

# bulletin

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## *Arms Control and Disarmament—Crisis and Change*

*by Patricia Lewis*

In October 1999, the United States dealt a new blow to arms control: the Senate voted not to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Earlier, the US had refused to sign the Ottawa Convention on the prohibition of anti-personnel mines, placed reservations on its ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and decided to develop ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems. Such a shield against missile attack could foster a dangerous illusion of invulnerability. Arms control is in a state of crisis today, and a fundamental change of approach is required.

For its part, Russia has yet to ratify the START-2 agreement on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. Western attacks on Iraq and Serbia have not been helpful in this regard. It is now uncertain whether START-2 will survive the political changes expected in the US and Russia over the coming year. In both countries, domestic politics with an increasingly nationalist bent now drive the foreign policy agenda. Hoping to appease its military, the Russian government may revoke its unilateral decision of 1991 to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from its borders. This would lead to a greater reliance on nuclear weapons, maybe even an abrogation of the CTBT.

If efforts to act on START-3 before the ratification of START-2 succeed, this would move nuclear arms control forward, but such progress is unlikely if the US government sticks to its BMD plans. It has indicated that unless the Russians agree to modify the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, the US might withdraw from the treaty. Russia has strongly criticized this position. If the two countries nonetheless reach an

agreement on BMD, this will be cause for concern to China.

At the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, talks on a treaty to ban the production of fissile material for weapons have run aground due to disagreement on the militarization of outer space and other issues.

Nor do things augur well for the review conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) scheduled to take place this year. With an overt nuclear arms race underway in South Asia, there is little hope for progress on the horizon.

There is good news, however. Over 130 states have ratified the CWC, and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) has been carrying out inspections apace.

In Geneva, negotiations to establish a much-needed verification and confidence-building regime for the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC) are moving ahead, but it is uncertain whether the required protocol will be ready by the 2001 Review Conference of the BTWC.

The adaptation of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty went ahead as planned in November 1999, and further reductions in heavy conventional armaments are to be made.

As to small arms, two new initiatives, the International Action

Network on Small Arms (IANSA) and the Small Arms Survey, have brought together humanitarian and disarmament groups in an effort to promote effective controls on small arms. Governments are preparing for a 2001 United Nations conference on the illicit spread of small arms.

Efforts to ban anti-personnel landmines received a boost through the convening of the First Meeting of States Parties in Maputo, Mozambique. Governments and non-governmental organizations are cooperating in a program of inter-sessional meetings on mine clearance, victim assistance, stockpile destruction and other issues. Related issues to be taken up next are the inhumane effects of cluster bombs and unexploded ordnance.

***“A new approach to arms control, centered on human rights, would go some way to extracting us from the current mess.”***

The success or failure of arms control in the next few years will largely depend on decisions on ballistic missile defense and the ABM Treaty. Going ahead without wide agreement could lead to new arms races in missiles and weapons of mass destruction, at both a regional and a global level. This could put other achievements of arms control at risk, like the CTBT, the NPT, the CWC and the BTWC. Can it truly be in the interest of China and Russia to again build up their nuclear weapons capability? Are the interests of the US genuinely served by a massive spending spree on a technology which, if it works, cannot provide a convincing defense of the nation? Such moves are not only a waste of money and effort. They also promote the spread of missiles and weapons of mass destruction, resulting in greater international insecurity.

After the Cold War, politicians had a golden opportunity to enhance the security of people around the world by working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. They let this opportunity slip through their fingers. In fact, we seem set to begin a new phase of arms racing.

However, the importance of the humanitarian and human rights aspects of arms control is finally being recognized. The right to live without fear of violent conflict is essential to people throughout the world. Perhaps if arms control and security thinkers were to reconsider the real security needs of people, societies and states, we might find the beginning of a new approach to arms control, centered on human rights. That would go some way to extracting us from the current mess.

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Patricia Lewis, who is from Great Britain, is the Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and also a member of BICC's International Board.

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

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## Staff Spotlight:



*Natalie Pauwels*

Natalie came to BICC in November 1998 to work as a junior researcher. Since her arrival, she has spent the greater part of her time editing a book on demobilization and reintegration which is to be published as a companion volume to the *Conversion Survey 2000* (see BICC publications).

After completing post-graduate studies, Natalie was sent by the Canadian International Institute for Sustainable Development and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to work as an intern at the Stockholm Environment Institute as part of the Canadian government's *Youth Initiatives* program. From there she went on to join the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), where she worked as a research assistant on the Chemical and Biological Warfare Project.

