

bulletin

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Disarmament is still taking place—But is a change in trend imminent?

Wars in Kosovo, Congo, Angola, Chechnya and East Timor were key events in the field of security policy during the past year. Disarmament and conversion, on the other hand, hardly made the headlines. The negotiations on nuclear weapons are being drawn out, and the United States, which is dominant in the field of world politics, attaches little importance to either arms controls or disarmament. This is illustrated by the United States' recent attempt to set up a national missile defense system. Arms control is in a state of crisis and there is a threat of a new arms race because countries such as Russia and China, or perhaps even India, will not simply sit back and watch US efforts without taking action themselves.

These are some key-messages of BICC's fifth yearbook—the *Conversion Survey 2000—Global Disarmament, Demilitarization and Demobilization*—which was launched in Berlin on 22 June.

BICC's review of disarmament and conversion describes the revised Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) as a positive step. Although the Treaty excludes certain controversial topics, it establishes a new balance of offensive weapon systems in Europe and thus introduces an element of stability and security. It is also encouraging that the conference to review the Non-Proliferation Treaty in Spring 2000 did not turn into a fiasco—as many had feared—but that the nuclear powers once again committed themselves to abolishing these weapons of mass destruction. However, these words must now be followed by deeds. The banning

of landmines, and the campaigns against small arms and child soldiers also represent promising steps towards disarmament for the common good.

Although wars are still continuing and there are a number of—often internal—conflicts, one cannot overlook the fact that conflict prevention, crisis management and peacekeeping measures have taken effect in many regions in the world. Despite these experiences, there is often a tendency to quickly call for military intervention. Bosnia, Rwanda, Kosovo and East Timor illustrate this trend. Conflict prevention and crisis management must be understood and used as an integral component of development policy.

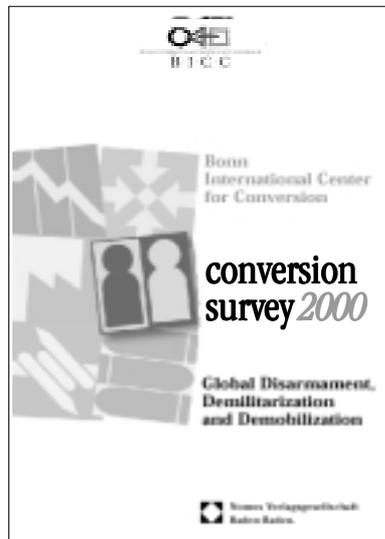
Paradoxically, although it is cheaper to invest in conflict prevention, funds are more readily available to deal with war damage.

All in all, it is noted that disarmament is progressing in quantitative terms, albeit at a snail's pace. World-wide fewer resources—finances, weapons, personnel—are being invested in military efforts than ten years ago. Today about two percent of the global gross national product is being spent on keeping armies, compared with the five percent at the end of the eighties.

The BICC disarmament index, which combines data in the field of military expenditures, weapon holdings, armed forces personnel and employment in the arms industry, shows that disarmament

continued at the end of the nineties but at a much slower pace. The military apparatus has recently been reduced by a further two percent annually and has thus shrunk by almost one-third since the end of the Cold War. Nevertheless, the trend towards disarmament has slowed down considerably and there may be a shift towards rearmament in the year 2000.

The international contributors to the *conversion survey 2000* also examine current trends in the field of international disarmament and conversion. Three regional examples:



In the **United States**, the government and opposition are in a kind of race to increase military expenditure. They are thereby jeopardizing the achievements of thirty years of arms control. Other states with which the United States could compete are not in sight. In 1998, the United States had an almost 37 percent share in global military expenditure which amounted to approximately US \$671 billion globally. It was followed by Japan, France and Germany which are all US allies. China, a potential military challenger, only held fifth place.

In **Russia**, the Putin government has upgraded the role of the military parallel to the war in Chechnya. The financial crisis in summer 1998 had already strengthened the position of the arms industry: the devaluation of the ruble means that the Russian arms industry can offer its products on the world market even more cheaply. In the meantime, arms exports are more important for the Russian arms industry than domestic demand.

At 12th place worldwide, **Germany** is among the leaders in the trend towards disarmament and has reduced its military sector by almost half since the end of the Cold War. However, the rapid pace of disarmament in Germany in the first half of the nineties has now slowed down disproportionately. Germany holds fourth place among all the countries in the world as far as military expenditures are concerned. The process of disarmament could gain renewed momentum, however, as there will be a need for disarmament and conversion in the short term within the framework of the restructuring of the Bundeswehr—disarmament as a result of reductions in heavy weapons and conversion due to the considerable potential for the civilian use of the bases and barracks which are to be closed down.

