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Security and the Millennium Development Goals

by *Guido Schmidt-Traub and Prateek Tandon*

A well-established two-way relationship exists between security and development that needs to shape international development cooperation: conflict leads to poor development outcomes, and a lack of development increases the likelihood of conflict. The reports of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change as well as the UN Millennium Project have both shown that development and security are mutually dependent. This consensus view among experts has been reaffirmed at the September World Summit, which drew a strong connection between peace and development.

Now these two agendas that are all too often pursued in isolation by two distinct communities of experts must come together. A critical component of an international response to the twin challenge of security and development are increased investments in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Not only are these investments needed for the rehabilitation of war-torn societies, but they also reduce the risk of conflict and the instability resulting from failed states.

It has been well documented that violent conflict creates losses that affect whole economies and undermine their prospects for growth. The World Bank estimates that a civil war lasts seven years on average, with the growth rate of the economy diminished by 2.2 percent every year. That study uses the civil war in Colombia as an example and estimates that armed conflict between government forces and rebel guerrillas since 1992 has cost the economy two percentage points in growth annually. Another study puts the average cost of a conflict at US \$54 billion for a low-income country.

Violent conflict gives rise to chain reactions that increase economic losses. Capital stays away or flees the country so that much needed investments can no longer be domestically financed. Capital flight of almost twenty percent of private wealth has been

recorded in countries that are in conflict. In addition to falling investment, the fruits of years of development can be lost in a short time through the destruction of physical capital and the displacement of skilled workers. El Salvador lost an estimated US \$1.6 billion worth of infrastructure, such as bridges, roads, power systems, schools, and clinics during its conflict years with devastating consequences for the country's development.

The link between growth and violent conflict also runs in the reverse direction, for poverty and a lack of development are strong predictors of conflict. Evidence suggests that a country with a civil war within its borders typically has only one-third the *per capita* income of a country with similar characteristics but at peace. A country with a *per capita* income of US \$500 is approximately twice as likely to experience a major conflict within five years as a country with a *per capita* income of about US \$4,000. As a result, poverty is

widely seen as the primary driver of civil conflict in sub-Saharan Africa.

Unless development can be accelerated in sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world, conflict, failed states, and resulting migration will represent growing security threats to Germany and other developed countries. In an increasingly interdependent world it will not be possible to be shielded from these risks. To reduce them, poor countries need to be supported in increasing investments in education, health, basic infrastructure, and improved environmental management.

The Millennium Development Goals constitute a comprehensive set of quantitative, time-bound objectives. As the internationally shared development goals they provide the operational framework for making international development cooperation goal-oriented. To this end, all developing countries should be empowered to craft and implement development strategies that are bold enough to meet the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.

In addition to mapping out the public investments in agricultural productivity, improved schools, a national health system, gender equality, basic infrastructure, and environmental protection, MDG-based development strategies can include direct measures to reduce the risk of conflict. If growth-enhancing policies are likely to produce or worsen severe regional or ethnic inequalities,

"The case for action to prevent conflict has never been stronger..."

compensatory investments should be made in disadvantaged areas, with steps to facilitate migration to areas of faster growth, encouraging the return of remittances.

Furthermore, MDG-based development strategies should include specific investments aimed directly at improving peace and security. Policies must strengthen state capacity, including investments in justice and security. Training police and military officials to provide effective, accountable, and rights-based public services is a development planning priority. In addition, the circulation of weapons must be properly regulated, and both rich and poor countries must cooperate in monitoring and controlling the flow of small arms in order to prevent the outbreak of conflict.

Many reports have shown that the Millennium Development Goals are not only achievable by 2015, they are also imminently affordable. The EU-15 countries have already announced timelines for achieving the internationally agreed target of 0.7 percent of gross national product in official development assistance. If these commitments are implemented and the example is followed by the six donor countries that have not yet agreed to such a timeline (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, and the United States), then adequate means will be available to achieve the Goals in all countries.

The September World Summit has focused attention on the need for enhanced conflict prevention and the strong relationship between security and development. The case for action to prevent conflict has never been stronger, nor has the link between security and development ever been clearer. By investing in achieving the Millennium Development Goals, the world has an unprecedented opportunity to transform the lives of millions and create, at all levels, a more prosperous and secure world. Now is the time for action.

Guido Schmidt-Traub is Associate Director of the UN Millennium Project where Prateek Tandon works as a Research Analyst.

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Responsible for this issue: Susanne Heinke, Heike Webb (editing), Svenja Bends (layout and publishing management).

