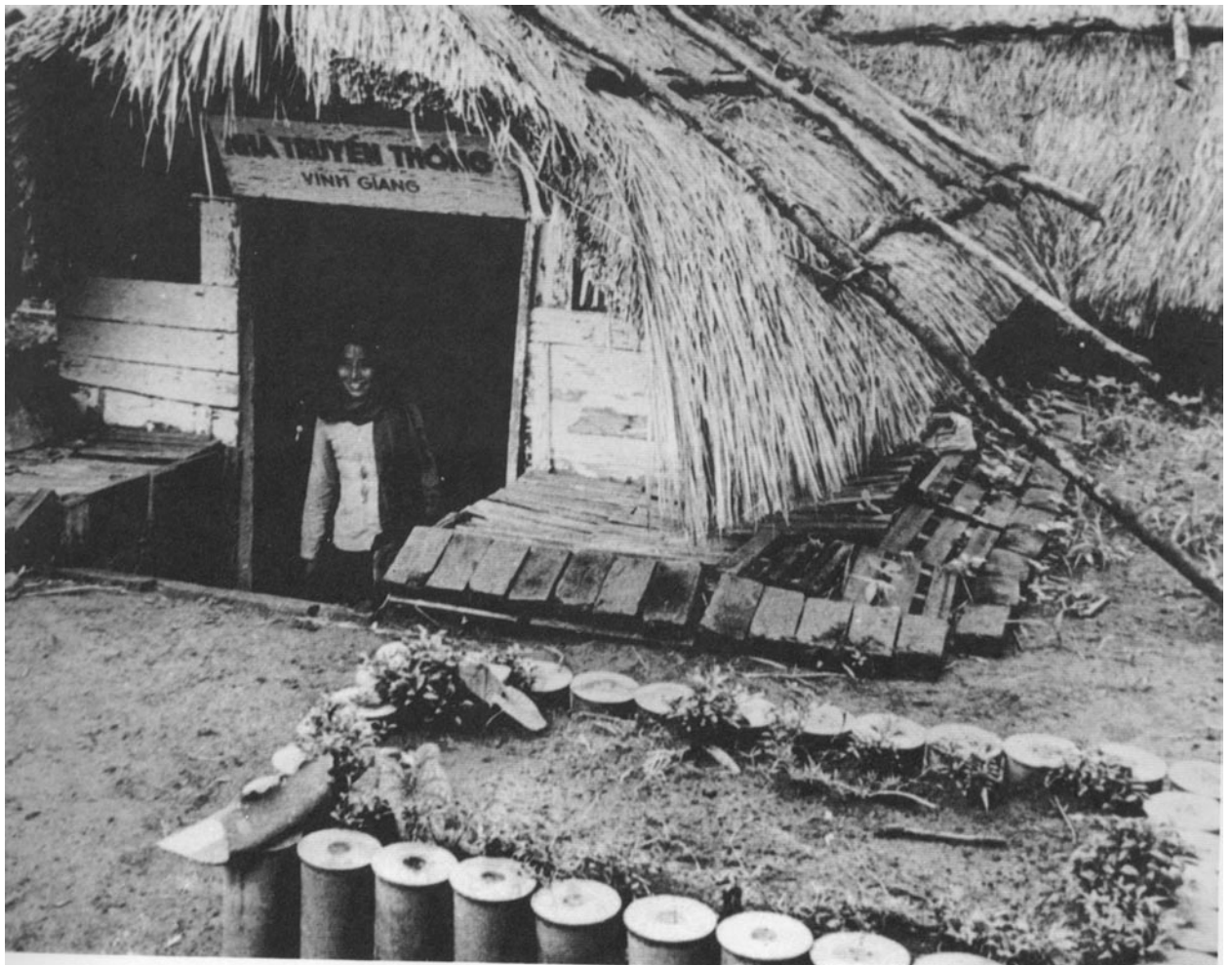


# WARFARE OR WELFARE?

Disarmament for Development in the 21st Century



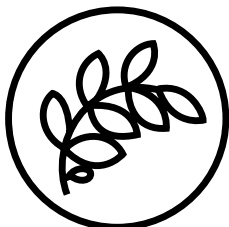
A human security approach



International Peace Bureau

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**Cover photo:** Vietnam war: Shellcasings re-used to make a garden.  
Spirit of the Land: Cuban Photographs of Vietnam, People's Press, San Francisco, 1972.

# WARFARE OR WELFARE ?

DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE 21st CENTURY

A human security approach

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The International Peace Bureau

## ABOUT THIS BOOK

The purpose of this volume is essentially to help revive the idea of Disarmament and Development, developed in the 1980s by the United Nations, to describe it in a more modern form, and to set it in a 'human security' context.

It also acts as an introduction to a new project in this field, launched by the International Peace Bureau as part of its Human Security programme.

Given the size of the field covered, the material presented should be considered as a source-book for activists, rather than an exhaustive academic study.

In order to relate the themes chosen more closely to the work of the IPB and its network, we have chosen to accompany the main text with **selections from the websites of certain member organisations**. This has the advantage of illustrating some of the large body of work being carried out by civil society all over the world in fields relating to our theme. We regret that we are unable to use material from all our affiliates (which currently number over 250 in some 60 countries). Those wishing more information should visit our Membership section at [www.ipb.org](http://www.ipb.org)

We welcome feedback from readers on any aspect of the text that follows. In particular we are keen to hear from those who are active in practical and political projects designed to oppose, or assist those suffering from, the growing militarism of our times. While we acknowledge many useful contributions from the persons listed on the following page, the responsibility for the final text remains ours.

**Colin Archer, David Hay-Edie**  
**International Peace Bureau - Geneva, October 2005**



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*The global arms trade, and its accompanying glut of military spending, continues to represent the single most significant perversion of worldwide priorities known today. It buttresses wars, criminal activity and ethnic violence; destabilises emerging democracies; inflates military budgets to the detriment of health care, education and basic infrastructure; and exaggerates global relationships of inequality and underdevelopment. Without massive and coordinated action, militarism will continue to be a scourge on our hopes for a more peaceful and just twenty-first century.*

*Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica, Nobel Peace Laureate*

*Nothing is more useless in developing a nation's economy than a gun, and nothing blocks the road to social development more than the financial burden of war.*

*King Hussein I*



## FOREWORD

Since this modest volume was envisioned the world seems to have been turned upside down. On the one hand the majority of nations, at the United Nations, voted at the beginning of this new century to halve poverty by the year 2015 as part of the "MDG's", the Millennium Development Goals. On the other hand, military spending has broken the trillion dollar mark.

Last year ended with the worst natural disaster in memory, a tsunami that took 300,000 lives. Had there been a warning mechanism in place perhaps that number would be far less. This year is ending with an unacceptable war in Iraq taking thousands of Iraqi lives, and thus far 2,000, young American soldiers and those from troop contributing countries, and turning a remarkable country into a war torn disaster. World public opinion, including growing numbers of American citizens oppose that resource war. And now we face a natural disaster made worse by human negligence and greed. The hurricanes that have devastated the Gulf of Mexico were magnified in their destruction by levees that were never repaired and inadequate provisions for the evacuation of poor people.

An earthquake warning mechanism, now in place, levee repair, proper evacuation plans and equipment would cost less than a month's expense in continuing the war in Iraq. \$11.1 Billion was spent for military operations in Iraq in June, 2005, according to the US Pentagon. How much more vivid can we make the case for Disarmament for Development. How better can we explain the cry for human security?

Statistics are impossible to visualise. What does it mean to say that 18 countries had a lower human development index in 2003 than in 1990? Or that one fifth of the world's people live on less than \$1 a day and another fifth on less than \$2 a day. How do they live at all? While people in developing countries are better educated and less impoverished. But there are many white bracelets on many a wrist saying, Make Poverty History, in a worldwide campaign that clearly demonstrates that people care.

According to this year's Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program, "Insecurity linked to armed conflict remains one of the greatest obstacles to human development." And it is no surprise that it is the poorest countries that suffer from violent conflict.

It has often been said that people become outraged when conditions become outrageous. How much worse can conditions get? Pictures of starving babies in Niger, of women being kidnapped and raped in Darfur, of oil pipe lines burning in the Gulf, of suicide bombers and terrorist attacks are but a few images from our daily diet. When people are well informed, and avail themselves of the options that are available in democratic societies, then we can assume that we will become outraged enough to say, Enough. Stop. We can muster the voices and votes and opinions to right the wrongs, to change the policies and promise our children a better tomorrow.

This book is dedicated to provide and distribute information on why development will depend on disarmament, or a reallocation of the funds presently being misused for military purposes. It is dedicated to mobilizing informed public opinion and to inspire non-violent action that will reject militarization of our cultures and lead to human security. We believe that will be a major contribution to the growth of a culture of peace.

On the fifth anniversary of the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of Res. 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which was drafted by women from civil society, including myself, Louise Frechette, UN Deputy Secretary-General said, "Gender equality and women's

*"We cannot spend huge sums approximating to levels of military expenditure spent during the Cold War and expect development to make progress in eliminating poverty."*

Jayantha Dhanapala, Honorary President, IPB, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament

*Every hour more than 1200 children die of preventable causes.*

UN Development Report, 2005



empowerment are central to achieving major development goals... Unless attention is paid to the discrimination of women across all MDGs, the achievement of these goals will be jeopardized.”

Full and equal participation of women in all peace processes, at all levels of governance and at all tables where the fate of humanity is at stake, is a major key to realizing peace and human security.

How do you explain to anyone that so many girls in Pakistan stay at home while their brothers go off to school and their government spends \$3 billion on 75 F-16 fighter planes? For that money Pakistan could build 8,000 primary care centers, 100,000 new village schools, double the budget for higher education and health, and increase the number of cement plants and sugar mills by 50%. ( EPS Quarterly, Vol 17. No. 3 Sept. 2005, pg. 11) . India is the third largest military spender following China and the US, which spends three times as much. India and Pakistan spend upwards of \$30 billion annually, according to Ahmad Faruqi, an economist from Pakistan. Thus the Indo-Pakistan arms race is doomed to keep their people impoverished to say nothing of the many lives that are at stake should those weapons, or the nuclear missiles each country has tested, ever be used.

Human Security...that should be the goal of every government and of everyone. Decent housing, adequate health care, drinking water, jobs, education....it's not nearly as expensive as maintaining nuclear weapons, designing new ones, or buying guns. Developing countries bought \$1.45 billion worth of small arms, light weapons and ammunition in 2003 alone. There are 600 million small arms in circulation, the weapon of choice in 47 of the 49 major conflicts of the 1990's. That's how 500,000 people died in any given year, from someone shooting a gun. Think of what we could have instead. I do not suggest that eliminating poverty alone will guarantee a world without war or with social justice. Resource wars have nothing to do with poverty, they cause more poverty. Humiliation because of discrimination against certain religions or cultures which result in violent retribution is not caused by poverty. The men who flew into the World Trade Center Towers or bombed the Madrid train were not poor. Peace will depend on more than the eradication of poverty or support for development. First, it will depend on eliminating all the nuclear weapons that hang like the Sword of Damocles over all our heads. Improving conditions of life, training people for skilled jobs, providing education which develops critical thinking and teaches for and about human rights, gender equality, sustainable development, disarmament, international law, and social and economic justice will go a long way to removing the resentment and anger so many feel by being pushed off the train.

We urge you to share this reader, to organize discussions about it, and to let us know what actions it has inspired you to take in the interest of peace and decency for future generations.

Cora Weiss, President  
International Peace Bureau  
October 2005



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Human Security

The authors welcome the broad acceptance given to the concept of human security, as an improved response to the many complex challenges to the safety and welfare of civilian populations. We outline the fundamental principles and the main institutions promoting the concept at the international level. However peace movements have an independent view of power structures and especially of the projection of military power. We look briefly at a number of angles from which the mainstream concept can be critiqued.