Further details on the book can be obtained at <http://www.bicc.de/general/survey2000>.

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

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Staff Spotlight:



Myriam Freigang

Myriam Freigang joined BICC's project management team in October 1999, where she works primarily on base closure issues. She is involved with the largest multi-year project at BICC in which communities in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia which are affected by the closure of military bases receive technical assistance and consulting services to promote the civilian reuse of the former military facilities. In addition to professional consulting activities and the transfer of know-how between municipalities, this includes the organization and implementation of conferences and workshops, writing the conversion report on behalf of the state government, and the analysis of conversion strategies. In addition, Myriam works on BICC's base closures activities in other German states, e.g Brandenburg as well as on the national level concerning the current discussion about the restructuring of the Bundeswehr including the effects for base closures.

From 1996 to 1999, Myriam worked at the *Forum Konversion & Stadtentwicklung (Forum for Defense Conversion & Urban Development)* in Koblenz. Commissioned by the State of Rhineland-Palatinate, the Forum supports municipalities in the state in reusing former military facilities and integrating them in a comprehensive urban and regional development process. Myriam Freigang worked with state and local leaders to promote and facilitate site redevelopment. She was involved in project development and the substantive and methodological aspects of project implementation and optimization. She also conducted the evaluation of projects, strategies, and the tools and instruments of redevelopment.

Myriam Freigang studied geography and urban planning at the Universities of Cologne and Bonn with a focus on urban and regional development. She lives in Cologne and is spending as much time as possible in Zeeland / NL enjoying wind, waves and her sports-catamaran.

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Help Desk on Practical Disarmament

The Monterey Institute of International Studies and BICC recently published a manual for use by people who are confronted with the problems of small arms that are out of control (available via <http://www.bicc.de/weapons>). Now BICC is setting up a Help Desk for Practical Disarmament which will provide various kinds of non-financial support for microdisarmament around the world. Among other things, it will set up a web site for on-line access to resources on practical disarmament. Furthermore the services will include consultancy, training and technical guidance. In May, the helpdesk staff attended a seminar on small arms control at the Organization of African Unity. In July, it will help the United Nations and West African governments develop a training program on small arms control. Later that month, it will lead a mission to Albania to evaluate the 1999 Gramsh disarmament project for the UN. In the fall, it will work with the Netherlands and Hungary on a study concerning the destruction of small arms in preparation of the International Small Arms Conference of 2001.

For further information please contact
 → Sami Faltas and Camilla Waszink at helpdesk@bicc.de

Project on the Defense Industry in Western Europe

BICC has just concluded a two-year project on adjustment strategies of the arms industry in Germany during which its activities focused on the sectors tank building, shipbuilding and aerospace with a detailed look into the work of management and works councils. In none of these sectors, a withdrawal from arms production could be noted; on the contrary, arms technology is considered to be a market of the future. The integration in diversified, mostly civilian, companies is considered to be the reason for the fact that one cannot speak of lacking efficiency in business administration in Germany—as is the case in some other countries. Nearly all businesses have implemented modern management methods and have introduced flexible working hours including working time accounts and work contracts of limited duration. The differences lay within the reorganization of the European arms markets. German shipyards, for instance, do not actively influence national nor international consolidation processes since they have a

large competition advantage due to their integration of merchant and navy shipbuilding, their tightly knit cooperation network amongst themselves, their long-term cooperation with international partners and their top position in terms of technology which—taken together—do not necessitate mergers. The tank building industry, on the contrary, which finds itself in a very difficult position, is in the process of discussing various consolidation strategies some of which have recently been executed on a national basis. In aerospace however, the restructuring in Europe has been brought to a temporary halt with the foundation of EADS. This sector is now trying to establish links with companies from across the Atlantic.

The opportunities and types of cooperation models within this new level of internationalization are to be looked into in a new research project by BICC.

