica Internazionale (CeSPI), the Forum for Social Studies (FSS) in Ethiopia and the Academy for Peace and Development (APD) in Somalia.

In addition to taking stock and conducting an empirical analysis of the diaspora networks and their activities in the individual European states and on a transnational level, the study will provide a critical analysis of the legal, economic and social living conditions of migrants in Europe. Not only will it study the effects of their engagement in the countries of origin, but also the strategies and approaches taken by these countries to involve or even empower the diaspora.
The study will be conducted in close cooperation with the groups concerned as well as with state and non-state institutions in Europe and Africa and will propose instruments for promoting the political dialogue and constructive engagement by the diaspora.

The security-migration nexus—BICC’s previous activities in the area of diaspora research

BICC conducted a study on the “Role of the African Diaspora in Conflict Processes” on behalf of the Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration (MGFFI) of the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia in 2006/2007 and compiled initial data on its composition, forms of organization, political and social objectives. Linking up with this, BICC organized an international conference on “The Security-Migration Nexus: Challenges and Opportunities of African Migration to EU Countries” with support from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development at the Deutsche Welle in Bonn on 22 and 23 February 2008. Approximately 150 African and European participants from the areas of research and politics took part in this event, which set out to clarify the various interests and security needs of all the groups of stakeholders involved, with a particular focus on the migrant and diaspora perspective.

In her introductory speech at the Conference, former Bundestag President Professor Rita Süssmuth, Chairwoman of the EU High Level Group on the Social and Labour Market Integration of Ethnic Minorities and Member of the Board of the OECD Development Centre Project said, “Worldwide migration is not a threat, but highly enriching if it is shaped as an advantage to all involved. Migrants are part of the solution to our national and global problems.”

Andrea Warnecke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Title:</th>
<th>DIASPEACE—Diasporas for Peace: Patterns, Trends and Potentials of long-distance diaspora involvement in conflict settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration:</td>
<td>Since March 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported by:</td>
<td>7th EU Research Framework Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordination:</td>
<td>Peter J. Croll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration:</td>
<td>Andrea Warnecke, Bettina Conrad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication:</td>
<td>Cf. “List of publications”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Innovations to protect German airports against attacks

The Hans-Böckler-Foundation commissioned BICC to design a study on “Innovations to protect German airports against attacks: Security technologies and jobs.” Inter alia, the project studies the potential dangers threatening “neuralgic” points—such as airports—and considers what type of security technologies can help.

Modern complex industrial states in the West see themselves confronted with various challenges to their overall state security—particularly following 9/11 and the subsequent attacks in Europe: international terrorism, organized crime, drug and human smuggling rings, political and economic conflicts. Germany is particularly exposed to these threats as a society which practices freedom of information and the free transport of persons and goods and as an export-oriented industrial nation. Germany’s political and economic structure as well as its ‘critical infrastructures’ have become more vulnerable.

Critical infrastructures include organizations and facilities which are important for the community. The failure of, or damage to, these infrastructures could lead to serious, long-term supply problems and disruptions to public safety or could have other dramatic consequences.

Airports—Part of the ‘critical infrastructure’

The economic significance of airports shows just how vulnerable they are. Dusseldorf International Airport, for example, is one of the most modern airports in Germany. With almost 18 million passengers, it is Germany’s third largest airport. It is experiencing above average growth rates of 7.5 percent for overall passengers and 17 percent for intercontinental traffic and is developing to become an international turnstile with 228,000 flights per year. Its catchment area is the seventh largest in the world with 18 million people. Annual air freight turnover totals 97,000 tons. 230 companies have their headquarters at the airport.

With 16,000 employees, the airport generates jobs for the whole region. As a rule of thumb, one job at the airport produces at least two further jobs in the region. 50,000 jobs in North Rhine-Westphalia depend on Dusseldorf Airport’s ability to function. In addition, the airport is also a congress and conference center and is visited by up to 70,000 people every day. Apart from having humanitarian consequences, an attack on the airport would also be an economic catastrophe.

The study, funded by the Hans-Böckler-Foundation, “Innovations to protect German airports against attacks: Security technologies and jobs” is based on the evaluation of relevant articles in journals as well as on talks with experts in select companies. Its first task is to identify current gaps in security and potential dangers.

