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## *New Security Concepts Required*

by Michael Brzoska

When seeking to mark the beginning and the end of the post-Cold War period, the fall of the Berlin Wall (9 November 1989) and the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington (11 September 2001) are probably the most prominent dates. While a process of extensive disarmament and conversion occurred during the post-Cold War period, there are now indications that renewed rearmament is beginning on a global scale, possibly marking the 'post-post-Cold War' period, or whatever it will be called, of the new millennium. The BICC *conversion survey 2002*, just published, contains substantial information on the individual facets of this reversal of trends.

However, as in the post-Cold War period, this new overall trend weaves together many quite different processes in various countries and regions. Just as the Cold War period did not result in disarmament all over the world—India and Pakistan being the most important exceptions—the new period is not one of worldwide rearmament. Increases in military spending are occurring concurrently with disarmament, now as they were then. Even as global military forces are being built up, wars continue to end, opening up chances for military downsizing at local and regional levels. Opportunities and challenges for conversion still exist.

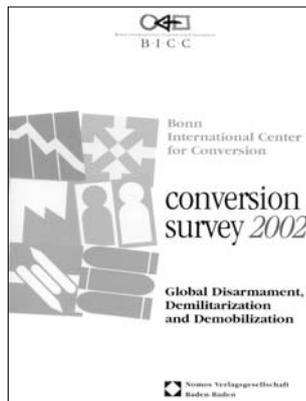
Another important departure from the post-Cold War period is the direction taken by arms control, which—at best—can be considered uncertain. Lack of progress on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, and the end of the ABM Treaty are all setbacks which send a clear message. Criticism of the kind of arms control that marked the

Cold War—or rather, if one judges by the success of negotiations, the dust of the Cold War—is coming from many quarters. The current US administration is the most visible critic, but criticism of the bureaucracy, the cost, and the failed targeting of agreements can be heard in the corridors of many ministries as well as NGOs. Informal agreements on reductions are being promoted such as the one announced by the United States and Russia on long-range warheads. These are often viewed as a poor substitute for formal agreements, as they are more easily reversible and less reliable than treaties. But is the Ottawa Convention on anti-personnel mines not a similarly weak arrangement? The truth is that there is a dearth of good ideas on the future of arms control and negotiated disarmament. Promoters of arms control did not do a good job during the post-Cold War period with the exception of the Ottawa Convention. They largely continued to promote traditional concepts of stability, agreed limitations and verification, and now find themselves without much support outside of their own circles.

Yet, several factors will still limit actual rearmament in the near future, including fiscal pressures and a reassessment of the best methods of defense against the threats of the new century.

If one looks at those regions most afflicted by terrorism—such as Israel/

Palestine, Kashmir, Sri Lanka—one certainly does not find a lack of military effort. The United States has spent billions of dollars on counterterrorism since the US Embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya in August 1998, targeting Osama bin Laden and his terrorist organization, al-Qaeda, in particular—but with little effect. However, without suggesting a direct link between military expenditures and terrorist activity, the past record does raise many questions as to whether military forces are suited to the new challenges. An increase in conventional military power does not seem to be the best response to today's threats. Admittedly, it is also not clear how well non-military strategies will work, but they are unlikely to yield less value for money.



Opportunities for a cooperative new world order and a continuing reduction of military threats do exist. But will they be taken? BICC's *conversion survey 2002* reveals the authors' skepticism. They are not convinced that a new period of increased military strength will help to meet the new challenges or that disarmament, arms control and conversion have failed. They find it disconcerting that the new threats, dreadful as they are, primarily elicit the age-old reactions of building up military strength and unilateral action. The US government is named and shamed quite frequently on this score. But note, for instance, the speech by US President George W. Bush in the German Bundestag recently. He stressed the need to get at the root causes of terrorism and announced a 50 percent increase in US economic aid. While it is legitimate and important to criticize the policies of the US government, one must also realize that they are not founded on anything inherently malicious but on a genuine effort to come to grips with the world as it is now.

Politics remain as complex as they have ever been. Neither a renewed period of arms increases nor the end of arms control are natural assumptions, but the result of political controversies over ideas and interests. The search for, and promotion of, concepts that will reduce security threats without creating new ones is crucial in order to stop somber predictions about the coming years from turning into self-fulfilling prophecies.

