



Bonn International Center for Conversion

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Power shifts in a context of global acceleration

The neoconservative hubris according to which the US could shape the world after its own image by military means has subsided. The Atlantic Alliance has also been weakened, and in Afghanistan is in the process of losing its first war. Economic crisis is shaking the West while ambitious new powers are becoming more and more confident, especially China. Relationships between the New World and the Middle Kingdom are now the most relevant bilateral factor in the world of states: G-2. They are setting the tone. The US and China, principal debtor and principal creditor—the global shift in power cannot be reduced to more concise terms.

It is difficult to express what power entails. In the international system it is mostly measured through the indicators of population, surface area, geographical location, economic performance, technology, and military strength. The influence of the social world is increasing, as well as the significance of the cultural charisma emanating from a certain way of life and intellectual traditions, i.e., soft power. (...) We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that, in the future, rising powers—for which the acronym BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) has established itself—will play a more important role on the world stage. (...)

The end of the arms race?

Global power shifts are undermining the leadership role of the US. (...) Between 2002 and 2011 the US increased its expenditure on armaments by 60 percent, while worldwide they grew by 43 percent. But this arms build-up did not make the US any more secure. It is true that gigantic military superiority was able to overthrow the regimes in Iraq and Afghanistan, but it could not bring peace to these societies. A large number of civilian victims and appalling misbehavior by soldiers undermined the legitimacy of the missions. For this reason President Obama ordered withdrawal—the error of the neoconservatives in thinking

that they could improve the world by force of arms was too clearly obvious.

Obama's change of course is being overshadowed by the fact that in recent years drones have become the weapon of choice. They are not subject to the cutbacks that have been announced in the US military budget. These high-tech weapons separate war from one's own society and make it invisible and cheaper. This creeping change in the form of war gives grounds for concern: War is turning into the extralegal killing of suspects that is both soundless and free of casualties to your own side, and circumvents all definitions laid down by international law. Not only is the German federal government keeping silent about this—it is explicitly keeping open the possibility of acquiring armed drones. A fatal development. We call on the German government to take a stand on the inclusion of armed drones in the UN Register of Conventional Arms as an independent category, and to insist on arms controls with the goal of outlawing these weapons.

Instead of new weapons, the world needs a political-strategic diplomacy offensive. What is needed is to convince the rising powers that instead of joining in the spiral of a new arms race they should rely on the building of trust and joint security, and support civil capacity for peacebuilding. Among others, regional security organizations ranging from the African Union and Mercosur to ASEAN, as well as the BRICS meetings are appropriate as forums for such a discussion. In this way, power politics-oriented competition can be reduced and subjected to jointly agreed upon rules. Raising the status of these regional security organizations is in Europe's interest and in addition EU institutions can make their experience available. It was with good reason that at the Munich Security Conference, the Australian Foreign Minister appealed to Europeans, instead of indulging in self-centered introspection, to help the Pacific world develop "a sense of shared security" throughout Asia.

The financial crisis could lead to reductions in military spending. This is being seen above all in Europe, where expenditure on weapons

purchases sank by 1.9 percent from 2010 to 2011. Against the background of falling domestic demand, armaments industry lobbyists are calling loudly for more state support of weapons exports to non-European foreign countries. The tank deal with Saudi Arabia was not only a breach of a taboo but also a lucrative foot in the door. From the peace policy perspective, however, it is not export but conversion that offers an adequate answer to the alleged crisis of the arms industry.

Instead of further weakening export guidelines which are in any case nonbinding in view of the crisis, the "political principles" must be reformed: The state of human rights in the recipient country must become the decisive criterion, and in addition binding laws are needed for applying sanctions against violations. As the first step, we suggest banning the export of small caliber weapons, which are least susceptible to control and claim the most victims worldwide—in Germany's case the G36 assault rifle and the MP5 submachine gun—and the sale of licenses for their production in foreign countries. We need to find the courage for a new conversion debate with the powerful weapons industry lobby and to include the unions in this too: What we are demanding from the German Army through closing of garrisons can also be expected of Germany's corporations, which are in any case highly capable of diversification.