Phone: +49-228-911960
Fax: +49-228-241215
E-mail: bicc@bicc.de
Internet: www.bicc.de

Staff Spotlight:



Igor D. Grebenschikov

Igor D. Grebenschikov (Kyrgyzstan), joined BICC's staff in October 2004 after having completed a one-year research fellowship on issues of SSR in Central Asia, International Security Governance in Kosovo and DD&R in South Sudan at BICC. His current field of studies are defense reform, base conversion and demobilization programs in Western Balkan countries, particularly in Albania and Macedonia. Before joining BICC, Igor was with the East-European Department of Deutsche Welle.

Igor studied philosophy, international relations and German literature at the Kyrgyz State University in Bishkek (1987–1996), as well as political sciences at the University of Cologne (1994–1995) and the University of Hamburg (1997–1998). He received his Ph.D. in 1999 after a one-year research fellowship at the German Orient Institute in Hamburg. During his postgraduate studies Igor completed the course in Global Security Policy and War Economy at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (USA/Germany). Igor received fellowships from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Otto Benecke Foundation.

In the Soviet Army Special Forces Igor served as a conscript with the very peaceful occupation of a cook (1985-1987). His post-military professional activities included press-officer and MP-adviser in the Kyrgyz Parliament (Jogorku Kenesh) being involved in the development and implementation of electoral communication strategies. He then edited, as long as was politically possible, the independent weekly "The Liberal Newspaper" and worked later as political analyst regularly contributing with background reports for international media projects in Central Asia run by CIMERA (Switzerland, www.cimera.org) and the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (UK, www.iwpr.net).

Outside of work, Igor enjoys travelling throughout "old" Europe, reading contemporary American literature and cooking piquant Asian food. From his student time Igor has kept his interest in the philosophy of psychoanalysis and believes: everything we know might be wrong.

For further information please contact
 → Igor D. Grebenschikov at ig@bicc.de

Case Studies on the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes

Arms embargoes are the most frequent form of international sanctions. In the efforts to reform international sanctions, with which BICC has been closely associated through organizing the “Bonn-Berlin-Process”, improving the effectiveness of embargoes has had a central position. In a research project funded by the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation, BICC researchers, in cooperation with a team at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame (Indiana, USA), led by Professor George Lopez have attempted to improve the knowledge about factors which increase the success of arms embargoes. The research combined eight case studies with a quantitative analysis of all arms embargoes mandated by the UN, the EU and the USA since 1990 (the list with additional information can be found at www.smartsanctions.de). Effectiveness is defined on three levels, namely the reduction of arms imports by targeted states or entities, change in the targeted policy and satisfaction by sanction implementers with the sanction. Arms imports were reduced in almost 40 percent of all arms embargoes, but targeted policy change occurred in only 8 percent of all cases. Success in reducing arms flows has increased since the 1990s, largely because arms embargoes tend to become more effective over time. The research indicates that effective multilateralization, the combination of willingness and capability of potential arms suppliers to implement sanction provisions, is the most important factor of success.

→ For further information please contact Michael Brzoska at mb@bicc.de

Demobilization in Colombia

The project “Demobilization in Colombia” forms part of BICC’s issue area peacebuilding and addresses the evaluation and monitoring of Colombia’s paramilitary demobilization process.

Together with its Colombian partner “Fundación Ideas para la Paz” BICC aims at giving advice to Colombia’s demobilization execution bodies by transferring disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DD&R) experiences. On several visits to Colombia undertaken by BICC staff since 2002 BICC presented different “best practices” and “lessons learned” identified during previous studies carried out in Africa and on the Balkans.

Through a field study undertaken in 2004 and permanent observation and discussion with its national and international partners BICC intends to identify

existing weaknesses of the ongoing DD&R focussing both on the collective demobilization and the demobilization of individual fighters. The goal is to develop policy recommendations and tools for relevant actors in the demobilization process to foster Colombia’s and the international communities’ efforts to end one of the longest ongoing civilian conflict in recent history.

BICC *paper 43*: “To End a War: Demobilization and Reintegration of Paramilitaries in Colombia” was published in July this year.

→ For further information, please contact Andreas Heinemann-Grüder at hg@bicc.de

Internationalizing and Privatizing War and Peace—The Bumpy Ride to Peacebuilding

In a new publication, Prof Dr Herbert Wulf, former director of BICC, analyzes the use of private military firms and international interventions of the military. Outsourcing to the private sector takes missions away from the military, but the shift towards international intervention adds new, wider functions to the traditional role of defense. If these two trends continue at the present pace, important security functions will be out of control of parliaments, national governments and international authorities. The state monopoly of violence—an achievement of civilization—is at stake.

The publication results from a research project undertaken at BICC and funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, Germany. After a German language publication (*Internationalisierung und Privatisierung von Krieg und Frieden*, BICC/DCAF Security Sector Governance and Conversion Studies No. 11) the English language publication *Internationalizing and Privatizing War and Peace* is now available at Palgrave Macmillan publishers.