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Concluding Remarks on the Occasion of the Presentation of the *conversion survey* in Geneva, 6 June 2002 by Dr Michael Brzoska, Head of the Research Department at the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC).

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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:



**Jocelyn  
Mawdsley**

Jocelyn Mawdsley (UK) joined the BICC research team in December 2001. She works as a post-doc research fellow on the project 'Bridging the Accountability Gap in European Security and Defense Policy' (or ESDP-Democracy for short). The EU-funded research program engages practitioners and young researchers from the EU and Associated States, based in ten different institutions, to study and make recommendations on new forms of democratic accountability for the emerging defence and security capability of the European Union.

Her current work focuses on questions of accountability in defence procurement and the changing relationships between defence firms and states. It also looks at how to ensure that Europeanization of the armament sector does not result in less accountability and scrutiny of the policy sector. She is also working on a study with Professor Kjell Eliassen from the Norwegian School of Management on the use of offsets as industrial policy.

Jocelyn took European Studies at the University of Bradford, then moved to Newcastle to complete an MA and PhD in political science, where she also taught European Union and French politics. She then decided to find out what government was really like and joined the Scottish Executive, where she spent a busy year helping to establish monitoring and evaluation systems for the 2000–2006 European Structural Funds programs. Having been on the receiving end of political scrutiny, she is pleased to be able to combine this experience with her PhD research on the ESDP-Democracy project.

In her free time, Jocelyn enjoys hill-walking, crosswords and reading detective novels. Although she misses the sea, she's enjoying being back in Bonn (where she spent an Erasmus year as an undergraduate) and being able to see a lot more of her German friends.

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## ***Project on Demobilization in Eastern Europe***

During the 1990s, Eastern Europe's military personnel was dramatically downsized. Contrary to many pessimist expectations, the military did not rebel against the loss of its former status. The project is currently in its final stage. The results are presented in two BICC *briefs*: No. 20, on the Kosovo Liberation Army, and No. 21, on security policies of the Baltic states. Two more BICC briefs, to be published in summer 2002, will provide cross-country comparisons of demobilization experiences. The project will result in a German book publication on "The Military in Transition. Security Policies in Eastern Europe".

What tentative cross-regional lessons for demobilization and reintegration can be drawn from this project? After more than two years of research conducted in the Baltic states, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary and on the Balkans it is obvious that the Ministries of Defense play a key role in preparing, implementing and adjusting reintegration measures.

Therefore:

- *Reintegration should start in the military*, with civilian-use vocational training offered at military schools and special assistance programs before leaving.
- *Special administrative units with appropriate funding* for the entire course of the reintegration program as well as qualified manpower have to be set up to assist reintegration policies, particularly retraining and job creation for laid-off officers. Financial means should be geared at direct beneficiaries. Programs should be evaluated according to their efficiency.
- Retraining is best conducted on a *regional level* that takes the specifics of the downsizing pattern, the local job market and the opportunities for job creation into account. Therefore, close cooperation with regional bureaus of employment, job placement agencies and vocational training centers is vital. Job fairs, vocational training on-the-job, and support in the setting up of small and medium-sized enterprises are instruments to be considered at the planning stage.
- *Servicemen have to be encouraged to take responsibility for themselves*. It is advisable to prepare the servicemen as early as possible for post-military careers.

At times, external assistance has been of crucial importance. The European Union TACIS program, the OECD, the EBRD, the World Bank, NATO,

individual NATO countries, and NGOs such as the Soros Foundation have been active in supporting reintegration.

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## ***Curbing Small Arms Proliferation in the Balkans***

The successor states of the former socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia still suffer from the heritage of a decade of warfare. Even before the outbreak of violence in 1991, some 1.6 million weapons were in private possession. As a result of the fighting as well as the looting of some 650,000 small and light weapons in neighboring Albania, the number of weapons in circulation has increased dramatically. BICC, in association with Saferworld, is addressing this problem in a joint research project aimed at analyzing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region, as well as at providing policy instruments to curb this development.