Extract from "Peace Report 2012. Editors' Statement: Current Developments and Recommendations" (translated into English, <http://www.friedensgutachten.de>)
Schoch, Bruno et al. (eds.). 2012. *Friedensgutachten 2012*.
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Staff Spotlight



Ahmed Khalifa

Ahmed Khalifa joined BICC in June 2012. His research concentrates on the economic interests of political actors in the Arab countries and their role during and after upheavals and revolutions of 2011/12. He also lectures about the Egyptian transformation process at the University of Witten/Herdecke.

His research and working experience with NGOs in Egypt, Sudan and Kenya has taught him field-based analysis and the ability to formulate well-targeted policy recommendations in academia and NGOs. He wrote his Master Thesis on the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan and has traveled for research data in different areas of Khartoum. The analysis of his research data was mainly focused on power-sharing agreements between the North and the South and how these agreements have affected the peace process. Since 2011, Ahmed has been working in and out of Egypt as freelance (photo)-journalist for the Goethe Institute in Cairo. Besides his work as a freelancer, he worked with Dr. Amr Hamzawy on his election campaign running as an MP for the Egyptian parliament in 2011/12.

His multilingual background as a German with Egyptian roots enables him to create a bridge of understanding and dialogue between the two cultures. Throughout his travels and work experience, he has learned to establish relationships with civil societies, decision-makers in national and foreign agencies and the media.

In his spare time, Ahmed enjoys sprinting (track and field), taking photographs and traveling.

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New BICC website

BICC launched its new website on 10 July 2012. With new content and graphics, it provides users with attractive, up-to-date information and applications.

BICC side event at SALW Review Conference

In the framework of the Review Conference on the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), BICC will be conducting a side event in the German House, New York, on 28 August 2012. The Center will use the opportunity to present and discuss two of its most recent projects in the field of small arms control.

The first project is the "Interactive Guide on Small Arms and Light Weapons". BICC is receiving funding from the German Foreign Office and working in close cooperation with the Verification Center of the *Bundeswehr* (ZVBw) to develop an interactive information portal on SALW using WebGIS components. The portal is based on the ZVBw's *Small Arms and Light Weapons Guide* and is intended not only to make existing information on small arms and light weapons more easily accessible and propagate such information, but also to support the measures and efforts of the international community to implement controls and combat the illegal proliferation of SALW.

The portal will contain technical details on individual types of weapons, their different versions, and their proliferation. Interested parties will be able to retrieve information that could be decisive for many arms control procedures and projects, including photos of weapons, detailed photos of differentiating criteria as well as photos and sketches of the markings used by producers and countries of origin and their position on the weapon. The portal will also provide information on the ammunition used in SALW. It is not only aimed at arms control and disarmament experts but also at supporting people in the fields of politics, research and NGOs in their efforts to prevent, combat and eliminate the illicit trade in SALW.

The second project is dedicated the safe storage of SALW and ammunition in South Sudan. Financed by the German Foreign Office, it was implemented to support the Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control (CSSAC) at the South Sudan Ministry of the Interior. South Sudan has declared the professional management of weapons and ammunition storage a priority in the professionalization of its security sector as a whole.

As a first step, BICC conducted a technical assessment on behalf of the Small Arms Control Bureau in May/June 2011. This assessment revealed serious security deficits in the storage of SALW in the security sector, for example underdeveloped structures used for storage purposes, uncomplete inventory books, and missing measures to secure the storage buildings.

A further aspect of the technical assessment revealed the problem that weapons and ammunition in South Sudan are often stored in such a way that the risk of unintentional explosions cannot be ruled out.

- For further information please contact Lars Wirkus at wirkus@bicc.de ("Interactive guide") or Marius Kahl at kahl@bicc.de ("Safe storage South Sudan")

Friedensgutachten 2012

On 22 May, the *Friedensgutachten 2012* (Annual Peace Report) was presented at a Federal Press Conference, which was attended by national and international journalists. Following the presentation, the editors also discussed their findings with members from various committees of the German parliament (defense, development policy, human rights, foreign relations), members from all the political parties in parliament, as well as with representatives from relevant ministries (Foreign Office, Defense, Economic Cooperation and Development).