## Disarmament for Development

During the Cold War the relationship between disarmament and development was much debated and innumerable resolutions were passed urging that resources be transferred from the military to the war on poverty. While there was a kind of peace dividend via the post-Cold War boom, the basic challenge remains, now that global military spending has once again exceeded \$1,000 billion. The UN has now 'modernised' the disarmament-development relationship via its 2004 Expert Study, which argues in favour of including effects of weapons such as landmines and small arms, and seeing the relationship within the wider context of human security concerns.

## Military Spending

IPB urges that renewed attention be urgently devoted to the challenge of 'wrong priorities'. The war on terror has offered a whole new set of justifications for states to increase their arsenals, including weapons of mass destruction – just at the time when intense pressure is being brought to bear on all states to accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. The development community – government departments, agencies, NGOs, academics – all need to recognise that excessive military budgets not only often render civilians less secure, they also offer an important set of resources that could – if political will can be found – be contributed to the anti-poverty work so desperately needed.

## Effects of Weapons

More or less all categories of weapons have negative effects on development. This chapter looks in turn at both weapons of mass destruction and 'conventional' weaponry, and examines particular ways in which their use (on the battlefield, within communities, while being tested, or once deployed) damages human health, employment, social development, human rights and democracy, as well as agriculture and the natural environment.

## Military Bases

Among the most damaging impacts of military activity in today's world is the fast growing network of foreign military bases, notably those built or rented by the USA as part of its global military infrastructure. We examine a variety of ways they impinge on poor communities – not only in the developing world but also elsewhere – and the renewed signs of a worldwide civil society campaign of resistance.

## Gender

The issues raised in this volume also require to be seen through a gender lens. Women are key players in the fight against poverty, and yet are especially vulnerable to the largely masculinist military system which undermines it. We look at the variety of roles women play, including opposition to violence and armed conflict.

## Conclusion

IPB calls for a new worldwide campaign under the banner of 'Disarmament for Development', in order to bring together more effectively two important sectors of civil society, and to empower us all to make challenges to the system of military and economic domination which increasingly threatens the security of all humanity.





# 6

# GENDER PERSPECTIVES

A gender perspective is essential in understanding fully all the themes in this book. Weapons, wars and violence affect women in different ways than men, girls differently from boys. How money currently allocated to the military could be spent on development depends on how one sees development, which is a many-sided process that females experience - and contribute to - differently from males. The same is true of disarmament.

## Human security and power relations

There can be little security for the community as a whole without security for women. Yet until recently there was relatively little awareness among those developing and implementing policies that specific action was required to deal with insecurities faced by women and girls.

Most analysts of human security give recognition to the threats to women's security arising from conflict, poverty and other sources. But not all view the problem as systemic. However human societies have been patriarchal for thousands of years and the struggle to bring about an equal society is a monumental one. Sexism (institutional and behavioural) is putting women's lives at risk in a whole series of contexts, and limiting their potential and power in countless ways. Commentators frequently point out that women and other unarmed civilians are often the primary victims of modern armed conflicts; women are usually at the bottom of the economic pile and yet may be shouldering the double burden of child- and house-care as well as productive work outside the home. The idea of 'empowerment' will mean little if women are not included equally in the process.

## Violence and abuse

That women are subject to abuse – verbal, sexual, physical – on a wide scale has been long recognised by charitable, humanitar-

ian and human rights organisations. In early 2004 Amnesty International released a major report stating that one-third of all women suffer serious violence, often at the hands of the partners or family members – a shocking statistic. In Russia, 14,000 women die every year from violence inflicted by their partners. In the US, a woman is battered every 15 seconds. In conflict regions the figures are particularly high. Amnesty calls for a whole raft of measures to be taken by competent authorities and for drastic changes in attitude, not only by men but in fact by the whole of society. Particularly encouraging in this report are examples of grass roots efforts to combat abuse, such as the 80,000 women in Senegal who have come together to denounce female genital mutilations.

## Women and war

The relationship of women to war and conflict is a complex one, which cannot simply be reduced to a 'Men are from Mars, Women from Venus' approach. However it must be noted that surely at least 95% of the violent acts performed in armed conflict or situations of human rights abuse are carried out by males. But women do participate in wars: as nationalist cheerleaders, munitions workers, prostitutes, and members of armed forces, both governmental and rebel. Nevertheless surveys of attitudes to war and killing, even in defence of 'national security', do often show marked differences in attitude according to gender. This can be explained – apart from many other reasons – by the fact that women are so frequently the victims of modern wars, be it as direct casualties, as refugees or displaced people, as rape survivors, or as the bereaved and/or maimed. Furthermore women are prominent in peace activism and humanitarian work. The gender lens reveals that even where women are fully integrated, military forces operate not only on a hierarchical basis but also as highly male institutions, embodying strict adherence to masculine codes of behaviour.

## Women for Peace, Finland

The Finnish Women for Peace started in 1980. We are not traditionally organised, we only act in spontaneous groups. This makes us more flexible and enables us to react at short notice and on an equal basis within the group.

### We arrange non-violent actions

- for peace, social justice and equality
- to protect life on Earth

### We oppose

- development, production and spreading of all kinds of weapons, especially arms for mass-destruction
- nuclear power, being conducive to nuclear arms
- the militarization of women in all different forms as well as the militarization of society at large

### We demand

- the means that are being used for the arms industry to be used for education, development and public health projects

### We reject

- the concept of enemy, as we know that people don't become enemies just because they live in different countries have a different religion or think differently

### We create

- women's networks across borders

### We do not forget

- that environmental work is a most important part of peace work



## Women for Peace Sweden

### Why was the organization born

A seminar in Stockholm on women's fight against war; in general to build up an opinion campaign for the dismantling of nuclear power in Sweden. For a nuclear free zone in the Nordic countries and against all nuclear weapons.

### Aims

Global peace. Nuclear free zone in the OSCE area. For disarmament against production and export of weapons (conventional, chemical, biological, nuclear, etc.) conversion to civil production.

### Areas of action

Peace, disarmament.

### Past and present actions

Peace marches 1981 and 1983. Participation in the UN Conferences in Nairobi 1985, Vienna (on Human Rights 1994), the Preparatory committee for the UN Conference on Women in New York (1995) and the Beijing conference (1995) and many other actions.

### Support from formal or informal sources

Government, membership fees, donations.

## Women's budgets

One of the most interesting - and potentially far reaching - of feminist projects is the creation of 'women's budgets' at municipal or other levels of government. Women at the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing called for reductions of 5% in military spending in order to fulfil social - and especially women's and children's - needs.

## Weapons of mass destruction

WMD by their very nature are indiscriminate and therefore can be said to threaten everyone equally in terms of their actual use. However, since radioactivity tends to cause, not only cancers and other illnesses, but also genetic malformations and effects on babies in utero and subsequent generations, it is no surprise that women, and health workers, have been particularly engaged with radiation and atomic weapons issues. It is certainly no accident that among the early protesters against nuclear weapons - apart from the scientists who were aware of the implications at an early stage - were women, in particular mothers, who feared the effects on their children of strontium 90 found in milk after atmospheric nuclear tests.

Women have been key participants in the anti-nuclear movements, for example the famous 1980s women's protests at Greenham Common in the UK. This is possibly because of their gut reactions against a massive and life-threatening weapon system, which for many feminists represents the most extreme example of masculine militarism. Possibly it is because they were less fascinated than men by the technology involved or the political justifications for nuclear armament. Other explanations would relate to the emergence of both a new type of peace movement, and a powerful environmental movement, at the height of 'second wave' feminism.

"Traditionally charged with birthing and assisting the dying, women have been generally more attuned than men to the signs of sickness and death in the earth's biosphere. A strong rallying cry was heard in *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson. The theme has been elaborated and particularised by such internationally known leaders such Helen Caldicott of Australia (and later of the USA), Petra Kelly of Germany, Solange Fernex of France, Marie-Thérèse Danielsson of French Polynesia and many others.

Women, less hampered by society's economic and social censures because they have less in the first place to lose in these areas, are freer to speak and mourn for the dying earth system."

(Rosalie Bertell, *No Immediate Danger*, p307. The Women's Press, London, 1985).

## Small Arms

In the matter of small arms and light weapons - which by some definitions includes landmines - the different experiences of men and women can be seen more clearly still. The Amnesty/Control Arms report *The Impact of Guns on Women's Lives* goes into this question rather fully.

"The relationship between women and guns is a complex one. Women are not only killed and injured by the use of weapons, they also play other roles - sometimes as perpetrators of armed violence, sometimes encouraging the use of guns, and sometimes as activists for change."

(*The Impact of Guns on Women's Lives*, p.3. [www.controlarms.org](http://www.controlarms.org))

The report highlights the prevalence of violence in the home and community - in all societies - as well as threats to women from the male-dominated gang culture and in armed conflicts and war. Rape and other forms of sexual crime at gunpoint is a specific and particularly disturbing phenomenon. The report also points out that women's attitudes can sometimes contribute to the 'powerful cultural conditioning' that regards gun abuse by men as normal; and that women and girls do also participate in some of the world's armed conflicts, either as government soldiers or as members of rebel groups. However even there their roles can be ambiguous: being both abusers and abused.

Female activists often point out that from a woman's point of view, whether weapons are legal or illegal is immaterial: the damage and suffering is the same.

"While male-dominated societies often justify small arms possession through the alleged need to protect vulnerable women, women actually face greater danger of violence when their families and communities are armed"

(*Barbara Frey, UN Special Rapporteur on the Prevention of human rights violations committed with small arms and light weapons*)





# Small Arms and Women

**Small arms have devastating impacts on women because:**

- **Women deal with the consequences of small arms violence on a daily basis**
- **Sexual violence at gunpoint is used as a weapon of war**
- **Legal small arms are just as dangerous to women as illegal guns**

Every year thousands of women are shot, traumatised, intimidated, enslaved, robbed and raped at gunpoint around the world. However, men are more likely to make, sell, buy, own, use or misuse small arms. They are also more likely to be killed or physically injured by them. The damage that women suffer from the availability and misuse of guns is disproportionate to their own role as owners or users. For every woman who is killed or injured by a firearm there are many more who are threatened, both in domestic situations and in war zones.

In conflict and post conflict zones such as Afghanistan, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the former Yugoslavia, sexual violence, used as a weapon of war, occurs at the barrel of a gun. Women and girls as young as ten have been abducted at gunpoint from their homes. While women are often the victims in conflicts they also participate as combatants, and in support roles providing information, food, clothing and shelter, as well as bearing the long-term burden of caring for the sick and injured.

The majority of internally displaced people and refugees are women and children. In refugee camps, which should be a place of safety, many women and girls are routinely gang raped and abused.

With the adult male population greatly diminished, women often become the main provider for their devastated families during and after a conflict. Despite this, women are frequently excluded from post-conflict decision-making, which means that their needs in disarmament and demobilisation processes are not adequately addressed.

In non-conflict zones women are much more likely to be shot by someone they know well, usually a husband or an intimate acquaintance using a legally held weapon. A gun in the home is significantly more likely to be used against a member of that household than against an intruder.

Women have taken leadership roles in organising locally, nationally, regionally and internationally to highlight the dangers of gun violence and to campaign for legislative change. Despite this, women are still underrepresented in decision-making processes. One step forward has been the Security Council's Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, passed in October 2000, which provides a platform for women's voices to be heard in war zones and the aftermath.

Organisations concerned with violence against women are at the forefront of small arms campaigns. The Women's Network of the International Action Network on Small Arms aims to support organisations to mobilise, energise, organise, and resist gun violence in their communities and to ensure that the experiences and views of women are adequately represented in decision-making forums.

## Actions

There are a wide variety of civil society actions being taken specific to the issue of small arms and their effects on women. These include the following initiatives or groups, which are highlighted in the Amnesty/Control Arms report quoted earlier. However, many women also direct their peace efforts into mixed organisations or groups working on wider aspects of conflict prevention and resolution.