Jobs resulting from security technologies

The high investments needed to close these gaps also offer opportunities for security specialists. The study therefore also deals with companies which are developing or producing security technology solutions and examines whether this situation actually creates jobs.

The technologies available are for the most part not new, but they have only recently started to experience world market demand with a wide range of applications. They have the economic advantage of being suitable for both civilian as well as military purposes. This extends their range of applications, increases the number of units produced and enables significant reductions in price.

The study, which carries on from former projects in which BICC dealt with labor market developments in the arms industry, concludes that a strict division of military and civil security research is neither possible nor rational against this background. The systematic use of spin-on and spin-off effects—that is to say the use of an innovation or a known technology in an area for which it was not originally developed—provides considerable potential for savings. This would make funding for innovative solutions more efficient—and such solutions are of great significance for Germany as a technology nation. These measures must be accompanied by an active industrial policy linking all important stakeholders. Key initiatives have already been taken to set up clusters in the form of networks and these should be developed further.
Germany is known for its excellent basic technologies and diverse research landscape. It has key competencies in the fields of civil and military security technology. It therefore has excellent opportunities in these markets of the future and it must make systematic use of these opportunities. There are several large companies as well as very many small and medium-sized companies developing and producing security technologies in Germany—and an increase in employment can already be seen in these sectors.

Hartmut Küchle
BICC has been engaged in issues relating to SALW (Small Arms and Light Weapons) for approximately one decade. For the past year, the SALW unit at BICC has been involved at the international level with the related issues of stockpiles, surpluses, and marking and tracing of SALW and their ammunition. BICC experts have conducted research and provided consultancy in Europe, Latin America and Southeast Asia. With the support of the German Foreign Office, BICC has issued a handbook on marking and tracing of SALW.

State and non-state military groups require a stockpile of SALW to fulfill their missions. These stockpiles—of arms and of ammunition—include weapons held by individual combatants, and those held in common storage. The size of these stockpiles is often a closely guarded secret. The problem is that poorly maintained stockpiles (and many militaries do not know how, or do not have the material ability to maintain these stockpiles) become either security or safety risks.

Safety and security risk: Weapons stockpiles

A security risk is the risk that the weapons or ammunition will be used for illegal activities, because they have been lost, misplaced, or stolen, and reached criminal hands. A safety risk is the risk that SALW, most critically ammunition, will cause an explosion or fire unintentionally. Such explosions in ammunition stockpiles in Mozambique, Nigeria and Albania cost the lives of numerous people in the past two years.

There are many reasons for such dangerous shortcomings. Many stockpiles are so vast that they are difficult to maintain and secure properly. One example to illustrate this: It has been estimated that if the surplus ammunition in the Ukraine were loaded onto 40-ton trucks and sent to Spain, the head of the truck column would reach Gibraltar before the last truck ever left its base in the Ukraine. Often, political changes, and sheer ignorance of procedures means that many states or non-state actors simply do not know what their stockpiles are.

A large quantity of these stockpiles is surplus either because the material is old, or because the military has shrunk, or because the situation has become more peaceful. Convincing militaries to dispose of these surpluses is a difficult process because they are reluctant to define their needs publicly, and because of the cost of destroying the surpluses.

International organizations, including NATO, the OECD, and various regional organizations, as well as nations such as Germany have been investing heavily in ensuring the safety and security of stockpiles throughout the world. However, there is still the urgent need for action and the provision of advice.

Marking and tracing of weapons

Related to the issue of stockpiles and surpluses are the issues of marking and of tracing. Traditionally, most industrially-produced arms have been marked with a unique serial number for each weapon. This facilitates storage, repair, and stockpile control. However, each country uses a different format, and there is no international standard. To make things worse, most countries do not mark ammunition at all.

Markings are critical for tracing weapons that have come into criminal hands. A weapon manufactured in one country, transferred to a second, and involved in a crime in a third has a history that is traceable only if the weapon has been clearly marked, and the markings recorded at each legal transfer of the weapon from one owner (a state, an organization, or an individual) to another.

The UN Marking and Tracing Instrument (UN M&TI), which came into force in 2007 was intended to address this problem. It sets out a series of measures to attempt to ensure uniformity in marking SALW. It also sets out specific means to coordinate tracing efforts: if a weapon is used in the commission of a crime in one nation, the instrument sets out procedures to trace the weapon back to its origin, through all its legal owners, so that the point of diversion can be identified, and further diversion stopped.