The topic is of special importance for developing countries and countries in transition. It is of vital importance to bring the reader face to face with the changed security challenge in the post-Cold War, globalizing world. Therefore, BICC contributes to capacity-building in these countries by donating 200 copies of the Palgrave book to university libraries and research institutions. It is BICC’s aim to contribute to the improved availability of knowledge and expertise. This was made possible by a grant BICC received from the Volkswagen Foundation.

→ For further information please contact Michael Dedek at dedek@bicc.de or see www.palgrave.com

BICC Publications

In addition to its annual *conversion survey*, the BICC/DCAF *security sector governance and conversion studies* and other books, BICC publishes *briefs, papers* and the quarterly newsletter *bulletin*. These series analyze international aspects of arms, peacebuilding and conflict, report on projects and experience gained, and offer scientific as well as practical know-how. Further details can be obtained at www.bicc.de/publications/

paper 44:

Jerry Sommer, *Security in Cyprus: Threat Perceptions, Possible Compromises and the Role of the EU*, September 2005

forthcoming:

paper 45:

Joakim Kreutz, *Hard measures by a Soft Power? Sanctions policy of the European Union 1981-2004*, November 2005

brief 31 (Serbian version):

Tobias Pietz, *Demobilizacija i prekalifikacija za buducnost Vojska Srbije i Crne Gore*, November/December 2005

brief 32:

Volker Böge et al., *Making Sense of Responsibility: Corporate Conduct in Zones of Conflict*, December 2005

brief 33:

Volker Böge, *Water, Conflict and Transboundary Water Governance. Southern African Experiences*, January 2006

BICC Notes

BICC's photo exhibition, a co-production of BICC and the photo agency *laif* (Cologne), was presented on 22 October 2005 during the UN Day of the City of Bonn. Photographs and texts document the impact of conflict and conflict prevention on the Millennium Development Goals. The exhibition is sponsored by InWent gGmbH (Capacity-Building International, Germany) out of resources of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development and supported by the representative of the UN Millennium Campaign in Germany. **The exhibition can be borrowed from BICC.** Please don't hesitate to ask!

For further information, please contact:

→ Susanne Heinke at pr@bicc.de

On 9 November 2005 the European Security Contact Group meeting **"Cyprus after the 3rd of October – New Chances for Reunification? What Role for the EU?"** will take place in Brussels. Hannes Swoboda, Member of the European Parliament, Socialist Group, Committee on Foreign Affairs, will chair the meeting at the European Parliament. After introductory remarks by BICC director Peter Croll, the author Jerry Sommer will present the findings and recommendations outlined in his recent BICC *paper 44* "Security in Cyprus—Threat Perceptions, Possible Compromises and the Role of the EU". The other key speaker will be

Leopold Maurer, Head of Unit, DG Enlargement, European Commission. The event is organized by the International Security Information Service (ISIS) together with BICC.

For further information, please contact:

→ Susanne Heinke at pr@bicc.de

On 22 November 2005, from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m., BICC will invite the interested public to its second **Open Day**. Talks about "Facilitating Peace and Development—BICC's work", "Water and Conflict" and the "Privatization of the Military", etc. will be given. The entire program of the Open Day is available on the BICC website. The final event of the day will be the presentation of the book **"Die Friedensmacher" ("The Peacemakers")** by Petra Gerster and Michael Gleich. The author, Michael Gleich, representative of the Peace Counts Forum, will introduce the book giving a multimedia presentation.

For further information, please contact

→ Susanne Heinke at pr@bicc.de

The next TRESA module which will be available online on its website www.tresa-online.org is named **"Civil Society Action on SALW Control"**. It is intended to serve as a guideline for members of civil society and civil society organizations (CSOs) that want to become involved in the control of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Specific topics including public awareness-raising, weapons collection and destruction, weapons registration will be discussed as well as more general issues such as funding and organizing coalitions.

For further information, please contact:

→ Christine Beeck at beeck@bicc.de

In September 2005 **Dr Michael Stückrad**t, Deputy Minister of the NRW Ministry for Innovation, Science, Research and Technology, was nominated new chair of the BICC advisory board. Dr Stückrad is the successor of Hartmut Krebs, former Deputy Minister of the then NRW Ministry for Science and Research. The management and staff thank Mr Krebs for his dedicated and valuable support of BICC and look forward to a good cooperation with Dr Stückrad.

For further information please contact:

→ Peter Croll at croll@bicc.de

On 28 November 2005, at 2 p.m., Prof Dr Herbert Wulf, former director of BICC, will launch his book **"Internationalisierung und Privatisierung von Krieg und Frieden"**, Nomos 2005, at BICC (in German). After a talk and discussion, Marc von Boemcken, researcher at BICC, will present the BICC resource and discussion website **"Private Military and Security Companies"**.

For further information, please contact:

→ Susanne Heinke at pr@bicc.de