**Brazil:** Viva Rio's campaign 'Arma não! Ela ou eu' (Arms no! It's your gun or me') - large-scale poster distribution.

**USA:** The famous Million Mom March against Guns (2000) & Mothers against Guns (established 1994).

**Solomon Islands** - Women for Peace, who in 2000 physically confronted men and boys in the ethnic militias.

**Bosnia:** Media Infoteka, set up by women to help women victims of the war, is working to change attitudes, starting with police and judges.

**Liberia** - Mass Action for Peace campaign in 2003, which led to the involvement of women in the peace talks that prepared the peace agreement.

## Bereavement and other consequences of attacks on males

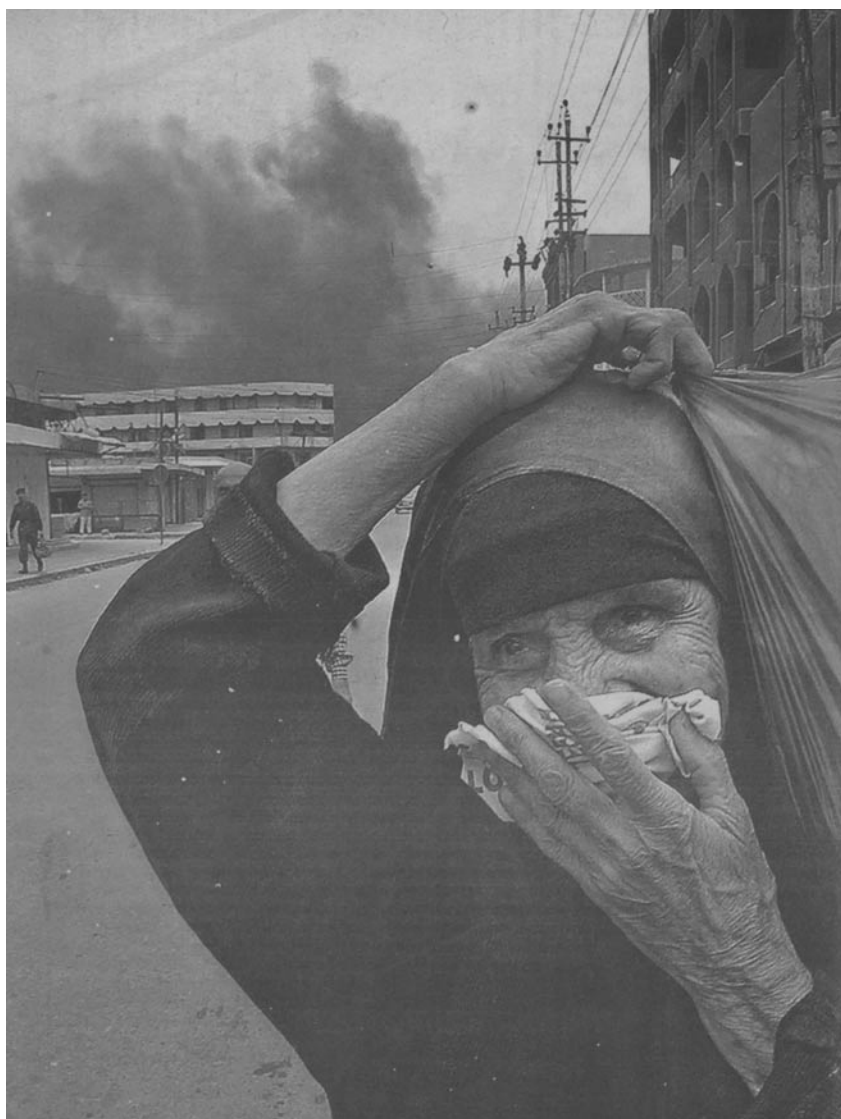
If a man is murdered by a handgun or a landmine, his wife will suffer in ways that are quite different from the ways he would be affected if it were his wife who was killed. In most societies it is women who bear the primary responsibilities for caring for children (and the wider network of dependants) and in many more traditional societies there are taboos against re-marriage or even against women going out to earn a living when the breadwinner is dead or incapacitated. Such rules reinforce women's dependence on male relatives and have severe consequences for the economic and social development of poor communities.

## Victims, survivors, internally displaced/refugees

Women make up the bulk of today's internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees. As such they are often the key activists and organisers in refugees camps and other temporary communities, even if they are not always the political leaders.

## Prostitution around military bases

see chapter on military bases



Baghdad under bombardment.

Photo: Jérôme Delay, AP

**Worldwide:** Amnesty International's Stop Violence against Women campaign

**Worldwide:** Work on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 - on involvement of women in peacekeeping and processes

**Worldwide:** International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) women's network



## Women in development

It is a story of nearly-universal oppression and exclusion. Patterns of inequality and discrimination against females are enshrined, explicitly or implicitly, in most religious and cultural traditions. Thus in terms of access to the labour market or to public political power, women are in most societies at a disadvantage. These patterns can be analysed for example on a country-by-country basis in the UNDP's annual Human Development Report and its Gender-related Development Index. Despite enormous efforts over the years by women's organisations, governments and international agencies, the facts remain stubborn – discrimination, especially in the poorer and more traditional cultures, remains a structural feature of society – with the notable exception of life expectancy where almost everywhere women have the edge.

## Feminisation of poverty

Key indicators of women's position in the economic system can be seen in the traditional low paid, low status roles so many take up: nurses, secretaries, cleaners, child-carers, sex workers and of course homemaker/housewife, which in some sense combines all of these roles. Of course there are also millions of successful professional women, but a glance at the numbers of women at the higher levels of the major institutions, even in so-called advanced societies, reveals the huge gender gap still to be bridged. Government leaders, military top brass, captains of industry, bankers, scientists, engineers and judges...where are the women? Add to the problem of attitudes and the 'glass ceiling' the problems of unequal pay for equal work, and legal barriers in many societies to equal ownership of property and land, or to a fair inheritance -- and the explanations for the feminisation of poverty begin to become clearer. Other factors would include lack of adequate family planning facilities, and poor access to education (especially higher education).

## Empowerment and mainstreaming

Most contemporary social development programmes – be they local, national or run by UN agencies - now tend to pay at least lip service to the concept of women's empowerment, be it through education and training, confidence building or career

development. Equal emphasis is (or should be) put on mainstreaming the insights of a gender analysis – ensuring that women's needs are analysed and services provided that take them into account, and that women have an equal chance to participate – either as programme staff, decision makers or through consultation. Little of this can be gained at grass roots level so long as discriminatory legislation remains in force. But the relationship between changes in public attitudes and legislation is a two-way one, with much depending on the nature of the political system. While more has to be done everywhere, societies are at very different stages in bringing in modern forms of gender equality.

## New roles for men

At the same time as the development of programmes to promote women, there is a slowly growing awareness, not only in the rich West, that work has to be done to tackle the male side of the equation: in terms of developing alternative, non-macho roles and role-models for young (and older) men. This includes, for example, provision by employers of paternity leave and support for fathers at home. Important work is also being done in some men's groups to examine and reverse violent and abusive behaviour, including attitudes to guns. Only by males challenging their own position in the patriarchal system can the enormous gains made by women's movements be consolidated.

(see: UN Commission on the Status of Women, 2004)

## Women in peace making

Much work is currently going on in the area of conflict transformation and peace processes; however women are noticeable by their absence from formal negotiations, with very few exceptions. It was to rectify this glaring and wasteful imbalance that an effort was launched to get the United Nations to engage systematically with the problem. The result was the now-celebrated **UN Security Council Resolution 1325**, passed on 31 October 2000, which calls for women's full participation in all aspects of prevention and resolution of conflicts and also in post-conflict peacebuilding.

**NOTE: The IPB itself has been running, since late 2004, a programme to strengthen women's peacemaking efforts, notably in Central and Eastern Europe. (see: [www.ipb.org](http://www.ipb.org))**

## Women for Peace Switzerland

Spurred on by the engagement of Women for Peace in Northern Ireland during the conflict there, and alarmed by the nuclear arms race and arms fair, women from different parts of Switzerland decided to publicly raise their voices in protest. One of the main aims of Women for Peace is, and has always been, to try and change people's idea of the enemy and so reduce conflicts. In 1994 the regional groups united to form Women for Peace Switzerland.

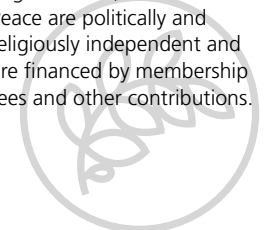
"Whoever intervenes and tries to change the world around him or her notices that it is his or herself who is changed, but it is only through such intervention that change is possible at all". (Dorothee Sölle)

Women for Peace pledge to work:

- toward a peaceful and just world in which the fundamental needs of all people are guaranteed in dignity;
- for a world in which conflicts are settled through mediation and negotiation and not through violence;
- for equality, in all fields, between women and men and
- for the inclusion of the women's point of view taking into consideration their different backgrounds and their own specific experiences.

This means that:

- Women for Peace launch and support initiatives and petitions and take part in their promulgation.
- They initiate silent protests in public and take part in demonstrations and manifestations.
- They make their views known to politicians, write to newspapers and send readers' letters
- They organize meetings and lectures, edit books and produce media programmes.
- They work together with national and international NGOs (Non Governmental Organisations). Women for Peace are politically and religiously independent and are financed by membership fees and other contributions.



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# 5

# MILITARY BASES

One area of military activity that has been the subject of particularly intense civil society scrutiny is the spreading network of foreign military bases, of which the vast majority belong to the USA. Whereas in the Cold War the Soviet Union attempted to match the spread of US military power — though in fact at a much lower level in terms of the numbers of countries ‘hosting’ bases’ — there is no state anywhere able to compete with the global military reach of Washington. Thus the main focus of this chapter will be the US foreign military presence, and its effects on development.

## MILITARY BASES OF OTHER STATES

At one stage during the Cold War, the USSR had 627,000 military personnel deployed in 19 nations. This of course is now ancient history. But it is a reminder that each major global power has tended to extend its protection to a variety of client states, and thus the spread of US bases is not a new phenomenon. However the following are very minor deployments compared with Washington’s:

**France** still has five military bases in Africa, a residue of its colonial presence. These include Djibouti, Mayotte (Cormores), Abidjan and Libreville. Officially, they are used for training the host countries’ armies or regional peace forces, and for the evacuation of foreign communities in times of conflict.

**Britain** too maintains a military inheritance, despite the closure of most its overseas military bases east of Suez (from Singapore, Malaysia, and the Persian Gulf) following the decision taken in 1968 to relinquish Britain’s claim to be a first-rank world power. This decision was taken in the midst of a severe economic crisis. Current UK bases include numerous largely island states, Crown Dependencies where defence is the responsibility of the UK government: Gibraltar, the Falklands, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Saint Helena, Turks and Caicos Islands, and Montserrat. In

some cases the defence function is assured by police forces, rather than military.

The UK of course has a major troop presence in Iraq; and also in Sierra Leone, in addition to a variety of UN peace-keeping commitments. But these are not permanent military bases in the same sense.

**Russia’s** military presence only remains significant in Central Asia, where it has the 201st motorised division stationed in Tajikistan and the (upgraded) Kant airfield in Kyrgyzstan. This upgrading was caused partially by recent agreements reached within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization — the only grouping that unites Russian and Chinese military interests. Kyrgyzstan’s capital Bishkek has been chosen as the SCO’s counter-terrorist headquarters. Russia also has two bases in Georgia (Akhalkalaki and Batumi) which are the subject of ongoing negotiations with the Georgian government. In principle the Russians are due to depart by 2008. There is a Russian military presence of some kind in nearly all countries of the CIS, suggesting little need for new bases.

**China** is believed to have military bases in Burma.

**India** does have bases in the Andaman and Nicobar islands, but these were very badly damaged by the Tsunami. These bases have strategic influence on the Northern entrance of the Malacca Straits, and they are generally assumed to have been placed there to counter the Chinese military bases in Burma.