Ammunition is not included in the UN M&TI, but a UN panel of experts is working on the issues of marking and tracing ammunition, and its transportation.

International engagement
At the invitation of the German Foreign Office, BICC has presented keystone speeches at international regional seminars on stockpile maintenance in Europe, Latin America, and Southeast Asia.

At the request of the United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs, BICC has designed and produced a training module (intended to train parliamentarians, administrators and NGOs) to familiarize trainees with the elements of the M&TI, its implications, and ways to implement it nationally, regionally and internationally. The module, funded by a German Foreign Office grant, will also be translated into French and Arabic. It is the most recent of a series of training materials dealing with different aspects of SALW control, developed by the BICC TRESA (Training and Education on Small Arms, 2003–2006) project and is freely available on the Internet (http://www.tresa-online.org).

A number of publications—ranging from a study of surplus management in Kazakhstan, to a guidebook for parliamentarians—have been written by BICC staff, and have appeared, or are due to be published. In the future, BICC expects to be providing consultancies to governments and international bodies, as well as working on ways to ensure that stockpile control, and marking and tracing function effectively to enhance individual, national, and international security.

Michael Ashkenazi

1 SALW as a whole are firearms with a caliber (muzzle diameter) of less than 100 mm. Small arms are firearms that can be carried and used by an individual (pistols, rifles, light- and sub-machine guns). Light weapons are firearms that require a small team to operate (heavy machine guns, rocket launchers, mortars).
The Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) 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. Since then, BICC has been advising and supporting the United Nations, the European Union, governments, local authorities and social groups on the implementation of disarmament measures and on all questions at the nexus of peace and development.

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.

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

Members of the BICC Supervisory Board in March 2008:
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
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

Key areas of BICC’s work
BICC’s work at the nexus between peace and development has become so varied that it is increasingly difficult to categorize its activities according to topic areas. At the same time, the Center’s work is characterized by the interdependence of research, consultancy and capacity-building. BICC organizes its work in such a way that the experience, results and data gained from consultancy and training projects are in turn used to generate new research questions and vice versa. This looping of categories secures expertise and is to be strengthened in the future.

It is only natural that BICC’s public image focuses on these categories. The services, which BICC offers can be divided into the following groups, based on its mission of contributing towards peace and development:

- Applied research (scientific contributions, background and evaluation studies, impact analyses, development of indicators, collection and analyses of data) as well as work to accompany and implement projects.
- Consultancy (background analyses, recommendations for action, expert workshops).
• Capacity-building by designing concepts and modules for education and training, and exemplary implementation as well as organizing workshops and conferences.

Applied research

BICC’s research work in 2007 was particularly influenced by the European Union’s new Seventh Research Framework Programme (FP7). This is the European Union’s main instrument for funding European research and runs from 2007 to 2013. The budget for the next seven years amounts to €50.5 billion.

The experience gained in tendering for EU-funded projects within the first round of calls for FP7 in the first half of 2007—both as a lead agency and as a partner—has enhanced BICC’s reputation as a European research institute which is to be taken seriously, and will facilitate the preparation of EU tenders in the future.

BICC was already successful in the first round of calls. As a partner in a European consortium (led by Jyväskylä University in Finland), BICC will, over the next three years, be studying the potential of the African diaspora to contribute towards peace in the Horn of Africa (cf. p. 36).

In 2007, BICC was able to complete an important research project sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research. The project entitled “Ethnic Federalism—Institutional Conditions for Stability and Conflict Regulation” studied the basic preconditions for federal stability, the provisions for granting privileges to ethnic groups as well as conflict-regulating mechanisms within the framework of a study of variables. It drew up a typology of ethno-federal arrangements based on aggregate indicators for “stability”, “ethnic privileges” and “conflict regulation mechanisms”. The results of the comparative case studies on four multi-ethnic federations (Russia, India, Nigeria and Spain) triggered more detailed studies on multi-ethnic federations.