For further information please contact
 → Hartmut Kuechle at kuechle@bicc.de

Upcoming Events

The COST A10 Seminar on **Boundaries and Defense Restructuring** will be held in Joensuu, Finland, on 14–17 September 2000. Contact: Tarja Cronberg at tarja.cronbergh@pkarjala.reg.fi

The COST A10 Seminar on **Defense Industry Restructuring** will be held in Stockholm, Schweden, on 13–15 Oktober 2000. Contact: Elisabeth Sköns at skoens@sipri.se

More than 35 base closure events are part of the **Konversionsommer 2000**, which takes place in Brandenburg until October 2000. This platform shows the efforts and successes on the way to a civilian reuse of the former military sites and supports the know-how transfer between public and private actors. Contact: <http://www.brandenburg.de/land/mw>

On 3–5 December 2000 the final expert seminar on **Smart sanctions: the next steps. Improving arms embargoes and travel sanctions** will take place in Berlin. Contact: Michael Brzoska at mb@bicc.de

Conference Announcement: **Soldiers in Business—The Military as an Economic Actor, 17–19 October 2000, Jakarta, Indonesia**

In cooperation with the Indonesian Institute for Policy and Community Development Studies (IPCOS) BICC plans to organize an international workshop on the economic involvement of armed forces and individual soldiers in private business activities. The workshop will bring together international experts in this field as well as NGO representatives from South-East Asia to discuss the impact of 'Military Business' on both the political and the economic framework of the nation state.

For further information please contact
 → Jörn Brömmelhörster at brommel@bicc.de or Wolf-Christian Paes at paes@bicc.de and check for updates at <http://www.bicc.de/milex>

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. Further details can be obtained at <http://www.bicc.de/publications>

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.

Brief 15: Herbert Wulf (ed.), *Security Sector Reform*, June 2000

Forthcoming:

Brief 16: Herbert Wulf (ed.), *Practical Disarmament*, July 2000

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

BICC Notes

On 15–19 June, BICC hosted a **South African government delegation studying the international experiences with the closure and redevelopment of military bases**. Twelve representatives from five ministries involved in the planning and implementation of base closure in South Africa made site visits, received technical briefings at BICC and observed different ways in which former military bases have been converted in Germany.

For further information please contact
→ Kees Kingma at kingma@bicc.de

The United Nations Secretary-General nominated a group of experts to carry out a **study on small arms brokering activities**. This study will be submitted as background document to the UN conference on small arms to be held in 2001. Herbert Wulf serves as a consultant to this group which will have three meetings (May 2000, July 2000 and February 2001).

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

BICC recently opened a **new office in Potsdam** (capital of the federal state of Brandenburg). From there it will support Brandenburg, one of BICC's shareholders, in its efforts to deal with the challenges of base conversion. BICC Potsdam will also enlarge the center's ties to the federal government and other

conversion-related institutions in Berlin and intensify its contacts to Eastern and Central European countries.

For further information please contact
→ Ulrike Bode at bode@bicc.de

Besides the *Conversion Survey 2000* BICC launched two new books on Wednesday 21 June: The second volume of BICC's *Disarmament and Conversion Studies* entitled *War Force to Work Force*, edited by Natalie Pauwels, features several case studies grouped into three categories: western market economies, transition countries and post-war societies. The wide range of countries, detailed political analyses and a wealth of data make this study a useful handbook both for anyone interested in politics and the specialist reader. The second new book, *Demobilization in Sub-Saharan Africa*, published by Macmillan Press and edited by BICC projectleader Kees Kingma, analyzes to what extent and how demobilizations have contributed to peace and human development in the light of Africa's huge development challenges and continuing wars and insecurity.

Further details can be obtained at
→ <http://www.bicc.de/publications>

In June, Andreas Heinemann-Grüder visited Latvia and Estonia in the context of BICC's project on **demobilization and the restructuring of armed forces in Eastern Europe**. In both countries, he conducted extensive talks with representatives of various ministries, the OSCE missions, experts from parliament, heads of Military Academies, the Russian embassy, representatives of the Russian community and scholars engaged in security studies.

For further information please contact
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Within the *Fellowship Program for Capacity-building on Disarmament, Conversion and Peace Policy* two **new fellows** have started work at BICC: Amanuel Mehreteab, an Eritrean, who works on the demobilization of former combatants in Eritrea and Dimitar Dimitrov, a Bulgarian, whose working area is Bulgaria's defense industry and military science.

For further information please contact
Amanuel Mehreteab at amanuel@bicc.de and
→ Dimitar Dimitrov at dimitrov@bicc.de

On 6 June four leading German Peace Research Institutes and BICC launched the *Friedensgutachten 2000*—a German **expert report on the development of peace**. For the first time and for a trial cooperation phase, BICC has joined the group of editing institutes. It provided input for the editor's Statement and the Recommendations and contributed articles on topics such as the crisis of disarmament.

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