



BONN INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR CONVERSION

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BICC and the Changing Political Arena

by Sverre Lodgaard

BICC is a product of the end of the Cold War. It was logical that an international center for conversion studies should have its venue in Central Europe. BICC was still in an entrepreneurial mode a few years later, as Big Power relations deteriorated and reductions in world military expenditure seemed to be grinding to a halt. It quickly and successfully amended and enlarged its agenda accordingly.

And then came 11 September, a dramatic event with far-reaching repercussions. Will this lead to a conceptual and paradigmatic shift from which new modes of understanding, new priorities and new political agendas will evolve?

The Western world is known for its *greed*. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has estimated that if all human beings were to adopt Western lifestyles, we would need five planets to produce the necessary raw materials and to absorb the pollution left behind. The Western world is also known for its *language of power*, and some would say for its *hubris*: our decision-makers apparently believe that things can continue more or less as they are. Has 11 September done anything to transform this state of affairs? By and large, electorates seem to think that things should remain the same and want their representatives to uphold their privileges. Evidently, we are not there yet.

These days, large parts of the world are busily studying political Islam and the Middle East in order to better understand the oppression, humiliation and powerlessness under which people in the Middle East are laboring. In the mindset of many Muslims, the suicide bomber is pitted against the super military power; theology against technology—only God is with them. As more and more people throughout Europe hear, read and see this, does 11 September change Western policies towards the Muslim world, and the Middle East in particular? Certainly, changes are taking

place. But most of them are dictated by the US agenda, which does not allow much scope for the emancipation of the Middle East. There is little indication that humility is substituting the *language of power*.

Dramatic events do open windows of opportunity, however. What are the implications for the conversion/disarmament agenda, and what does it mean for BICC? Here are a few points for consideration:

- The non-proliferation agenda has become more important. In Russia, some 1,350 tons of fissile material are kept in 300 depots at 50 sites. About half of this material is contained in nuclear warheads, but proliferation concerns relate mainly to the other half. Improvements in material protection, control and accounting (MPC&A) are the first line of defense. Making weapons unusable is the second, and disarmament/elimination the third line of defense.
- Where do terrorists settle? Where are their preferred homes? Generally speaking, there appear to be two answers: first, in countries where they have government support (Afghanistan, Sudan); second, in countries with no government (Somalia) or with governments which effectively only control parts of their territories (other countries in the Horn of Africa, countries in civil war). This makes the conversion of indigenous resources all the more important, and the provision of international assistance for security sector improvements in order to fill the vacuum.
- No single factor in the process of transition from a peace agreement to peace can be dubbed ‘the crucial one’ for success. However, studies strongly suggest that security sector reform—both civilian and military—is important. In October 1996, a donor consultation under the joint chairmanship of the United Nations/United Nations Development Programme (UN/UNDP) lent support in principle to the integrated and proportional approach to security and development (‘security first’). For various reasons, this principle has rarely been followed in practice—despite its validity. BICC might consider initiating

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another meeting of the 1996 kind, sponsored jointly with German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and others, elaborating on the rationale for, and status of, the 'security first' approach and discussing how best to promote it in practice.

- During the Cold War, civilian casualties and the destruction of civilian property were treated as *collateral damage*. In the 1990s, it became increasingly obvious that civilians had become the main targets of contemporary wars (Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Rwanda etc.), and 11 September marked the continuation of this trend. It would be useful to make an empirical assessment of violent conflicts in this regard.
- What is the record of US unilateralism to date and what, if anything, did 11 September do to change it? In order to focus the debate, an all-encompassing effort should be made to set the record straight and to make a prudent empirical assessment of the impact of 11 September. Given that no research establishment commands expertise in the whole range of foreign affairs issues, this is a task that BICC might approach together with other institutions, including one in the United States.

There can be no doubt that our research agendas must be reviewed and amended as developments evolve. In 1989, the stability and rigidity of 40 years of Cold War had left us unprepared. Today, we should be able to do better.

Dr. Sverre Lodgaard is Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and 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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***BICC staff wish you all a
 happy and successful 2002!!***

Staff Spotlight:



Peter J. Croll

Peter Croll took over from Herbert Wulf as Director of BICC on 1 January 2002. He was born in Germany and studied economics and languages. He gained his first professional experience in the private sector, as a trainee with a multinational company in Hamburg and Amsterdam. Later while at the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), he elaborated an econometric model of industrial development for Central American countries.