BICC’s contribution to the Friedensgutachten (Peace Report) 2007, the joint annual report published by five institutes for peace and conflict research in the Federal Republic of Germany, also accounted for a significant share of the Center’s work. The Friedensgutachten 2007 deals with military interventions, the number of which has risen rapidly in recent years, as well as studying hostile and potentially volatile conflict constellations in the Middle East (Lebanon, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Palestine) and Africa (Sudan, DR Congo, Horn of Africa). This year, for the second time since 2003, BICC is once again the
BICC’s work on the Resource Conflict Monitor (RCM) (cf. p. 22) indicates how research work can lead to political advisory services. The Center’s research on the connection between conflicts and the governance of natural resources developed into a consultancy tool, which provides empirically-based information in the form of a database on the resource governance of 90 countries. This database supplies objective information on the links between susceptibility to conflict and the availability of certain natural resources and/or the nature of their exploitation. The database makes it easier to pass on facts to policymakers.

In the framework of its institutional cooperation activities and to broaden its scientific base, BICC has strengthened its cooperation with the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in the field of research.

Consultancy

In the area of consultancy, BICC has been able to expand and update its internet services providing background information on important countries which are receiving German military exports (cf. www.ruestungsexport.info). The Center uses this website to supply various base data on armaments, the military sector, security, human rights and governance in 170 countries. This information is intended to make it easier to assess and evaluate German arms export policy and is based on the criteria of the European Union’s Code of Conduct for Arms Exports agreed in 1998. The service was enhanced in 2007 with the introduction of an interactive map using Geographic Information System (GIS) programs (cf. p. 28).

BICC’s consultancy services are also sought by international organizations and governments. For example, BICC was involved in the EU-funded evaluation of the reintegration program for former combatants in Liberia within the framework of a European consortium. More than 100,000 male and female combatants were demobilized in Liberia. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is responsible for their reintegration. The Commission of the European Union is also involved in this program (cf. p. 30).

A BICC staff member was sent to Brussels for several months to advise the European Commission during its presidency of the Kimberley Process Certification System for the certification of diamonds in 2007. This work linked up directly with the European Union’s Fatal Transactions campaign, which BICC coordinates in Germany. BICC was commissioned by the EU Commission to conduct the project as a member of a European consortium of non-governmental organizations. The focus both in Brussels and in the member states is on lobby and educational work on the topic of “Resources and Conflicts” (cf. www.fataltransactions.de and p. 34).

Capacity-building

As far as capacity-building is concerned, the regional focus in 2007 was Southern Sudan. From August 2007 to March 2008, BICC conducted a further project on capacity-building for small arms control and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R) in Southern Sudan. The project was able to make good use of the findings of the two previous project phases and the established networks. Together with local partners, members of civil society and the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), BICC experts held four workshops on various aspects of small arms control and four courses on DD&R. Cooperation with the local media was intensified so that this topic was able to reach a wider public (cf. p. 26).

The foundations for this work in the region were laid in previous years inter alia by the modules developed within the framework of the TRESA project (Training and Education on Small Arms). In 2007, BICC developed two new modules on the same basis for marking and tracing of small arms: one module for trainers and one for trainees (cf. p. 40).

Other activities

BICC conducts active public relations work, organizes information events and participates in joint public relation activities with its partners. The City of Bonn and the UN organizations located in Bonn play an important role in this context.

BICC is running two exhibition projects. The exhibition “Small Arms—a Global Threat” is available to other non-governmental organizations worldwide in German, English, Spanish and French and has already been shown in numerous German cities and abroad (New York, United States; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Colombia).
“Millennium Development Goals 2015—Acting Globally for Poverty Reduction, Peace and Development” is a photo exhibition organized in cooperation with the international photo agency laif. It was financed by InWEnt with funds from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The exhibition takes a look at eight millennium goals and documents in both texts and pictures the links between poverty and social injustice, conflicts and conflict prevention. In 2007, BICC took part with this exhibition in the “Mitmachen – Mainz und Rheinland-Pfalz gegen Armut und für weltweite Partnerschaft” campaign (JOIN in—Mainz and the Land of Rhineland-Palatinate against Poverty and for Global Partnership). The campaign was funded by the Central Office for Political Education of the Land of Rhineland-Palatinate under the patronage of the Primier of Rhineland-Palatinate, Kurt Beck. The exhibition can be visited at www.bicc.de/mdg/.

BICC relies on an international team of staff in order to perform its varied and demanding tasks in the fields of applied research, consultancy and capacity-building. As of 31 December 2007, BICC employed fifteen full-time members of staff (twelve of them working on projects), twelve part-time members of staff (six of them involved in projects), five student assistants (three involved in project work), four 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. Twenty interns from nine countries worked at BICC between January 2007 and March 2008.