(<http://www.strategypage.com/messageboards/messages/9-1890.asp>)

## WHAT IS A BASE ?

‘The term ‘military installation’ means a base, camp, post, station, yard, center, homeport facility or any ship, or any other activity under the jurisdiction of a department, agency, or other instrumentality of the Department of Defense, including a leased facility, except that such term shall not include any facility used primarily for civil works, rivers and harbor projects, or

## Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition

Established on January 26, 1981, the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC) is a campaign oriented coalition of 129 national and sectoral organizations of teachers, youth and students, peasants, women, health professionals, churches, labor, urban poor, science and technology and human rights advocates nationwide.

The NFPC spearheaded the successful campaign against the construction and the operation of the first and only nuclear power plant in the Philippines (Bataan Nuclear Power Plant). Likewise, the Coalition also served as a secretariat for the campaign to reject the 1991 RP-US Military Bases Agreement leading towards the withdrawal and removal of US Military troops and facilities in the Philippines in 1992. After the withdrawal of US troops and facilities from their military bases in the Philippines, the Coalition functioned as Secretariat to the campaign for the clean-up of the former military bases and demand for US responsibility. NFPC initiated the formation of a People’s Task Force for Bases Clean-Up (PTFBC) and functioned as its Secretariat from 1993 to 1996 culminating in the holding of the First International Forum on Military Toxics and Bases Clean-Up in November 1996. The PTFBC today is an independent institution of its own, focused on issues related to military toxics and bases clean-up.

Being the national center for the



anti-nuclear, anti-foreign military access, and bases conversion issues, the NFPC provides educational services to its member organizations and to the general public. Its advice on nuclear and bases issues has been sought by members of the Philippine Senate and Congress, as well as by members of city councils, as well as municipal and provincial boards.

Currently, the NFPC provides Secretariat support for the Movement Against the Visiting Forces Agreement as part of its Campaign Against the RP-US Status of Forces Agreement.

#### Our Objectives

To inculcate a nuclear-free consciousness among Filipinos by launching educational campaigns

To broaden the anti-nuclear movement by mobilizing the existing national and local organizations, schools and communities nationwide.

To generate strong international support for the nuclear-free Philippines movement and to contribute to the realization of a nuclear-free and independent Pacific by fostering solidarity relations with international, regional and national anti-nuclear, anti-bases, peace movements.

flood control projects. An installation is a grouping of facilities, located in the same vicinity, which support the same Air Force operations.”

([www.Globalsecurity.org](http://www.Globalsecurity.org))

## HISTORY

The origins of the US's global military spread date back to the 1890s, with the forcible takeover of Hawaii, Guam, Cuba and the Philippines. To these were added bases in Galapagos, the Azores and Liberia. By 1945 the US was in a supremely powerful position to spread its 'protective umbrella' across the continents, inheriting bases all over the world, both from the defeated Axis powers and from other allies.

“Even before the defeat of Germany and Japan, the US began consolidating control over what it described as the 'Grand Area', a 'global system that the US would dominate and within which US business interests would thrive... subordinated to the needs of the US economy'. Perhaps the largest imperial domain in history, the 'Grand Area' was conceived to include the entire globe, excepting only the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and later China.”

(Joseph Gerson and Bruce Birchard: *The Sun Never Sets*, 1991)

The Cold War period saw a desperate effort to confront Soviet power in every corner of the globe. This took the form of the formation of military alliances with key allies: not only NATO but also ANZUS, SEATO, CTO and bilateral treaties with Japan, S. Korea and Taiwan. The bases were an integral part of this strategy, serving in part to encircle the USSR, and in part as staging posts from which to conduct dozens of interventions, essentially in developing countries: Vietnam, Guatemala, Iran, Lebanon, Congo, Dominican Republic, Panama, Cuba, Grenada... and later two full scale wars against Iraq.

This giant, and well-used, Cold War military machine thus formed the basis of today's global network of bases. To ensure its military reach the US has over the last few years developed this network even further, not only in Eurasia but on all continents.

## WHERE ARE THE BASES NOW?

Estimates of numbers vary wildly due to the problems of definition and of the rapidly changing situation. The current policy keynotes are flexibility of response and speed of deployment. There are 3 levels of bases in terms of size:

- Major hubs
- Forward operating bases
- 'Lily pads' (small and mobile centres)

The nature of the new challenges to the US have dictated a certain shift away from large bases towards a more decentralised network with clusters of special operations troops, intended to 'root out the terrorists' wherever they may be found.

One source calculates 59 major 'permanent' bases and another 483 'deployments' in 148 countries ([www.monthly-review.org](http://www.monthly-review.org)). Another has 725 foreign military bases in 40 countries, total (real estate) value \$118 billion, a staggering figure. However many of these are small contingents under 100 people. Johnson cites the DoD's Base Structure Report giving 38 countries with significant deployments. Whatever the best figures may be, clearly the idea of US 'national' security has now been fully 'globalised'. However, it should not be forgotten that the country which has more bases than anywhere else is the USA itself.

“Despite the frequent assumption that the attacks of 9-11 on New York and Washington uniquely spurred this [the Bush administration's military] expansion, those attacks only added accelerant and cover for fires already burning. There are now new US bases in a striking number of places, including Ecuador, Aruba, Curaçao, El Salvador, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, as well as Kuwait, Qatar, Kosovo, Turkey and Bulgaria. US bases have been announced for closing in Germany and Korea, on the other hand, and there is a new emphasis on access agreements in lieu of permanent, stand-alone basing for US troops. The great majority of US citizens are unaware of the extent and nature of these bases...” (Catherine Lutz, *Democratic Social Movements against Militarization*, at UNDP Global Forum on Human Development 2005).

Timothy Garton Ash, in an article comparing the US's 'exhausting' global reach in 2005 with Great Britain's in 1905, believes



that "One may anticipate that America's informal empire - its network of military bases and semi-protectorates - will continue to grow." His conclusion however is that the end of the 'American century' is already in sight. (Guardian Weekly, 2 Sept 2005)

### Associated troop levels

According to Dept. of Defense statistics (2004), the overall total of forces deployed outside the US is currently 250,000 (with civilians and dependents: 475,000). Of these, we can locate:

- 110,000 in Europe (70,000 in Germany, but large numbers are now being withdrawn/redeployed). Europe is now seen as essentially a logistic base for forward operations, especially in Iraq and the Middle East.
- 100,00 in East Asia (S Korea 31,000, Japan 47,000)
- 140,000 in Iraq (numbers variable) and 10,000 in Saudi Arabia (being reduced) - and the remainder elsewhere.

NOTE: these figures are constantly subject to readjustments, both to make savings, and to reflect shifting policy priorities.

### Status-of-forces agreements

At the end of the Cold War, the U.S. had permanent status of forces agreements with approximately 40 countries. Today the number has grown to more than 90 which means the U.S. has agreements with 46 percent of the more than 190 nation-states comprising the world community.

"Status-of-forces agreements are not basing or access agreements. Rather, they define the legal status of U.S. personnel and property in the territory of another nation. The purpose of such an agreement is to set forth rights and responsibilities between the United States and the host government on such matters as criminal and civil jurisdiction, the wearing of the uniform, the carrying of arms, tax and customs relief, entry and exit of personnel and property, and resolving damage claims."

(Global Security.org – from DoD sources)



Futenma US air base,  
Okinawa

## US FOREIGN POLICY - CONTEXT

Today's geo-political context, dominated by Washington's now-permanent war against Islamist terrorism, is both similar and different from that of the Cold War. Similar in that it is seen as a life and death struggle against a foe present on all continents, with a distinct and hostile ideological perspective; different in that the enemy has no army and is willing to indulge in suicide and terrorist attacks which are almost impossible to forestall. However it provides an almost-perfect environment in which to extend the US system of military power. Each major intervention leaves behind a new set of bases, naval facility agreements, SOFA etc. This has been seen in the Gulf, Somalia, the Balkans, Afghanistan, and above all, Iraq. According to General Jay Garner, the first US ruler in Iraq, the 14 'enduring' bases planned for Iraq can play the same role that US bases did in the Philippines for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. "To me that's what Iraq is, for the next few decades. We ought to have something there...that gives us a great presence in the Middle East. I think that's going to be necessary."

(A.S. Klamper 'Former Iraq administrator sees decades-long US military presence', Congress Daily, Feb 6, 2004, quoted in Moxham: *Confronting the Military Outposts of Empire*, Focus on the Global South, 2004)

The development of a pervasive 'enemy-consciousness' is hard to overestimate, since it sets the tone for policy and budget debates in Washington in which it is hard to challenge the Administration's military posture. One can argue, for instance, that Bin Laden and Mullah Omar are more useful to US plans if they are still at large than if they were under lock and key.

### Our function as a coalition

Serves as the national coordinating and resource center on nuclear power, military access, and bases conversion.

Conducts anti-nuclear education drives & spearheads mobilizations against nuclear issues nationwide

Lobbies government and legislative bodies for policies supportive of the peace and anti-nuclear provisions of the Philippine constitution.

Serves as the national campaign center for the abolition of nuclear weapons and the opposition of nuclear testing in the Asia-Pacific region

Coordinating Center for the No Nukes Asia Forum-Philippines (NNAF); the Nuclear Free & Independent Pacific Movement / Pacific Campaign Resource Center in Region 7 (Japan/Philippines Region) and as information center in the Philippines for the Pacific Campaign for Disarmament & Security (PCDS).



## Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security

Security in the Asia-Pacific region cannot be left to governments alone.

As a broad and diverse research, information and support network, PCDS is part of a worldwide effort to achieve human security. PCDS contributes to local, national and regional initiatives related to this broad goal, focusing on non-military solutions to regional and national conflicts including:

- Development of a regional security system based on demilitarization, self-determination, political and human rights, economic justice, environmental well-being, and cooperation among states and peoples.
- Enhancement of the roles of nongovernmental actors in the promotion and establishment of sustainable regional security.
- Development and promotion of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament initiatives, including local and regional nuclear weapon free zones.
- Exposing and challenging military alliances, agreements, military cooperation and training programs.

*Okinawan peasant women evicted from their land by US military base mount a silent protest.*

*From: «The Island Where People Live» Shoko, 1989.*

## WHAT IS THEIR PURPOSE?

The network of bases has many purposes.

- **To reinforce the status quo:** for example the deterrent role of U.S. bases in South Korea, and the intimidating role of many of the U.S. bases in Middle East which are designed to ensure continued U.S. privileged access to, and control of, the region's oil
- **To encircle enemies:** as was the case with the Soviet Union and China during Cold War and China to this day. This is a role played by U.S. bases in Korea, Japan, Philippines, Australia, Pakistan, Diego Garcia, and in many of the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia
- **To serve and reinforce the aircraft carriers, destroyers, nuclear armed submarines and other warships of the U.S. Navy.** This includes bases in Okinawa, Yokuska (outside Tokyo), and "visiting forces" and "access" agreements in the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and many other countries.



- **To train U.S. forces,** as was long the case for bombardiers in Vieques (Puerto Rico) and as jungle war fighting and other training which continues in Okinawa.
- **To function as jumping off points for U.S. foreign military interventions:** the cases of Okinawa, the Philippines, Spain, Italy, Honduras, Germany and the new bases in Eastern Europe, Kuwait and likely in Iraq and Korea.
- **To facilitate C3I:** command, control, communications and intelligence, including essential roles in nuclear war fighting, and the use of space for intelligence and warfare as seen in Afghanistan and Iraq. U.S. bases in Okinawa, Qatar, and Australia serve these functions.
- **To control the governments of host**

**nations.** Japan, Korea (where U.S. military forces were deeply involved in military coups,) Germany, Saudi Arabia, and today's Iraq begin the list.