His wide experience in national and international development cooperation includes project management, development banking, institutional development, policy advising, and development management. He has held senior management positions with German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) at its headquarters and abroad. His last assignment was as GTZ Country Director in Kenya, where he was responsible for the design and implementation of German-Kenyan bilateral programs and projects. He participated in national and international policy dialogue forums and assisted in the design and implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), thus ensuring the participation of civil society in this process. He also facilitated the UNDP cross-border ecological program in southern Africa, the Banguela Current Large Marine Ecosystem (BCLME).

Additionally, he initiated and facilitated diverse activities and consultations on crisis prevention and conflict management in Kenya through a project called COMANI—Conflict Management Initiative. This initiative comprised conflict-risk assessment, conflict mapping and the assessment of 'best' and 'worst' practices in selected districts of Kenya.

When Peter Croll isn't working, he likes to paint and hike. He has recently started biking in Bonn. After so many years in Sub-Saharan Africa, he is also looking forward to reviving his cross-country skiing skills ... Good luck!

We wish him well in his new assignment and look forward to working with him.

For further information please contact

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Farewell to Herbert Wulf

On 29 November 2001, BICC held a farewell reception on the Godesburg in Bonn for its director, Herbert Wulf. Speakers were Hartmut Krebs, Deputy Minister for Schools, Science and Research (State Government of North Rhine-Westphalia) and Chairman of BICC's Supervisory Board, Anke Brunn, former Minister of Education of North Rhine-Westphalia, Bärbel Dieckmann, Mayor of Bonn, and Sverre Lodgaard, Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. In a light-hearted speech, Svenja Bends, BICC, thanked Herbert Wulf for his commitment and support on behalf of the staff.

We are pleased that Herbert Wulf will not be leaving BICC entirely, but will stay on as a researcher working on a two-year project financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. The project will analyze two changes in military functions: first, the shift towards international missions, which is adding new functions to the military's traditional role of territorial defense; second, the trend towards a reduced role for the military as a result of the privatization of security functions which can be observed in many countries. Both trends reduce the nation state's direct control over security functions.

For further information please contact

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The 'balance sheet' of conversion

A major task at the end of the Cold War, when there was a political will to substantially reduce armed forces, was to shift resources from military to civilian activities. The demilitarization of national economies and military infrastructures was a priority in many countries until the mid-1990s. As defense budgets and arms exports plummeted, military bases were vacated, soldiers and employees in the defense industry made redundant, and weapons made surplus.

The rapidity of change and the number of tasks involved created a great demand for efficient conversion management. Not all of the conversion tasks undertaken were successful. Thousands of surplus weapons were sold or given away, some of which turned up later in areas of war and conflict. This was a negative by-product of the broader process of disarmament in Europe. The conversion of weapon labs is still a particularly hard nut to crack, since a lot of secrecy surrounds such specialized facilities. In contrast, the civilian re-use of former military bases has sometimes turned out to be more of an opportunity than a problem, with more new jobs created than previously existed on the military base. Also, a number of demobilization and reintegration programs have given

former soldiers and ex-fighters a new perspective in civilian life.

In its *Conversion Survey* yearbook, BICC has observed and documented a halt in and—in a number of countries at least—a reversal of the trend of disarmament since the late 1990s. Is this the end of conversion, or the end of BICC's work? No, certainly not. BICC is already engaged in a number of new areas of great importance, which will require even more attention in the future and which will increasingly supplement its traditional agenda:

- Projects with a specific development angle, such as the control of small arms and light weapons, transparency and democracy. Increasing emphasis is being placed on openness and democratization in the military sector, including security sector reform and the military as entrepreneurs.
- The prevention and management of militant conflicts, with a focus on efforts to develop exit strategies, as well as post-conflict rehabilitation.

While the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington have led to immediate military action and a further increase in military budgets in a number of countries, this policy by no means precludes the need for the continuation of a managed process of conversion.