Natalie obtained a Bachelor of Arts in political science from the University of Toronto. Born in Canada to Belgian émigrés, she decided to explore her roots by spending her junior year at Vesalius College of the Free University of Brussels, where she devoted the greater part of her time to unraveling the labyrinth that is the European Union. She went on to complete a Master of Science program in European studies at the London School of Economics in 1997. Once the above-mentioned book, *War Force to Work Force: Global Perspectives of Demobilization and Reintegration* is published, she intends to investigate the possibility of combining elements of her prior studies and current work experience in a doctoral thesis.

She has become a committed jogger since discovering the wonderful running paths along the Rhine. In April 1999 she managed to finish her first marathon, in Hamburg, although she declines to reveal how long it took her to do so.

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## *Troubles with Peace in Northern Ireland*

Over the last two years, there has been a change in the way the world views the political situation in Northern Ireland. Following thirty years of bloodshed and civil war, known as the Troubles, Northern Ireland today is considered a post-conflict arena with an acclaimed negotiated peace. Nonetheless, this peace is in trouble because of the perceived intractability of the arms issue.

Disagreement over the 'decommissioning' of paramilitary weapons has become a serious stumbling block to the overall implementation of the Good Friday Agreement of April 1998, especially to the realization of its core element, a power-sharing executive government in Belfast.

The German Volkswagen Foundation has recently funded a BICC research project, led by Corinna Hauswedell, on the *Northern Ireland Peace Process and the Role of Demilitarisation*. The project is conceptualized as a case study on the international and domestic aspects of governance in post-conflict societies. It will monitor the peace process for a two-year period and suggest lessons that the international community concerned with conflict settlement can learn from experiences in Northern Ireland, and how the various players in Northern Ireland can benefit from experience elsewhere.

The focus of the project will be on how demilitarization can contribute to peace-building and the prevention of violent conflict. In particular the project will analyze two sections of the Belfast Agreement and their implementation:

- the 'decommissioning of all paramilitary arms' and the (re)integration of related personnel,
- the 'normalization of security arrangements and practices', such as the reduction of the British Armed Forces, the removal of security installations and the redevelopment of former military areas for civilian needs.

The project will be carried out in cooperation with the *Initiative on Conflict Resolution & Ethnicity (INCORE)* at Ulster University, Londonderry, Northern Ireland (<http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk>).

For further information please contact

→ Corinna Hauswedell at [ch@bicc.de](mailto:ch@bicc.de)

## *The Military in Business*

Since January 1999, BICC has been involved in a project which examines the commercial business activities of the military in a selection of four countries, namely China, Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria. This is part of the on-going Military Expenditure Project at BICC. There has been very little structured analysis of military business activities, in particular of the way they may, or may not, contribute to national defense budgets. In some countries, preliminary evidence suggests that the primary beneficiaries may be the fields of troop welfare and the reintegration of military personnel—or even corruption—rather than the national defense budget.

The China case study has been completed and can be found on the BICC website. An international team of researchers is working to complete the other case studies; Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, who is a Ford Fellow, and Lesley McCulloch, who joined the Center in October, are responsible for the Pakistan and Indonesian studies respectively. J. Kayode Fayemi from the Centre for Democracy and Development in London is undertaking the Nigeria study. All the papers will be completed by Autumn 2000. The Project Team welcomes comments, suggestions and dialogue with other interested parties.

For further information please contact

→ Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha at [ayesha@bicc.de](mailto:ayesha@bicc.de)

## *Peace-Building and Weapons Control in the Horn of Africa*

BICC and the Nairobi-based African Peace Forum (APFO) have agreed to cooperate in carrying out a project called *Small Arms and Light Weapons: Assessing Issues and Developing Capacity for Peace in the Horn of Africa (SALIGAD)*. This will encourage and help local groups to identify and research issues related to the proliferation of small arms and foster the development of local capacities to deal with them. The project started on 1 January and is to run for three years. Initially, it will look at Kenya and Ethiopia. Funds are provided by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), which carries out development projects for the German government, and by the non-governmental organization Bread for the World. At the moment, the project is recruiting research officers in Kenya. The project director is German-based Kiflemariam Gebrewold.