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 consultancy, training work and capacity-building to other services. BICC is constantly endeavoring to increase the volume of third party funding. In 2007, BICC was able to keep this funding at a constant level so that third party funding 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 2007. It was essential to cushion a further reduction in funds from the main donor (minus four percent). This goal was almost achieved thanks to a considerable effort. Although BICC’s performance was slightly below that of the previous year (minus 3.5 percent), the Center was almost able to make up for this drop by reducing its operating expenses by 3.4 percent and only showed a small deficit.

This meant that BICC was able to make up for half of 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 funding 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 the direct individual project costs (e.g. direct personnel costs, traveling expenses), but not overheads (e.g. infrastructure). To a certain extent, the European Union has taken the problem of this lack of (or insufficient) funding of overheads in research funding into account in the new FP7 program. There, the share of overhead costs paid is considerably higher than in the case of German national research grants. Nevertheless, involvement in the FP7 program is still linked with financial burdens. The share of funding for research activities is just 75 percent of overall project costs (direct costs plus 60 percent indirect costs) and BICC must therefore contribute funds from other sources. 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. Donors 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
### An overview of the most important projects in 2007/2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applied Research</th>
<th>Products / further information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Evaluation of the destruction of arms and ammunition in Afghanistan</strong></td>
<td>August 2006–February 2007 Evaluation report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnic federalism—institutional preconditions for stability and conflict management</strong></td>
<td>March 2005–June 2007 Research project, funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The role of the security sector for the stabilization or de-stabilization of the (semi-) authoritarian regimes in Central Asia</strong></td>
<td>Since July 2006 Research project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An analysis of the implementation of DD&amp;R in Aceh Province, Indonesia</strong></td>
<td>August 2006–April 2007 BICC <em>brief</em> 35: Re-paving the road to peace: An analysis of the implementation of DD&amp;R in Aceh Province, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The role of the African diaspora in conflicts</strong></td>
<td>August 2006–February 2007 Study and workshop for the Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration of NRW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIASPEACE—Diasporas for peace: Patterns, trends and potentials of long-distance diaspora involvement in conflict settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa</strong></td>
<td>Since March 2008 Project within the 7th EU research framework programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Research for the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in select areas at the nexus between development and security</strong></td>
<td>January 2006–December 2007 Research-based support for the BMZ; numerous Concept Papers; RCM website, cf. <a href="http://www.bicc.de/rcm/">http://www.bicc.de/rcm/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transportation infrastructure in Germany and its relevance to security technologies and employment</strong></td>
<td>Since December 2007 Short studies on behalf of the Hans-Böckler-Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perspectives of the German army-related industry within the framework of alternative scenarios</strong></td>
<td>December 2004–May 2007 Research report, funded by the Hans-Böckler-Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Developing Peace: The contribution of German development cooperation to UN peacebuilding missions</strong></td>
<td>September 2007–January 2008 Preliminary study for the BMZ</td>
</tr>
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</table>
### Consultancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation of the DD&amp;R process in Liberia</td>
<td>March–June 2007</td>
<td>Evaluation on behalf of the European Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultancy in the field of small arms</td>
<td>Until November 2007</td>
<td>Inter alia module on marking and tracing of small arms for the German Foreign Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting the development and implementation of a civilian SALW training program in West Africa</td>
<td>Since October 2007</td>
<td>Consultancy for a pilot training at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultancy to the Kimberly Process Office of the European Commission</td>
<td>April–December 2007</td>
<td>Secondment of national expert to the Secretariat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Capacity-building

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capacity-building on SALW control and DD&amp;R in Southern Sudan</td>
<td>December 2005–March 2008</td>
<td>In cooperation with local partners, members of civil society and the government of Southern Sudan (GOSS); cf. <a href="http://www.bicc.de/sudan">http://www.bicc.de/sudan</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in Fatal Transactions (FT) network, lobby and education work on resources and conflicts – German leader of network</td>
<td>Since January 2007</td>
<td>Scientific support as well as events, Website, public relations work, exhibitions, expert talks; cf. <a href="http://www.fataltransactions.de">http://www.fataltransactions.de</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference on the relevance of human security for German foreign, security and development politics</td>
<td>October–December 2007</td>
<td>Panel discussion on the topic of human security in the framework of the SEF-Symposium 2007</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## Profit and loss account for the period 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>描述</th>
<th>实际金额（单位：欧元）</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Main funding from the Ministry for Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the Land of NRW</td>
<td>1,027,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Revenue from completed projects</td>
<td>1,152,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Reimbursement of cost and other income</td>
<td>27,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in totals in the case of unfinished projects</td>
<td>-248,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other operating income</td>
<td>16,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating performance</td>
<td>1,975,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material costs of projects</td>
<td>302,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff costs</td>
<td>1,328,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planned depreciation</td>
<td>10,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other operating costs (office space, etc.)</td>
<td>357,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating expenses</td>
<td>1,999,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial results</td>
<td>4,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus / Deficit</td>
<td>-19,294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of publications (January 2007–April 2008)**