The *Friedensgutachten* was also presented in panel discussions in Berlin and Brussels. On 20 September, BICC, the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) and Women In International Security (WIIS.de) will invite the interested public in Bonn to discuss issues related to the German arms industry and arms export control, which were raised in the *Friedensgutachten 2012*.

- For more information please contact Marc von Boemcken at boemcken@bicc.de



Publications

Occasional Paper VIII. Jan Grebe and Christoph Schwarz. 2012. *Alle gegen Einen oder Alle gegen Alle? Sicherheitspolitische Implikationen des Aufstiegs Chinas am Beispiel maritimer Rüstungsanstrengungen in Asien.* Bonn: BICC (forthcoming).

brief 46. Marie Müller and Friedel Hütz-Adams (eds.). 2012. *Kleinbergbau von Gold in Peru und der DR Kongo.* Bonn: BICC (forthcoming).

Susanne Heinke (ed.) 2012. "Farewell to Peter J. Croll." Festschrift. Bonn: BICC (forthcoming).

Jahresbericht 2012 / Annual Report 2012. Susanne Heinke (ed.) 2012. Bonn: BICC.

Friedensgutachten 2012. Bruno Schoch, Corinna Hauswedell, Janet Kursawe and Margret Johannsen (eds.). Münster: LIT-Verlag (in German).

Bonn International Center for Conversion and SÜDWIND-Institut (eds.). „Kleinbergbau von Gold in der DR Kongo und Peru: Tagungsdokumentation, 29 February”.

http://www.bicc.de/uploads/pdf/publications/other/2012/Tagungsdokumentation_Kleinschuerfer.pdf.

moderator. BICC and bpb also presented the interactive portal sicherheitspolitik.bpb.de.

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On 3 May, Helmut Dockter, State Secretary at the Ministry of Innovation, Science and Research of the Land of NRW, Dr. Flavia Pansieri, Executive Coordinator UN Volunteers, Jürgen Nimptsch, Lord Mayor of Bonn, Prof. Dr. Armin Cremers, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bonn, Dr. Sverre Lodgaard, former Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs NUPI and Member of the International Board of BICC spoke at Peter Croll's farewell celebration at the Museum Koenig in Bonn. A note by Carlos Lopes, Executive Director UNITAR and Member of BICC's International Board, was also read.

On 18 June, Jürgen Nimptsch and Peter Croll met in the city hall of Bonn. Jürgen Nimptsch expressed his high appreciation for Peter Croll's engagement in and for Bonn.

→ For further information please contact Susanne Heinke at pr@bicc.de

On 31 August 2012, Peter J. Croll will resign as Director of BICC. In future, a Managing Director for Administration and a Managing Director for Research will lead BICC. The position of Director for Research will be linked to a professorship in Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Bonn. The selection process has not yet been concluded. BICC's Supervisory Board has nominated authorized signatory Michael Dedek Director for Administration at BICC. He will start his new position on 1 September.

This dual leadership strengthens the content- and research-related work on the one hand and its administration geared to acquisition, efficiency and effectiveness with its respective procedures and services on the other.

→ For further information please contact Michael Dedek at dedek@bicc.de

BICC Notes

From 23 to 25 July, BICC will host the 9th International South Sudan and Sudan Studies Conference "Identity, Economy, Power Relations and External Interests: Old and New Challenges for Sudan and South Sudan" at the University of Bonn. The conference is organized by BICC, the Sudan Studies Association USA and Sudan Studies Society UK. It is funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Foundation for International Dialogue of the Savings Bank in Bonn.

For registration and the conference program please refer to <http://www.bicc.de/>

→ For further information please contact Dr. Elke Grawert at grawert@bicc.de

From 25 to 27 June, the Global Media Forum of Deutsche Welle took place in Bonn. BICC together with the Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb) organized the workshop "Clicking facts—How to get reliable data on war and peace for media, civic education, and peace and conflict research?" on 26 June. Panelists were Stefan Lampe, bpb, Dr. Raimar Heber, dpa-infografik GmbH, Dr. Corinna Hauswedell, BICC, Editor *Friedensgutachten*, Philippe Rekacewicz, *Le monde diplomatique*, and Lars Wirkus, BICC, as