(adapted from: Joseph Gerson,, US Foreign Military bases and Military Colonialism, paper for International Consultation on US Bases, 2003)

In addition we could add:

- **Deterring encroachment**
- **Surveillance of other militaries – and eavesdropping on civilians**
- **Marketing weaponry to other militaries** (150 countries buy from the US)
- **Protecting access to strategic minerals,** notably oil and gas, including through control of sea lanes
- **Denying such resources to other potential rival powers** (China, Russia, India..)
- **Making a wedge between major competitors** – (a replay of the 'Great Game' in Central Asia)
- **Providing work for the military-industrial complex**
- **Offering a comfortable life for the military and their families.**

(source: Lutz, *ibid.* and Chalmers Johnson: *The Sorrows of Empire*, 2004)

## EFFECTS ON DEVELOPMENT

### Land/agriculture

The first and most obvious effect of a decision to open a military base is the loss of land belonging to local landowners and farmers. This often leads to loss of livelihood, with farmers obliged to find work in the urban informal sector. Among the more extreme cases we can include:

- Diego Garcia – eviction of 5000 Chagosian people from their homes in 1965 to build an army base;
- Guam – the internment of thousands of Chamoru landowners in 1944 after liberation from the Japanese – and refusal to allow them to return to large parts of the island which the US had confiscated
- Kwajalein, Marshall Islands – the eviction of hundreds in order to build a tracking station, people who now live in degrading conditions on a neighbouring islet.
- Okinawa – the world's most heavily militarised islands – allegedly 1 million residents were displaced to make way for the huge US military installations. As an example, 63% of the land of the



island of Iejima was taken at gunpoint from the local owners, who then waged an (unsuccessful) non-violent struggle to secure its return.

(Sources; Lutz, *ibid.*, Ahagon Shoko, *The Island Where People Live*, Christian Conference of Asia, 1989).

### Employment /loss of livelihood

While it is undeniable that military bases do offer a certain number of jobs to local residents, there are far less of them than if the services provided were bought locally. For the most part the US brings with it huge quantities of materials and equipment and large numbers of its own nationals to run the many and diverse activities – military and civilian – that go on behind the security fences.

Those among the local population who are employed usually manage to obtain only low paid jobs that are vulnerable when the base shrinks, or is closed as a result of US strategy or budget changes.

### Environmental and health damage

Military bases leave a big footprint. Among the diverse effects we can consider:

- Destruction of farmland, forests, and coastlines
- Thousands of low flying exercises, generating noise pollution and psychological trauma in some cases.
- Contamination – including acids, ammunition wastes, organic solvents, chemical warfare agents, and industrial sludge.
- Accidents, including some involving nuclear weapons (known as ‘broken arrows’)

### Three examples of environmental impact:

#### Okinawa

In Okinawa, where the United States maintains 20,000 Marines on the densely populated island, a plan to relocate Futenma Air Station onto reclaimed land atop a coral reef is being challenged in a bi-national environmental lawsuit to protect the Japanese dugong, a large sea mammal similar to the manatee that is highly endangered. The suit calls for a complete public analysis of the impacts of the base on the dugong’s habitat, required under the National Historic Preservation Act.

### Marshall Islands

Marshallese leaders ...remain unconvinced that decades of military activities and missile operations have left Kwajalein and its people “free of all dangers and risks” and “safe at all levels.” In a recent letter, the four reigning paramount Iroijlaplaps (chiefs) of the Ralik Chain of the Marshall Islands expressed gratitude to the NGO’s, institutions, and individuals that showed their support earlier this year in several letters to Congress asking that the US adopt the same measures for Marshall Islands radiation victims as it did for American downwinders. “Our fear in Kwajalein Atoll has now taken a turn into a nightmare for our people are not only living in close proximity to some very powerful tracking radars, but the missiles fired into our lagoon will create conditions that will make it impossible for untold future generations to derive any form of sustenance in this God given natural resources - a resource that has been their main source of livelihood for centuries”. (Aenet Rowa, Yokwe Online, August 2005)

### The USA

Part of the problem is the desire of the Pentagon to put itself beyond any of the restraints that govern civilian life, an attitude increasingly at play in the “homeland” as well. For example, the 2004 Defense Authorization Bill of \$401.3 billion that President Bush signed into law in November 2003 exempts the military from abiding by the Endangered Species Act and the Marine Mammal Protection Act.

### Prostitution

The military are notorious promoters of prostitution – indeed it is said they are the two oldest professions. Bases act as magnets for poor women in the local community for whom the prospect of quick money is hard to resist. They also offer ample opportunities for pimps, brothel keepers and others who benefit indirectly.

“When the US pulled out of South Vietnam in 1975, they left behind an estimated 500,000 Vietnamese working as prostitutes. Today in Olongapo City (Philippines) there are approximately 20,000 women and children working as prostitutes in an industry servicing the US Subic Naval Base.”

(Cynthia Enloe, ‘A Feminist Perspective on Foreign Military Bases’, in: ‘The Sun Never Sets,’ *ibid.*)

However Enloe points out that the patterns of interaction between the military and

- Removal of foreign military bases, facilities, and operations from communities around the region, and the withdrawal of forward-deployed naval forces into national
- Exposing and challenging the manufacture, testing, trade, transfer and development of all weaponry in the region.
- Reduction of military expenditures and reallocation of funds to basic human needs, and the conversion of military bases and facilities to useful functions.

### Peace Depot, Japan

The Peace Depot is a non-profit, independent peace research, education and information institution which aims to build a security system that does not rely on military power. It was launched in November 1997, after a seven-year preparatory phase, and became incorporated as a Non-Profit Organization in January 2000 under the Japanese NPO Act.

### Seven Aims

- To become a think tank on peace issues to serve citizens and grassroots organizations, and to support peace education.
- To promote activities in collaboration with NGOs around the world to change the prevailing view that peace is assured by military power.
- To promote activities consistent with an understanding of the unique part that Japanese people may play to advance world peace, based on Japan’s pacifist constitution, its experience of atomic bombings, and reflection with regret upon its aggressive wartime role.
- To promote activities that emphasize accurate information based on primary sources and easy-to-understand analysis.
- To promote disclosure to the public of information on defense and diplomacy.



local communities – specifically women – vary according to a whole series of factors. Brothels are not inevitable appendages of all military bases.

However women and girls are frequently the object of violent assaults and crimes by military personnel including rape and enforced prostitution. To this we should add the increased prevalence of HIV-AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. As victims and survivors they also confront consequences such as being internally displaced or even made refugees. Frequently – depending on the legal situation defined by the SOFA - they are pressured by their governments to drop charges related to violations committed by military men.

### **Distortion of local economy and politics**

The effects of having a military base in your backyard go much further than the impact on land and employment. It can stimulate division and jealousies among the political elite; it can undermine local government;



*Okinawan family tombs inside Futenma US air base.*

*Photo: C. Archer*



raise false hopes; increase the cost of living, provoke a rise in drug taking and trade; and open the door to Mafia-type gangsterism. The latter was a particular feature of the Comiso base in Italy, whose effects were documented by US researcher Laura Simich:

“From its inception, the Comiso missile base created problems for the people in the community, people who had nothing to say about the decision to build it, nor recourse when it infringed on their rights and wishes. Politicians misled

Comisani into thinking the military base would benefit them, as if it were a form of economic development rather than a self-contained nuclear weapons facility. The economic arguments for the base, though false, appear to have been the single greatest factor in quelling local opposition. Once construction of the base began, the gap between promises and reality became clear; the reality included municipal corruption, temporary and minimal employment, few contracts for services, negligible spending, housing shortages, social conflict and crime. These are the conditions Comisani are learning to live with”

(Laura Simich, *The Corruption of a Community's Economic and Political Life*, in: *The Sun Never Sets*, ed. Gerson and Birchard, South End Press 1991)

### **Violation of human rights and democratic process**

Western powers – and the Soviets too – have used a wide variety of dubious methods to secure their much-coveted bases. These range from outright invasion (Philippines, Iraq); overturning elected governments (Guatemala); supporting military dictatorships (Greece and Spain in the 1960s, Somalia from 1979); diplomatic bullying (Palau – insistence on repeating a referendum on US bases until the population ‘got the answer right’); secret agreements with friendly governments (Australia, UK); and eviction of local populations (Diego Garcia and Pacific islands). None of these methods appear to contribute to the spread of democracy that the US claims to promote – rather they represent clear violations of human rights and sovereignty. The fact that the USSR used very similar tactics during its colonial period only reinforces the point.

### **Cultural impacts**

The arrival of large numbers of westerners in developing countries – as in certain countries that are heavily dependent on tourism - has all manner of effects. Among these is a spread of cultural influences that may not be healthy for the host community. These could include the adoption of fast food; the spread of videos and electronic games that may not be – to say the least – culturally appropriate; and the general adoption of a consumer culture. Other aspects may not be immediately obvious. For example, in Okinawa local people have been prevented from visiting their family graves due to the

enclosure of the burial grounds within the US military's land grab. This is a profoundly hostile act, given the importance of respect for ancestors in Okinawan culture.

## EFFECTS IN DEVELOPING WORLD

The 'development effects' summarised above of course do not only occur in developing countries. Indeed – despite an ongoing downsizing process -- the largest numbers of overseas US bases are still located in Germany and Japan. However the effects are usually more pronounced in poor societies, where the gap between the affluent lifestyle of the military and their families contrasts most sharply with that of the surrounding sea of deprivation.

## RESISTANCE

Reactions to this overpowering military presence are very variable. In some places (Bulgaria for example) the jobs created and the recent character of the new friendship with the US lend weight to the generalised acceptance of the US presence. In countries such as the UK, the cultural differences are small. Although courageous peace movement protests have been maintained at bases such Menwith Hill and Fylingdales, the response of the general public is rather one of ignorance or indifference. The sense of domination prevalent elsewhere is replaced by one of partnership between friendly forces, though this was strained by the 2003 Iraq war. Outright resistance is the more common reaction in developing countries, varying from terrorist attacks and street warfare in Iraq to (largely) non-violent demonstrations in places like Okinawa, S.Korea and the Philippines.

However much depends on the regional context. Uzbekistan, for example, recently decided to eject the US bases, giving Washington 6 months to effect its withdrawal from the Khanabad base, rented by the US soon after 9-11. This was apparently in response to a change in Uzbekistan's economic and political policy – now preferring better links with Russia and China. It remains to be seen whether other Central Asian states follow suit. ('Uzbekistan kicks US out of key military base', Guardian Weekly Aug 5, 2005)

The prime example of a successful anti-bases campaign – apart from Kazakhstan's sudden mobilisation against Russian nuclear test sites in 1990. - is undoubtedly the Philippines, when both Clark and Subic bases were closed in the early 1990s. It is true that the eruption of nearby Mt Pinatubo was a contributing factor, but the growing mobilisation by the anti-bases movement (including at Senate level) was also important.

In the USA itself the most significant challenges to the domestic bases have come from activists grouped around the Military Toxics Project, whose focus has been to combat the environmental effects of military installations.

Within the framework of the World Social Forum there is now an international anti-bases network, whose secretariat is the Forum on the Global South based in Bangkok.

"The network of US bases is both one of the central challenges to human development; the assertion of cultural superiority and assault on principles of equity; and the incentive for the development of a remarkable and robust and now transnationally-networked democratic social movement."  
(Catherine Lutz, *ibid.*)

- To promote new cooperative relations between grassroots movements and specialist communities.
- To increase the social value of peace NGOs in Japan by fully utilizing the Peace Depot's status of incorporation under the 1998 Act on NPO.

### Major Programs

#### Nuclear Disarmament

Bi-weekly periodical: Nuclear Weapon & Nuclear Test Monitor (NWNTM)  
NWNTM, co-published by the Peace Depot and the Pacific Campaign for Security and Disarmament (PCDS), provides information about nuclear disarmament and security issues in the Asia-Pacific region.



Children say "NO" to military bases.

Photo: National Committee for Abrogation of the Japan-US Security Treaty



Year book: Nuclear Disarmament and Nuclear Weapon-Free Local Authorities

This year book, published in July, introduces the previous year; global development on nuclear disarmament using brief keywords, and includes practical suggestions for nuclear weapon-free local authorities.