Building on previous project activities—such as the study on the demobilization of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and consultancy work for UNDP in Albania—the project currently focuses on three aspects of the problem:

- *The situation of ethnic minorities in Kosovo*. This part of the project aims to obtain a better understanding of the human security situation of the ethnic minorities in Kosovo, especially the Kosovo Serbs.
- *The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Macedonia*. One year after the end of the Macedonian civil war, the country remains deeply divided. Despite the efforts of NATO, the number of guns in circulation is very high.
- *New and old gun cultures in the Balkans*. This aspect of the project takes a closer look at cultural and societal reasons for gun ownership in the Balkans.

The research activities are undertaken by a project team made up of members of Saferworld and BICC and the results will also be published jointly. The project is supported by the British Government through DFID (Department for International Development) and by the Friedrich-Naumann-Foundation.

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## 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 experience gained, and offer scientific as well as practical know-how. Further details can be obtained at [www.bicc.de/publications/](http://www.bicc.de/publications/).

BICC 2002. *Conversion Survey 2002: Global Disarmament, Demilitarization and Demobilization*. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany, May.

### Forthcoming:

**Brief 24:** Vanessa Farr and Kiflemariam Gebre-Wold (eds.): *Gender Perspectives on Small Arms: Regional and International Concerns*, July.



We are happy to announce that from now on BICC is distributing a **newsletter** via e-mail. It will provide information on BICC's current events,

publications and press releases and can be subscribed via [www.bicc.de](http://www.bicc.de) or [newsletter@bicc.de](mailto:newsletter@bicc.de).

## BICC Notes

In January and April 2002, a national followed by a regional meeting took place in Tirana, Albania, on **Human Security and Weapons Control**, both organized by UNDP and the Albanian Atlantic Association and facilitated by BICC. The report in *bulletin 23* on these meetings was incomplete.

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On 6 June the five leading German peace research institutes, including BICC, launched the **Friedensgutachten 2002**, the annual German report on international peace issues. In their joint statement, the experts warned of a re-emergence of war in international relations as a result of 11 September. BICC also contributed articles on the role of the military against terrorism, a "terror dividend" in military expenditures, the EU's role in Macedonia, small arms control in the Horn of Africa, and the Northern Irish peace process.

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The conference **Money Makes the War go Round? The EU and Transforming the Economy of War in Sudan**, a joint initiative of the European Coalition on Oil in Sudan (ECOS) and BICC which took place in Brussels from 12 to 13 June brought together over sixty participants for a sometimes heated, but very productive, discussion of the economic dimensions of the war in Sudan. Conference papers and a summary report are now available via the BICC website.

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Saferworld, the Ministry of the Interior of Serbia and BICC jointly organized a **conference on Enhancing Security in the Balkans** in Belgrade on 24/25 June. The event brought together policymakers, scholars and civil society representatives to discuss practical measures of weapons collection, the raising of public awareness, and police reform.

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BICC and the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)—Institut d'études européennes (IEE)—organized a **workshop on Arms Control, Procurement and Transfers in Europe: Aspects of Accountability, Transparency and Legitimacy** which was held at BICC from 21 to 23 June. Policymakers and academics from various countries discussed aspects of armaments cooperation, weapons exports and arms control in Europe. The workshop was organized in the context of the **Bridging the Accountability Gap in European Security and Defense Policy** project.

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The Hon. Zoë Bakoko Bakoru, Minister of Gender, Social Development and Labour of Uganda, has kindly offered to launch BICC's latest *brief 24* on **Gender Perspectives on Small Arms and Light Weapons** during the international **Women's World 2002 Conference** at the Makerere University in Uganda from 21 to 26 July.

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In March 2002, BICC started a research project analyzing the **potential for security sector reform in post-Taliban Afghanistan**. The project documents and studies efforts to establish a countrywide disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants program. The project will produce a report that should be available for circulation in early August 2002.

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BICC is collaborating with the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI) on organizing a **seminar on the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process in Angola**, which is to be held in Geneva this fall. The conference will bring together key actors involved in Angola as well as regional experts from both governmental and non-governmental institutions. It aims to facilitate a continuing dialogue and make policy recommendations on the issue of DDR.

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