**Briefs**


**brief 35:** Christine Beeck, *Re-paving the road to peace—Analysis of the implementation of DD&R (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration) in Aceh Province, Indonesia*, October 2007.

**Bulletins**

**BICC bulletin, No. 41, March 2007**
Feature: A Proposal to End Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity, Dr. Robert Zuber.

**BICC bulletin, No. 42, April–June 2007**
Feature: Representation, Citizenship and the Public Domain in Democratic Decentralization, Jesse C. Ribot.

**BICC bulletin, No. 43, July–September 2007**

**BICC bulletin, No. 44, October–November 2007**
Feature: Bring the Adapted CFE Treaty into Force—International Appeal.

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

**BICC Focus**

**BICC Focus 3**
Nach den Gouverneurswahlen in Aceh – Ehemalige indonesische Bürgerkriegsprovinz auf dem Weg zu Friedenskonsolidierung und Stabilität, Christine Beeck.

**BICC Focus 4**
Raus aus der Sackgasse: Handlungsoptionen für die deutsche Politik im Streit um das iranische Atomprogramm, Jerry Sommer.

**BICC Focus 5**

**BICC Focus 6**
Wie ein Phönix aus der Asche? Der Stand der Friedenskonsolidierung in Sierra Leone nach den Wahlen, Helen Radeke.

**BICC Concept Papers**


Die Rolle der afrikanischen Diaspora im Konfliktgeschehen, Andrea Warnecke, Julie Brethfeld and Volker Franke, April 2007.


**Newsletter Fatal Transactions**


**Other BICC Publications**


People Safe from Guns in South Sudan—Training Course Documentation, Bor and Ayod, South Sudan. March 2007.


Further Publications


BICC is an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to promoting peace and development, through the sustained and effective transformation of military-related structures, assets, functions and processes. Disarmament frees funds which can be used to combat poverty. Conversion allows for a targeted and best possible re-use of these financial resources. Both processes complement each other and contribute to improving human security.

In doing this, BICC recognizes that the narrow concept of national security, embodied above all in the armed forces, has been surpassed by that of global security and, moreover, that global security cannot be achieved without seriously reducing poverty, improving health care and extending good governance throughout the world, in short: without human security in the broader sense.

BICC’s services can be divided into the following groups:

- Applied research (scientific contributions, background and evaluation studies, impact analysis, development of indicators, collection and analyses of data) as well as work to accompany and implement projects.
- Consultancy (background analyses, recommendations for action, expert workshops).
- Capacity-building by designing concepts and modules for education and training.

It is BICC’s mission to contribute to peace and development by designing measures to prevent violent conflict and to foster constructive transformation.

It is in the field of ‘conflict’ that the importance of BICC within the framework of the German research arena is most striking. BICC is an applied research institute whose work is characterized by a methodological and topical ‘looping’ of applied research, consultancy and capacity-building. BICC is in the process of reorienting and systematically enhancing its focus on research and consultancy, as can be seen in the fields of SALW control, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, migration and diaspora, natural resources, security sector reform and the security of failed states.

Along with conducting research, running conferences and publishing their findings BICC’s international staff are also involved in consultancy, providing policy recommendations, training, and practical project work. By making information and advice available to governments, NGOs, and other public or private sector organizations, and especially through exhibitions aimed at the general public, they are working towards raising awareness of the key issues that drive BICC forward.

BICC was established in 1994 with support from the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). The Center’s Trustees include the two Federal States of North Rhine-Westphalia and Brandenburg as well as the NRW.BANK, and the Landesentwicklungsgesellschaft NRW (LEG).