For further information please contact

→ Kiflemariam Gebrewold at [gebre@bicc.de](mailto:gebre@bicc.de)

## BICC Publications

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

BICC. 2000. *Conversion Survey 2000. Global Disarmament, Demilitarization and Demobilization*. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany, June.

Natalie Pauwels (ed.). 2000. *War Force to Work Force: Global Perspectives on Demobilization and Reintegration*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft Baden-Baden, Germany, June.

Kees Kingma (ed.). 2000. *Demobilization in Sub-Saharan Africa; the development and security impacts*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, April.

Monterey Institute for International Studies (MIIS) and Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC). 2000. *Tackling Small Arms and Light Weapons: A Practical Guide for Collection and Destruction*, March.

**brief 15:** Herbert Wulf (ed.), *Security Sector Reform*, April 2000.

**paper 16:** Michael Brzoska, Patrice Franko and Jo Husbands, *Typology of Military Assets*, April 2000.

Jürgen Altmann (Hrsg.). 2000. *Dual-use in der Hochtechnologie: Erfahrungen, Strategien und Perspektiven in Telekommunikation und Luftfahrt*. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany, Spring/Summer.

## BICC Notes

In January, hundreds of people saw BICC's exhibitions **ConverArt—The Art of Disarmament** at Munich's leading cultural center, the Gasteig. In July/August, the University of Lüneburg will show *ConverArt* as part of its contribution to EXPO 2000.

For further information please contact  
→ Susanne Heinke at [heinke@bicc.de](mailto:heinke@bicc.de)

BICC, UNICEF and amnesty international held a press conference in Berlin on 14 February to draw attention to small arms issues. The three organizations called for measures to stem the **proliferation of small arms**: international controls on production and trade, tighter legislation on exports and licensing, and international programs for weapons collection and destruction.

For further information please contact  
→ Michael Dedek at [dedek@bicc.de](mailto:dedek@bicc.de)

From 3–5 March, BICC and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town held a conference in Pretoria to discuss the findings of their two-year project on **Demilitarization and Peace-Building in Southern Africa**. Some 80 experts reviewed the work of 20 researchers from the region. The study will be published this year.

For further information please contact  
→ Kees Kingma at [kingma@bicc.de](mailto:kingma@bicc.de)

BICC has delivered two reports on disarmament and development policy commissioned by the German development agency GTZ: one on **security sector reform** by Herbert Wulf and another on **small arms** by Sami Faltas and Wolf-Christian Paes. Kees Kingma will write a third report, on **demobilization**.

For further information please contact  
→ Herbert Wulf at [wulf@bicc.de](mailto:wulf@bicc.de)

The *Program on Security and Development (SAND)* at the MIIS and BICC have published a **practical guide on small arms** that can be downloaded at <http://www.bicc.de/weapons> (see BICC publications). It will help peace-keepers, development workers and local government officials to tackle proliferation and misuse.

For further information please contact Wolf  
→ Paes or Sami Faltas at [heldpdesk@bicc.de](mailto:heldpdesk@bicc.de)

**External factors** are having an increasing impact on **national governance** as far as security and the military are concerned, as well as on the democratic control of the military. BICC, the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, the Centro de Estudios Internacionales (CEI) in Managua, and the Institute for Policy and Community Development Studies (IPCOS) in Jakarta are developing a proposal to study this process. The MacArthur Foundation has given each institute a seed grant.

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→ Kees Kingma at [kingma@bicc.de](mailto:kingma@bicc.de)

## Upcoming Events

The Eighth Annual **International Conference on Conflict Resolution** will take place in Saint Petersburg, Russia from 11–21 May. It will be followed by Women at the Edge (18–19 May), a conference for women leaders. Organizers are the Harmony Institute and the Common Bond Institute. See <http://ahpweb.org/cbi/icr.html> or contact Steve Olweean: [solweean@aol.com](mailto:solweean@aol.com)

NGOs will meet at the UN in New York on 22–26 May for the **Millennium Forum** “to solicit the best thinking of civil society in all its sectors world-wide as they relate to ... peace, the eradication of poverty, human rights, sustainable development, globalization and strengthening and democratizing the United Nations.” Contact: [mngof@bic.org](mailto:mngof@bic.org)

The Second Lisbon **Conference on Defence and Peace Economics – The Economics of Civil War and Cooperation**, organized by the Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa will take place on 23–24 June. Contact: Carlos Pestana Barros at [cbarros@iseg.utl.pt](mailto:cbarros@iseg.utl.pt)