#### **Regional Security in the Asia-Pacific**

##### **Research on U.S. Forces Japan**

Publication of this research, based on both U.S. and Japan Freedom of Information Acts (FOIA), is forth-coming. Two books on this same subject were published during the Peace Depot's preparatory phase.

##### **Training NGO Activists and Researchers for Peace**

This includes sending youth activists/researchers to major international peace events and holding seminars and workshops.

##### **Emergency Projects**

The Peace Depot undertook emergency research projects including: "India-Pakistan Special Update"(1998) and "Special Update for Citizens and Local Authorities on the Legislation Regarding U.S.-Japan New Defense Guidelines"(1999).

## **Closure**

The announcement of a base closure signals a whole new set of challenges for a local people. The issues of clean-up and alternative uses of the site, plus new sources of employment present enormous and costly demands on hard-pressed national and local administrations. To a great extent a viable future depends on the empowerment of local residents, together with the creation of effective working partnerships between municipalities, trade unions, businesses, community groups, religious bodies and women's associations.

"Military base closures and options for redevelopment are likely important consequences of the downsizing process. Physical assets, including land, buildings and equipment, can sometimes be sold or transferred, or the physical infrastructure can be reallocated to a non-military use. There are several examples of former military bases being successfully 'recycled' into productive civilian or private use. However, the conversion of military bases is not always possible or desirable, due to location, financial constraints or environmental contamination. Base closures often necessitate local or regional support for the absorption of former soldiers and support personnel and for the provision of benefits, such as medical services, housing and schooling, that were previously provided by the military."

(UN Expert Group on the relationship between disarmament and development in the current international context (2004), para. 51)

## **OTHER ACTIVITIES**

Besides military bases, it is worth mentioning some other military activities with significant impacts on development:

**Training exercises**, for example - the principal peacetime activity - use up enormous resources, both human and material, and often damage the natural environment. A controversial example would be the US firing range at Vieques, Puerto Rico, recently closed down after a long campaign by local activists concerned about contamination.

Another area of controversy is **intelligence and spying activities**, which are also costly and when conducted in the context

of foreign policy or military operations hostile to developing countries, have important effects on the capacity of such states to formulate without interference their own sovereign policies. As Western intelligence work shifts to focus on a) Islamic terrorism and b) commercial espionage, its impacts on Muslim communities and developing economies are growing.

A more benign set of tasks concerns **military support in times of natural disaster**. In such crises the military suddenly finds its services in demand for rescue, humanitarian aid delivery or environmental repair, since few other institutions possess the equipment – helicopters, heavy lifting gear, transporters – and trained personnel readily available. But on its own this is a poor argument for maintaining armed forces at the current levels. The 'human security' benefit is a fortunate spin-off from a bloated 'national security' system struggling to redefine itself. The US military in particular faces a new context where the Cold War opponent has vaporised and the new terrorist threat requires entirely different responses. It therefore does no harm to its image to be seen to be carrying out life-saving tasks at a moment of national or international tragedy. At the time of writing this role is vividly in evidence after the dramatic flooding of the southern USA as a result of Hurricane Katrina.

The idea of using military resources for environmental purposes on a systematic basis under the UN was first raised by the then Executive Director of UNEP, Mostafa Tolba of Egypt. In 1991, an international Commission headed by former IPB President Maj-Britt Theorin proposed the creation of a "Green Helmets" corps of military forces assigned to the UN for rapid response to ecological disasters, including those occasioned by war. The resulting UN-sponsored Study "*Charting Potential Uses of Resources Allocated to Military Activities for Civilian Endeavours to Protect the Environment*", detailed a whole series of proposals which, if implemented, would have significantly changed the role of the military in many countries.. The initiative has not yet borne fruit, mainly because of opposition from the US and like-minded states.



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**Diego Garcia** [www.mydiegogarcia.com](http://www.mydiegogarcia.com)

**Focus on the Global South:** [www.focusweb.org](http://www.focusweb.org)

**Globalsecurity.org** [www.Globalsecurity.org](http://www.Globalsecurity.org)

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**People's Taskforce for Military Clean Up (Philippines)**

<http://www.yonip.com/main/taskforce.html>

**Zmag** [www.Zmag.org](http://www.Zmag.org)

## WEBSITES





# 4

# MILITARY TOOLS - THE IMPACT OF WEAPONS ON DEVELOPMENT

*Whole libraries have been written about the use of weapons in armed conflict. Far less has been said about their effects on sustainable development, which is crucial from a human security perspective. This is a vast subject, since there are so many different weapons types and so many dimensions of development. The following is a brief survey of some of the most relevant elements in the key weapons-system categories. For more detailed information please refer to the References and Websites section.*

**Weapons with limited development impact**, such as space weapons, robots, and directed-energy weapons (particle beams), have been omitted.

**Note on 'metaphorical weapons'** : it is often argued that wars are fought with non-material 'weapons' : sanctions, pressure for debt repayments, threats to cut off aid or trade deals, investments that threaten the health of local communities, etc. While these forms of pressure are undoubtedly real, we shall limit ourselves here to physically-existing weapons used by military forces.

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The use of nuclear weapons would be the ultimate development catastrophe. The radiation effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, the subsequent atmospheric nuclear tests and the Chernobyl accident give an indication of the scope of environmental damage that would ensue from even a limited use of nuclear weapons. The damage to the earth's ecosystem would be severe, and the economic and human impact colossal. If a limited nuclear attack were to lead to a massive exchange or a generalised nuclear war, all life on earth could be endangered. While few studies appear to have been done to update the 'nuclear winter' thesis of the 1980s (which predicted severe loss of agricultural production due to the blocking out of sunlight over a significant period), there is little reason to assume it is now invalid due to the demise of the Cold War and some reductions in arsenals.

It is true that the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been rebuilt over time, and are even flourishing communities nowadays. But the extent of the destruction, the loss of human life, the suffering of the irradiated survivors – these are incomparable in scale. Let us remember that these were single explosions of very small size in comparison to today's A and H bombs. The arsenals available to nuclear weapons states now range from hundreds of bombs (China, UK, France, Israel) to tens of thousands (US, Russia). While the arsenals of India, Pakistan and N.Korea are smaller, their close proximity to their conflict-neighbours and the tension in their relationships means that the danger of a nuclear conflagration remains very real. Therefore it is self-evident that everything possible must be done to prevent such conflicts developing to a stage where nuclear weapons might be used; and of course to encourage all possible moves towards complete nuclear disarmament.

## Testing

The effects of nuclear weapons have also been evident during the years of atmospheric, and to a lesser extent, of underground, testing – now suspended pending completion of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Areas affected include the Pacific (Marshall Islands, Christmas Island, Johnston Atoll, Moruroa) the Sahara (Algeria), Australia, Nevada (USA), Novaya Zemlya (Russia), Kazakhstan, and Lop Nor (China). An extensive literature has documented the effects on the immediate surrounding areas, and health effects of radioactivity on downwinders (mostly indigenous communities), to which can be added psychological impacts and effects on the local economy. The number of tests conducted by the US between 1945 and 1992 was 1045. Of these, approximately 100 were atmospheric tests in the period up to 1962. The Soviet Union conducted 715 tests between 1949 and 1990. (Since some tests involved more than one device, the actual number of bombs exploded is slightly larger). Since the ban on underground tests in the early 1990s the emphasis has been on sub-critical/laboratory tests. The exact number of these

## Atomic Mirror, USA

The Atomic Mirror uses the creative arts (films, writing, music, images, performance, ceremony) to reveal the consequences of the nuclear age, and to inspire people to take action for a nuclear free world. From our offices in England and California, we work with activists, artists, and indigenous peoples from nuclear sites worldwide to develop initiatives and joint activities. Since our beginning in 1994, the Atomic Mirror employs the creative arts, creative analysis, and creative partnerships to reawaken the need to turn away from nuclear technology to nurture a sustainable way of life.

**Creative Arts**: The Atomic Mirror uses the creative arts to reveal the secrets of the nuclear age, and to advocate for the abolition of nuclear weapons and power.

**Creative Analysis**: The Atomic Mirror provides ongoing political analysis of nuclear issues from an international perspective.

**Creative Partnerships**: The Atomic Mirror works in collaboration with like minded organizations to promote a nuclear-free world.



tests appears not to be known. The first time Russian authorities confirmed that they have a program for subcritical tests was in 1997. (Bellona Foundation).

The **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty** has 176 signatory states, of whom 125 have ratified. However with the US still refusing to join the Treaty, its value as a universal norm is diminished.

### Health effects

The effects of radiation emanating from nuclear weapons tests is a subject of great



Photo: Atomwaffen abschaffen, Bonn

controversy among scientists, health officials and environmentalists. Among the research problems is the fact that populations located within range of the fallout are also subject to other forms of radiation (including natural background radiation) and that the effects take decades to show up as cancers and other diseases. However the following gives some idea of the scale of the problem, at least in the USA. (Figures for other parts of the globe are less easy to obtain).

“Radioactive fallout from Cold War nuclear weapons tests across the globe probably caused at least 15,000 cancer deaths in U.S. residents born after 1951, according to data from an unreleased federal study. The study, coupled with findings from previous government investigations, suggests that 20,000 non-fatal cancers — and possibly many more — also can be tied to fallout from aboveground weapons tests. The study shows that far more fallout than previously known reached the USA from nuclear tests in the former Soviet Union and on several Pacific islands used for U.S. and British exercises. It also finds that fallout from scores of U.S. trials at the Nevada Test Site spread substantial amounts of radioactivity across broad swaths of the country. When fallout from all tests, domestic and foreign, is taken together, no U.S. resident born after 1951 escaped exposure, the study says.”

(Peter Eisler, 'Fallout likely caused 15,000 deaths', in : USA Today, 28 Feb. 2002)

The implications of these figures for develop-

ment can only be assessed very indirectly, but at the least we can say that there will be costs due to additional medical care, and loss of productive employment, as well as the costs of environmental clean up. These are particularly important in relatively poor societies like Kazakhstan and the Pacific Islands.

### Proliferation and trade

Among the most important aspects of nuclear industry which touch communities in developing countries is the issue of proliferation. The Non-Proliferation Treaty has built into it provisions which authorise any state to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, while forbidding the production of atomic weapons. However, as is clear from the ongoing crises over Iran's and N. Korea's programmes, it is extremely difficult for the IAEA inspectors to determine whether a clandestine weapons programme is indeed being pursued. The fact that the technology offers a possible future weapons capability (even if not exercised currently) means that there is an added temptation – in an uncertain world – to follow the nuclear path, even if this is not in fact the best energy choice for that country. Reasons for this could include the enormous cost of developing facilities and training technicians and experts; the dangers of contamination; the insoluble issue of nuclear waste; and the burden of erecting a complete national grid distribution system for carrying the electricity from a central source. This is a good illustration of the argument that possibilities in the military sphere have a tendency to overrule rational development choices.

### Costs

The US continues to spend \$35 billion annually on nuclear weapons programs. This includes stockpile maintenance, research and development. These costs do not include the health and environmental damage from nuclear weapons programs - including nuclear testing and fissile material production - nor the associated economic costs of loss of land and human work hours and increase in medical costs. Nor do they include a conservatively-estimated \$320 billion for long-term storage and disposal.

### Spin-offs

Proponents of nuclear weapons often cite economic benefits of such research arguing that it generates technological and economic spin-offs. For example, NAVSTAR satellites, originally developed to provide pinpoint accuracy for ballistic missiles, are now finding widespread



commercial use as part of hand-held directional finders and automobile electronic atlases. However, the extent of civilian benefits from nuclear weapons spending is necessarily restricted due to the secrecy of much research and the specific orientation to military purposes. If a comparable amount of public money were spent in civilian research and development, the returns would most likely be much greater.

