Michael Brzoska
Axel Krohn (Hrsg.)

Overcoming Armed Violence in a Complex World
Essays in Honor of Herbert Wulf

Budrich UniPress Ltd.
Opladen & Farmington Hills MI 2009
Managing the Tools of War and Violence: Global Governance or State-centric Realpolitik?

1. Introduction

In the publication *Challenging the Weberian Concept of the State: The Future of the Monopoly of Violence*, Herbert Wulf introduced a conceptual framework that examines the problems associated with the increasing inability of states to build, rebuild or maintain a monopoly on the use of force, a basic premise of the state-centric Westphalian system of international relations (Wulf 2007). How are the tools for a monopoly on the use of armed force, with conventional arms, managed at the global level? Are global norms in place to manage armed violence? Are actors at the various levels actually participating in global governance?

This chapter is meant to provide an insight into the feasibility of Wulf’s proposal for managing the production, transfer and use of major conventional weapons as well as small arms and light weapons (SALW). Despite extensive globalization and many efforts to globally control the flow of major conventional weapons, the management of issues related to this class of weapon is the prerogative of national governments. Little or no global management is in place.

In addressing these questions, the chapter first discusses the elements of ‘global governance’ and then applies them to two types of tools of violence that have been addressed at the global level: major conventional arms (tanks, missiles, etc.); and SALW (assault rifles, grenade launchers, etc.). I treat anti-personnel landmines (APMs) as a special case of SALW. The basic premise of this chapter is that weapons – their magnitude, lethality, maintainability, and so on – have had a direct impact on the ability of states, armed groups, regional organizations and the United Nations to promulgate armed violence and thereby put into effect a monopoly on the use of force (Brzoska and Pearson 1994; Durch 2000; Craft 1999).

In the case of SALW, the evidence is that global governance is a necessity, and experience provides significant guidance for those who would further develop Wulf’s concept. The SALW epistemic community should be engaged to further explore and develop Wulf’s concept.
There is a great deal of global governance. The model here is developed from two sources. The first is global framework. The second is the global issue. The reason for the lack of global governance is that there is no a great deal of global framework that is tied to the need of some cooperative framework. The second is global issue. The reason for the lack of global governance is that there is no a great deal of global issue that is tied to the need of some cooperative framework.

2. The case for multi-level oligopoly of force in global governance

Edward J. Luce

83
Source: "Global Public Policy Framework" (2002)
3.2 The Trade in Conventional Arms

Edward L. Lawrence
Managing the Tools of War and Violence

The article discusses the tools of war and violence, emphasizing the importance of understanding the dynamics of international relations and security policies.

In the context of the UN report on the use of weapons, the article highlights the significance of maintaining transparency and accountability in the deployment of military forces. It stresses the need for a comprehensive approach to disarmament, stressing the importance of international cooperation and the role of the United Nations in facilitating global governance.

The article also touches upon the challenges posed by emerging technologies, particularly in the context of cyber warfare and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It advocates for a nuanced understanding of international law and the need for robust frameworks to address these threats.

Overall, the article underscores the complexity of global security issues and the importance of collaborative efforts to mitigate the risks associated with the use of weapons of war and violence.
3.2 Small Arms and Light Weapons

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is a serious threat to international peace and security. The uncontrolled proliferation of these weapons can lead to conflict and fuel terrorism. Measures must be taken to address the problem of proliferation and combat the illegal trade in arms. This requires international cooperation and a comprehensive approach.

3.1 The Wassenaar Arrangement

The Wassenaar Arrangement is a major international agreement that regulates the export and re-export of dual-use goods and technologies. The arrangement was established in 1994 and is based on the principle of non-discrimination and the need to prevent the spread of technologies that could be used for military purposes.

The Wassenaar Arrangement provides a framework for the control of dual-use exports and is designed to prevent the proliferation of technologies that could be used for weapons proliferation. The agreement covers a wide range of goods, including semi-conductors, telecommunications equipment, and software.

The Wassenaar Arrangement is administered by the Wassenaar Group, which consists of the governments of 39 countries. The group meets regularly to discuss the implementation of the agreement and to address any concerns that may arise.

The Wassenaar Arrangement is a significant achievement in the effort to control the proliferation of dual-use goods and technologies. It provides a valuable framework for international cooperation in this area and is an important step towards ensuring the safety and security of the global community.

Edward Lennane
process. In 2002 I had the opportunity to evaluate the effort to manage this issue as one of global governance (Laurance and Stohl 2002). In this next section I summarize these findings and bring them up to date through 2008.

Global Governance of SALW as of 2002

In January 1995 UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced two new global issues in his supplement to an Agenda for Peace (UN 1995) on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. In the section of the report dealing with arms control and disarmament, he was the first major world figure to sound the alarm in relation to a new global threat: the spread and misuse of APL and SALW. After noting the considerable progress that had been achieved since 1992 on dealing with the problem of weapons of mass destruction, he chose to concentrate on what might be called ‘micro-disarmament’: ‘By this I mean practical disarmament in the context of the conflicts the United Nations is actually dealing with and of the weapons, most of them light weapons, that are actually killing people in the hundreds of thousands. The contemporary significance of micro-disarmament is demonstrated by the enormous proliferation of automatic assault weapons, antipersonnel mines and the like.’ (UN 1995, paras 60–61).