For further information please contact

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New Project on European Defense and Security Policy

The Project on Bridging the Accountability Gap in EU Defense and Security (ESDP Democracy) is an EU-funded research project on European defense and security policy. It will run for four years and will engage practitioners and young researchers from the EU and Associated States, building on existing expertise and networks, to study and recommend new forms of democratic accountability for the emerging EU defense and security capability. This cross-disciplinary study will bring together political scientists and those working on European integration and civil-military relations. The program is being conducted by a consortium of research partners in ten institutions in the UK, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Norway, Hungary and the Czech Republic. BICC is focusing on Western European defense industry restructuring, demobilization issues, and European security and defense policies.

Further information can be obtained at

→ www.esdpdemocracy.net or contact
Isabelle Ioannides at ioann@bicc.de and
Jocelyn Mawdsley at mawdsley@bicc.de

BICC Publications

In addition to its annual *conversion survey*, the BICC publishes *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 www.bicc.de/publications/.

Forthcoming:

Brief 21: Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, *Small States—Big Worries: The Choice of Armed Forces in the Baltics*, February 2002.

Brief 22: Kris Brown and Corinna Hauswedell, *Burying the Hatchet—The Decommissioning of Paramilitary Arms in Northern Ireland*, February 2002.

BICC Notes

We would like to welcome **Isabelle Ioannides** and **Jocelyn Mawdsley** who joined BICC on 1 October and 1 December 2001 respectively to work on the ESDP Democracy Project (see project description on Page 3).

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Jocelyn Mawdsley at mawdsley@bicc.de.

The Evangelische Akademie Hofgeismar, Medico International and BICC co-hosted an **international conference on War Economies** in Hofgeismar from 19–21 October 2001. The event focused on the exploitation of natural resources by conflict parties and the role of humanitarian aid in civil wars. The proceedings of the conference will be published in 2002.

For more information please contact

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The German Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Dieter Kastrup, presented the **results of the Bonn-Berlin Process on Targeted Sanctions at the 4394th meeting of the UN Security Council** in New York on 22 October 2001. The booklet containing the main results of the process, which was coordinated by BICC, was subsequently presented to a larger audience, including UN delegates, academics, NGOs and UN officials at a luncheon organized by the International Peace Academy at the German House.

For further information please contact

→ Michael Brzoska at mb@bicc.de

BICC and the Minden Entwicklungs- und Wirtschaftsförderungsgesellschaft (Development Agency) organized a **conference on Conversion in North Rhine-Westphalia: New Challenges following the Restructuring of the German Armed**

Forces in Minden on 22/23 October 2001. More than 80 participants from the communities affected, public administrations, and planning and development companies exchanged information, experiences and opinions in best-practice workshops.

For further information please contact

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On 16/17 November 2001, BICC participated in the 6th **Cercle Stratégique Franco-Allemand** (Strategic French-German Circle), organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the French research center IRIS in Berlin to discuss the impact of the 11 September attacks and the situation in Macedonia. The conference was opened by the German Defense Minister and attended by many MPs from both countries.

For further information please contact

→ Harmut Kühle at kuechle@bicc.de

Kees Kingma is working as **Coordinator of the UNDP's Peace and Development Programme** in the Solomon Islands from the end of November 2001 until May 2002. Following a major conflict and coup d'état, a peace agreement was signed in October 2000. The UNDP is playing an increasingly important role in fostering cooperation among the parties concerned, supporting activities in the areas of demobilization, rehabilitation and recovery. UNDP has contracted BICC to coordinate the program for six months.

For further information please contact

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The office of the President of Macedonia, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and BICC organized a **workshop on the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons** in Skopje on 18/19 November 2001. Policymakers, diplomats and researchers looked at civilian disarmament initiatives following the NATO-led Operation Harvest. The BICC/FNF study *Wag the Dog: The Mobilization and Demobilization of the KLA* (BICC Brief 20) was presented to the media and local authorities.

For further information please contact

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German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and BICC signed a **Memorandum of Understanding** at BICC on 6 December. The Chairman of BICC's Supervisory Board, Hartmut Krebs, emphasized the importance of the agreement and pointed out that cooperation is expected in the areas of security sector reform, small arms control, conflict prevention and crisis management, demobilization, and the reintegration of ex-fighters.

For further information please contact

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