### Disarmament costs

Experience from the START I and INF treaties indicates that nuclear disarmament costs can be high, although this depends a lot on the degree of verification required. Projected US costs for dismantlement and verification under these two treaties is approximately \$31 billion. However this does not include clean-up costs, which could reach a staggering \$365 billion. Russia is experiencing difficulties in meeting the costs of current programs of dismantlement and disposition, threatening their continuation. In response the US has provided \$10 billion to help dismantlement and secure fissile materials, including the purchase of highly enriched uranium from dismantled bombs. The full cost for the total dismantlement and destruction of nuclear weapons, disposal of fissile material and cleanup of nuclear sites is impossible to determine at this time, and depends on a number of policy decisions including the speed of destruction, the types and complexity of verification systems and the method of fissile material disposition. There is also the close inter-connection with nuclear energy production. Regardless of the cost, it will be cheaper to embark on a complete nuclear disarmament program than maintain current programs of nuclear weapons maintenance and modernisation, which merely delay these costs into the future and add costs for extra weapon dismantlement and clean-up.

### Conversion

Nuclear conversion refers to the transformation of nuclear weapons facilities and supporting industries to non-weapons purposes, or to disarmament purposes. The possibility of conversion can reduce the nuclear weapon industry's opposition to nuclear disarmament by ensuring that there continues to be jobs for workers and economic benefits for corporations. The development of the Co-operative Monitoring Center at Sandia National Laboratories, is a good example of a nuclear weapons facility and its employees

beginning a transformation towards nuclear disarmament.

However, some economists argue that conversion should not be over-emphasised and that nuclear weapons corporations should adhere to the same economic realities as other corporations. It is generally assumed that once an industry's product is no longer needed, it is best to lay-off the people making the unneeded products and find them new jobs in industries whose products or services are required. It may be better to utilise corporations with experience in the products or services required rather than trying to convert a corporation that is not experienced.

*(Source: Alyn Ware, IPB Vice-President and Coordinator of the Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament, a project of the Middle Powers Initiative)*

### Contamination and waste

During the Cold War, the US and Soviet armed forces – and the other nuclear states – produced enormous amounts of hazardous wastes. As a result of naval accidents there are at least 50 nuclear warheads and 11 nuclear reactors littering the ocean floor. There are more nuclear reactors at sea than on land.

Because of the close links between the nuclear arms industry and civil nuclear power generation, the nuclear weapons industry is partly responsible for the environmental contamination caused by the whole nuclear chain, which includes:

- uranium mining and milling;
- transport of 'yellowcake', MOX (mixed oxide fuel) and other nuclear materials (including the risks inherent in transportation by road, rail and on the high seas, and those associated with nuclear-powered submarines and other vessels);
- fabrication of fuel rods;
- reprocessing plants and fast-breeder reactors;
- problems of storage of nuclear waste over millennia.

Heavily irradiated large sites as Chelyabinsk, La Hague, Yucca Mountain, Hanford, Sellafield and Murmansk are likely to be condemned in perpetuity on account of the huge amounts of nuclear materials (and especially waste) they contain.

### Nuclear weapons development and production

Nuclear weapons development, manufacturing, storage, transport, disposal etc all place severe strains on the environment and

### Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, UK

CND campaigns non-violently to rid the world of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to create genuine security for future generations.

We aim to...

**Change** Government policies to bring about the elimination of British nuclear weapons as a major contribution to global abolition.

**Stimulate** wide public debate on the need for alternatives both to the nuclear cycle and to military attempts to resolve conflict.

**Empower** people to engage actively in the political process and to work for a nuclear-free and peaceful future.

**Co-operate** with other groups in the UK and internationally to ensure the development of greater mutual security

CND is funded entirely by its members and supporters.

CND has [national](#) offices representing England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, as well as [local](#) and [regional](#) groups located all over the UK. Please go to the CND Contacts page for all CND contact details.

**CND is part of Abolition 2000- a global network to eliminate nuclear weapons.**

CND also supports and works with other campaigning organisations such as the Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) and the UK Working Group on Landmines, as well as anti-nuclear weapons campaigns abroad, including in particular France, India, Pakistan and the United States.



## International Organization of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms

IALANA came into being in 1988 after a meeting in Stockholm attended by lawyers from several countries with a similar vision and sense of purpose.

Prior to that meeting the Lawyer's Committee on Nuclear Policy (USA) and the Association of Soviet lawyers (USSR) had initiated and sponsored the International Conference on Nuclear Weapons and International Law that was held in New York City, between August 29 and 31 1987. It was at this conference that the idea to form a worldwide organization of lawyers committed to the prevention of nuclear war arose.

Since that time, IALANA has grown into a fully-fledged international citizens' organization with consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. IALANA has affiliates all over the world including, United States, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, India, Sweden, Japan, the Russian Federation, Norway and Italy.

Originally, IALANA's sole international office was located at The Hague in the Netherlands. However in 2002 IALANA expanded its international operations and now has 3 international offices: one office is located in Marburg, Germany (Northern Hemisphere Office), another office is located in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand (Southern Hemisphere Office) and the third office is in New York (United Nations Office). By making these changes IALANA can more effectively co-ordinate its activities as a truly international organisation.

IALANA's core objective continues to be to ensure the development and strengthening of the international legal order with a view to delegitimizing the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons. IALANA has also expanded its scope of action to include efforts to control the international conventional arms trade and to introduce novel concepts of security based on non-offensive defence and confidence building. IALANA also has a close interest in ensuring the effective functioning of the new International Criminal Court.



impact human health. Uranium mining, conducted in many developing countries (Namibia, Gabon, India...), and often on indigenous people's lands within rich countries (USA, Canada, Australia...) is known to lead to many, and severe, cases of contamination, and the same is true of operations along the whole production chain. One has only to survey the scale of the toxic legacy at the vast nuclear production site at Hanford, USA to see the urgency and importance of the overall clean-up task.

"The half-century embrace of the atom as an instrument of military technology and a purported energy panacea has created an unprecedented environmental burden in the form of contaminated air, land, and water, and vast quantities of long-lived radioactive wastes. The U.S. Department of Energy has conservatively estimated that the federal government will be required to spend \$230 billion over the next 75 years to "clean up" the existing mess. Yet a current DOE planning document indicates that more wastes will be generated by nuclear weapons related activities over the next two decades than from cleanup of past activities. This new environmental assault is emerging while efforts to identify and disclose the public health consequences of past nuclear weapons activities are only beginning. In coming years, thousands of communities across the country will be affected by decisions to build new nuclear weapons research and production facilities, decommission nuclear power plants, establish nuclear waste storage sites, transport spent nuclear fuel, and clean up hundreds of sites."

(Source: *Western States Legal Foundation*, [www.wslf.org](http://www.wslf.org))

While nuclear facility managers often choose to minimise the problem, local citizens groups such as the members of the **Military Toxics Network** in the US, have done important work over long periods to reveal the dangers and to campaign for closure, compensation etc. In the process of nuclear weapons development and production, government departments, local authorities, the private sector and labour organisations are important actors. What is needed is a systematic effort to bring them together with those who have the finance and scientific expertise, in order to ensure that the industry is gradually wound down (except for certain applications in agricul-

ture and medicine), provisions made for the long-term future, and the remaining resources invested in renewable energies and technologies.

## Accidents

The dangers inherent in the nuclear industry have been visible to the world since August 1945, and have been reinforced by accidents such as those at Chernobyl and Three Mile Island. However there have been many other nuclear 'incidents' giving rise to serious concern. According to a General Accounting Office (GAO) report entitled *Navy Nuclear Weapons Safeguards and Nuclear Weapon Accident Emergency Planning*, a total of 563 nuclear weapon 'incidents' (not necessarily accidents) were reported by the US Navy between 1965-1983.

(Source: Jaya Tiwari and Cleve J. Gray, *US Nuclear Weapons Accidents*)

## In summary:

The problem of waste is one we shall bequeath to the next 1000 generations. The proliferation of atomic weapons, both horizontal (to new states) and vertical (new weapons added to existing arsenals) remains among the most urgent challenges for humanity. Any use of a nuclear weapon in an armed conflict would be a disaster. The costs of the whole enterprise have been astronomical. And yet, despite all the efforts of concerned citizens and a galaxy of NGO campaigns, there is currently no progress at the diplomatic level, and there are even signs of regression, on both the non-proliferation and disarmament aspects of the problem. There is plenty of work to be done.

## CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Modern chemical weapons are nearly a century old. First used on a large scale in 1915 during the first World War, they have since been subject to an international ban. Yet they have been used on several occasions with terrible effects.

Any future use of chemical weapons, while not as catastrophic as nuclear weapons, would nevertheless cause severe environmental damage in addition to their devastating effects on humans. The effects on development would depend on many factors, including the type of weapons used, their scale of deployment in space and time, whether in a rural or urban area

etc. Chemical weapons are capable of causing casualties among living beings - people, other animals and plants - on a large scale, with grave consequences for human health. Given that they are relatively cheap to produce and deliver, there is a real risk that they could be used in the inter-state wars of the future. They could also be used by (or against) terrorists. Among the many lessons of the 9-11 attacks is that the prospect

of an airborne chemical attack on a city is not purely in the realm of science fiction. The Aum Shinrikyo attacks on the Tokyo subway (and the 2005 London bombings) suggest the danger could also come from underground. Any such criminal acts could have serious environmental, social and psychological impacts beyond the immediate vicinity of the attacks, in addition to fearsome public health consequences.

## International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation

INESAP is the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation and was founded in 1993. It is a non-profit, non-governmental network organization with participants from all over the world.

INESAP is part of the world-wide activities of the International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES), which currently comprises more than 60 organizations from 25 countries. INES is a UN accredited NGO.

Although those active in the network can and do work independently with each other, the office plays an essential organizational role in most INESAP activities. It is hosted by the Interdisciplinary Research Group in Science Technology and Security (IANUS) at Darmstadt University of Technology. The INESAP Coordinator cooperates closely with the international Coordinating Committee.

### Objectives

INESAP's central objective is to promote non-proliferation and disarmament of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction and relevant delivery systems. In particular the goals are to extend and tighten existing arms control and non-proliferation regimes and to devise and promote the implementation of new approaches. INESAP promotes critical analyses of technical, scientific and political issues associated with nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. It also works to develop disarmament concepts. In particular, its members contribute their scientific expertise to efforts aimed at transforming the currently inadequate arms control and nonproliferation regimes into a nuclear-weapon-free and eventually into a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free world. Further, the network contributes to exploring alternatives to ballistic missile defense and weapons in space. INESAP seeks to accomplish these objectives through a program that combines research, networking and activities aimed at influencing national and international policies.



## Some instances of use of Chemical Weapons:

**429 B.C.-** Spartans ignite pitch and sulphur to create toxic fumes in the Peloponnesian War.

**424 B.C.-** Toxic fumes used in siege of Delium during the Peloponnesian War.

**1456-** City of Belgrade defeats invading Turks by igniting rags dipped in poison to create a toxic cloud.

**April 24, 1863-** The US War Department issues General Order 100, proclaiming "the use of poison in any manner, be it to poison wells, or foods, or arms, is wholly excluded from modern warfare".

**World War I** - the use of chemical agents in WWI caused an estimated 1,300,000 casualties, including 90,000 deaths.

**1914-** French begin using tear gas in grenades and Germans retaliate with tear gas in artillery shells. This was the first significant use of chemical warfare in WWI.

**April 22, 1915-** Germans attack the French with chlorine gas at Ypres, France. This was the first significant use of chemical warfare in WWI.

**September 25, 1915** - First British chemical weapons attack; chlorine gas is used against Germans at the Battle of Loos.

**February 26, 1918** - Germans launch the first projectile attack against US troops with phosgene and chloropicrin shells. The first major use of gas against American forces.

**June 1918** - First US use of gas in warfare.

**June 28, 1918** - The US begins its formal chemical weapons program with the establishment of the Chemical Warfare Service.