Within two years, the UN had commenced the process of holding a global conference to address this new global challenge, with the recommendation in 1997 by the UN Small Arms Panel that a conference should be held on the illicit small arms trade. Such a conference took place in 2000–2001 and produced a POA, a consensus document that reflected worldwide agreement that the problem is multi-dimensional and global. The POA also contains specific measures or policy tools for implementation by national governments, regional organizations, international organizations and civil society. In addition, it established a minimal follow-up process, ensuring that the issue would stay on the international agenda until at least 2006.

Has the Programme of Action developed into a system of global governance? Below is an assessment based on an analysis made in December 2002 (Laurance and Stohl 2002). The elements of global governance are the same as those laid out in the previous assessment of major conventional weapons.

- **Full range of actors.** Spurred on by the UN Small Arms Conference, a wide range of actors, including states, IGOs (intergovernmental organizations) and NGOs (non-governmental organizations), are now engaged in the process of raising awareness, developing norms and policy tools, and implementing policies and programmes at all levels – local, national, regional and global.
- **Agenda setting and the framing of issues.** At least during the run-up to the conference, a full range of actors – not only states or the IGOs they create – contributed to the development of options for norms and policy tools. Which actors will participate in agenda setting during the next phase of policy development is less certain, given the current security focus in the restricted policy-making arena of the UN’s First Committee.
- **Organizational collaboration and partnering.** The experience of organizational collaboration and partnering is mixed. At the local level, national governments from both donor and affected states, IGOs and NGOs, both local and transnational, have demonstrated that they can collaborate effectively. On the other hand, because of the primacy of the national security dimension to date, much more could be done to develop the collaboration and partnering required to implement truly global and multi-dimensional policies.
- **Coalitions and major actors.** It is clear that the issue has advanced to the point where states, coalitions of states and other actors take the small arms issue seriously. In just a few years, the earlier indifference to or denial of the global nature of the problem has given way to a situation where the generation of policy involves a process not unlike the political bargaining seen at the national level.
- **Intentions.** We also see operational programmes and policies being developed and implemented at various levels.
- **Multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary.** The recognition of these dimensions of the small arms problem remains weak. In the run-up to the conference, this point was emphasized, particularly by the NGO community, which made the case for action based on specific thematic mandates, including development, crime, public health and human rights. Yet, while the multi-dimensional nature of the impact of small arms has been amply demonstrated, it has been inadequately reflected in the global policy arena – specifically, in the UN General Assembly First Committee. At the global level, IGOs and NGOs are addressing the issue from a variety of perspectives, but they act mostly in isolation. In many cases, they compete with each other for funding and have yet to form a functioning coalition.
force entails possessing nuclear weapons and their support systems, such as the ability to operate and deploy conventional weapons, and this applies to Israel, as the United States and Russia do. The concern here is not with the technical feasibility of nuclear weapons, but with the political implications.

The existence of a nuclear arsenal is not a foreign policy issue. It is a matter of national security and defense. The threat of nuclear weapons is not limited to the possession of nuclear weapons by the state itself, but also includes the threat of nuclear weapons by other states. The United States has a nuclear arsenal, and it is a matter of concern to Israel that other states may acquire nuclear weapons.

4. Implications for an Open Approach to Violence

Sustainable development is an important factor in the prevention of violence. A sustainable development approach is characterized by a focus on the long-term benefits of development, and a recognition of the need to balance economic growth with social and environmental sustainability. The approach is based on the principle that development should be inclusive, participatory, and equitable, and that it should be guided by a vision of a sustainable future.

The development of sustainable development is a complex and challenging task, requiring a commitment to long-term planning and action. It is not a one-time event, but a continuous process of learning and adaptation. The approach is characterized by a commitment to dialogue and collaboration, and a recognition of the need to involve all stakeholders in the development process.

In conclusion, sustainable development is a vital tool for the prevention of violence. It provides a framework for the equitable and inclusive development of all societies, and a basis for a sustainable future.

3.3 Three major initiatives

The Colombian government has taken a number of positive steps to address the issue of violence in Colombia. These initiatives include:

1. The Antidrug Plan (Plan Antidroga), which was launched in 2002 and aimed at reducing the production and sale of illegal drugs.

2. The National Plan for Peace and Reconciliation (Plan Nacional de Paz y Reconciliación), which was launched in 2005 and aimed at promoting peace and reconciliation between the government and the guerrilla groups.

3. The National Plan for Social Development (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Social), which was launched in 2006 and aimed at improving the quality of life for all Colombians.
In the context of international humanitarian law, the role of AMUN and the Global Initiative of Women against War and Violence (GIWWA) is crucial. The GIWWA has been a leading advocate for the protection of women and children in conflict zones, particularly in situations of armed conflict. Their work is focused on providing legal aid and support to victims of war and ensuring that the principles of international humanitarian law are respected.

Developing a comprehensive understanding of international humanitarian law requires a multidisciplinary approach. Researchers and practitioners must collaborate to address the challenges posed by armed conflict, including the protection of civilians and the prevention of gender-based violence. The GIWWA and AMUN work in concert to raise awareness and advocate for legal changes that promote peace and security.

In conclusion, the role of AMUN and GIWWA is indispensable in promoting international humanitarian law. Their contributions to the field are essential in ensuring that the rights of those affected by armed conflict are respected and protected.

References

Introduction

Violence and Development

Beyond Discrimination: Small Arms, Armed

Peter Bachelder