**1919** - British use Adamsite against the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War.

**1922-1927** - The Spanish use chemical weapons against the Rif rebels in Spanish Morocco.

**1936** - Italy uses mustard gas against Ethiopians during its invasion of Abyssinia.

**1942** - Nazis begin using Zyklon B (hydrocyanic acid) in gas chambers for the mass murder of concentration camp prisoners.

**Dec 1943** - A US ship loaded with mustard bombs is attacked by Germans in the port of Bari, Italy; 83 US troops die in poisoned waters.

**April 1945** - Germans manufacture and stockpile large amounts of tabun and sarin nerve gases but do not use them.

**1962-1970** - US uses four types of defoliant, including Agent Orange (dioxin), in Vietnam and other parts of SE Asia - on a vast scale. ('Operation Ranchhand')

**1963-1967** - Egypt uses chemical weapons (phosgene, mustard) against Yemen.

**1975-1983** - Alleged use of Yellow Rain (trichothecene mycotoxins) by Soviet-backed forces in Laos and Kampuchea. There is evidence to suggest use of T-2 toxin, but an alternative hypothesis suggests that the yellow spots labelled Yellow Rain were caused by swarms of defecating bees.

**1979** - The US government alleges Soviet use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, including Yellow Rain.

**August, 1983** - Iraq begins using chemical weapons (mustard gas), Iran-Iraq War.

**1984** - First ever use of nerve agent tabun on the battlefield, by Iraq during Iran-Iraq War.

**1987-1988** - Iraq uses chemical weapons (hydrogen cyanide, mustard gas) in its Anfal Campaign against the Kurds, most notably in the Halabja Massacre of 1988.

**March 20, 1995** - The Tokyo Subway sarin gas attack killed nearly a dozen people and incapacitating or injuring approximately 5,000 others. Thousands did not die from the Tokyo attack due to impurity of the agent.

Note: There have also been a number of recent unproven allegations, such as the alleged use of CW by the Russians in Chechnya, and by the Myanmar army against rebels in Burma.

(Source: [www.reachingcriticalwill.org](http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org))

### Role of Scientists

Science and technology are part of the problem. At the same time, they can also contribute to the solution of the problems of non-proliferation and disarmament. INESAP is based on the premise that the world's scientists and engineers can play a key role in achieving the mentioned objectives. Thus INESAP helps to build national and international communities of scientists working on nonproliferation and disarmament. Such a global community can overcome the narrow view imposed by national perspectives. The combination of technical expertise, political experience, and international perspectives inherent in INESAP's network is well suited to the devising of new alternatives for current and future security problems. This network is able to contribute to problems ranging from detailed technical ones, such as devising verification systems, to more abstract ones, such as outlining conceptual approaches to a nuclear-weapon-free world...

INESAP uses an integrated, interdisciplinary and international approach for combining research, networking and action to establish a closer interface between science and policy, to ensure an exchange of research results and ideas at early stages of thinking, and to widen the perspective of the public, policy makers, and fellow researchers.

### The Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons

CW is outlawed by international conventions: the 1925 Gas Protocol which bans its use and the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) which bans production and storage. The OPCW was established to implement the agreements contained in the Chemical Weapons Convention, which entered into force in 1997. It currently has 114 states parties. Among its various functions, the OPCW monitors the closure of all CW production facilities, and destruction of stockpiles, as well as verifying the consistency of industrial chemical declarations. To date 11,971 metric tonnes chemical weapon agent have been destroyed, Around 2,000 inspections have been conducted in 72 Member States, and OPCW has engaged over 5,600 participants in 500 international cooperation and assistance activities.

The six states that have declared possession of CW have to destroy over 8 million items, in total 70,000 metric tonnes of extremely dangerous chemicals. Almost 25% of this total has now been verifiably destroyed. (as of Sept. 2004).

### AGENT ORANGE

Among the most serious cases of use of CW in warfare was the notorious chemical Agent Orange (dioxin) sprayed in vast quantities by the US over large areas of Vietnam Laos and Cambodia.

Agent Orange was the code name for a herbicide developed for the military, primarily for use in tropical climates. Serious testing for military applications did not begin until the early 1960s. The purpose was to deny an enemy cover in dense terrain by defoliating trees and shrubbery.

The product was tested in Vietnam in the early 1960s, and brought into ever-widening use at the height of the war (1967-68), though its use was diminished and eventually discontinued in 1971. Agent Orange was a 50-50 mix of two chemicals, known conventionally as 2,4,D and 2,4,5,T. The combined product was mixed with kerosene or diesel fuel and dispersed by aircraft, vehicle, and hand spraying. An estimated 72 million liters of Agent Orange were used in South Vietnam during the war, under the codename 'Operation Ranchhand', and an unknown amount on the countryside of Cambodia and Laos.

The earliest health concerns about Agent Orange were about the product's contami-

nation with TCDD, or dioxin. TCDD is one of a family of dioxins, some found in nature, and are cousins of the dibenzofurans and pcb's. The TCDD found in Agent Orange is thought to be harmful to man. In laboratory tests on animals, TCDD has caused a wide variety of diseases, many of them fatal. TCDD is not found in nature, but rather is a man-made and always unwanted by-product of the chemical manufacturing process. The Agent Orange used in Vietnam was later found to be extremely contaminated with TCDD. This is an extremely toxic substance that has been linked to several forms of cancer, the birth defect spina bifida, type 2 diabetes, and disorders of the nervous, immune and endocrine systems. There may also be links to several other birth defects and reproductive disorders.

### LEGAL CASE DISMISSED

A US federal court in New York has dismissed a legal action brought by Vietnamese plaintiffs over the use of Agent Orange during the Vietnam War. The plaintiffs had sought compensation from the firms that manufactured the chemical, which allegedly caused birth defects, miscarriages and cancer. They said use of the defoliant - to strip away forest cover during the war - was a war crime against millions. But Judge Jack Weinstein ruled there was no legal basis for their claims.

The civil action was the first attempt by Vietnamese plaintiffs to claim compensation for the effects of Agent Orange, which has been linked to a multitude of health problems, including diabetes. However, the chemical companies said no such link had been proved. The defendants - including Dow Chemical and the Monsanto Corporation - also argued that the US government was responsible for how the chemical was used, not the manufacturers. They maintained that US courts could not punish corporations for carrying out the orders of a president exercising his powers as commander-in-chief.

In a 233-page ruling, Judge Weinstein threw out the case, saying: "There is no basis for any of the claims of plaintiffs under the domestic law of any nation or state or under any form of international law." The US justice department had urged the federal judge to dismiss the lawsuit. In a brief filed in January, it said opening the courts to cases brought by former enemies would be a dangerous threat to presidential powers to wage war. In 1984, several chemical companies paid \$180m (£93m) to settle a lawsuit with US war veterans, who said that



their health had been affected by exposure to the substance. Some babies were born without eyes or arms, or were missing internal organs.

A group representing alleged Vietnamese victims says three million people were exposed to the chemical during the war, and at least one million suffer serious health problems today.

(BBC NEWS: Agent Orange legal case dismissed, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/americas/4336941.stm>, 10 March 2005)

## Russia

The disposal and clean-up of Russia's surplus stocks of chemical and biological (and nuclear) weapons present a tremendous environmental and security challenge. The G8 governments at their Calgary Summit (June 2002) finally agreed to devote substantial resources to addressing the issue. This as part of a deal, by which the G8 agreed to raise \$20bn over 10 years. This package of measures, dubbed the 'G8 Global Partnership', also covered decommissioning Russian nuclear submarines and disposing of fissile materials.

## USA

During the last 50 years the US Army produced two major types and six sub-categories of chemical weapons. The main centre is the Tooele depot near Salt Lake City, where mustard gases and nerve agents, principally sarin (GB) and VX, have been stored. In 1985, Congress agreed to fund a new generation of chemical arsenal, provided the 70,000 tons in the existing stockpile were destroyed by 2000. Since then the US has signed the Chemical Weapons Convention and in theory at least, has no offensive stocks.

## Destruction of stocks

Unfortunately even the destruction of CW can have serious effects on the environment, as evidenced by the bitter controversy over destruction of thousands of nerve gas and other deadly chemical agents on the US-owned Pacific island of Johnston Atoll in the 1990s (the JACADS programme, completed November 2000). This programme was in addition to the destruction one operated at Tooele. Such disarmament work has to be done somewhere and investment in new destruction technologies to protect both health and the environment is an important priority in an era in which CW (and BW) nightmare scenarios are becoming more frequent both in the media and in scientific discourse. (For further details see **Green Cross International**)

## Development issues: Provisions in the CWC covering the chemical trade and industrial development

Among the important issues for developing countries are the provisions of the CWC that protect their rights to build and maintain their chemical industries, by clarifying the compliance requirements (inspection, transparency arrangements etc) that when fulfilled then free them from suspicion of developing agents for military use.

## BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

A biological weapon is any infectious agent such as a bacteria or virus that is used intentionally to inflict bodily harm to people, animals or nature. These agents can be used to cause massive casualties or economic damage as a means of warfare and terrorism – all without immediate detection. New scientific developments are posing fresh challenges to the disarmament community. Biological weapons are considerably cheaper than nuclear weapons and have a large effect-to-quantity ratio. In other words, a relatively small amount of biological agent can cause a relatively large number of deaths - equivalent, in some assessments, to those resulting from nuclear use. BW have been described as 'public health in reverse'.

## History

Biological warfare is as old as recorded history. The ancients poisoned wells. In the Middle Ages, the catapulting of bodies of Tartars dead from plague into a Crimean city they were besieging eventually brought the Black Death to Europe. Over the last hundred years the world has witnessed Germany attempt to poison Allied farm animals with anthrax in World War 1, while Japan unleashed a horrific biological attack on Manchuria in the 1930s. This is the only verified large scale offensive use of BW. The Allies prepared a substantial anthrax programme but never in fact used it. More recently, the Soviet Union embarked on an extensive programme even though it had pledged to end production in 1992. (Alibek, 2000). It was discovered after the Gulf War that Iraq had a large stock of biological agents. About a dozen other countries, including China, Israel, Libya, North Korea and Syria are suspected of conducting research on biological weapons. The US has a very large programme which it claims is for defensive purposes only.

## Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikin)

Established in 1965, we are one of Japan's largest anti-nuclear and peace movement organizations. We have chapters in 47 prefectures and include 32 nationwide labor unions and youth groups in our membership (as of March 1997). Our activities are undertaken in collaboration with radiation victims' groups, labor unions, and political parties. We sponsor two major annual events. A public rally held in March, "3-1 Bikini Day," commemorates the crew of the fishing boat Daigo Fukuryu-Maru (Lucky Dragon), which was exposed to fallout from nuclear testing at Bikini in 1954. The World Congress Against A- and H-Bombs is held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, the month when atomic bombs were dropped on those cities. Our core activities include efforts to foster solidarity with anti-nuclear activists around the world; anti-nuclear pro-peace campaigns; various initiatives toward a nuclear-free society; and activities in support of radiation victims. Our resistance extends to all types of "nukes," including the "peaceful use" of nuclear energy. Our position is based on the understanding that human beings and "nukes" can never be compatible. In the words of the late Moritaki Ichirou, former GEN-SUIKIN Chair and the conscience of our movement: "Mankind and nuclear technology cannot coexist." We reject all "nukes" whether they are nuclear weapons or nuclear power plants.

### - Toward the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

Our movement calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons is at a crucial moment. The International Court of Justice issued a determination that the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons in general violates international law. Long-time activists are being joined by those who were once a driving force behind nuclear policy but now call for nuclear disarmament. At a time when social condemnation of nuclear weapons is at an all-time high, we are determined to use all the strength we have to move toward the abolition of nuclear weapons.



### - Creating a Nuclear-Free Global Society

As the Chernobyl disaster made all too clear, facilities that use nuclear power are likely to cause terrible damage when an accident occurs. Whatever safety measures are in place can never be sufficient because these facilities are, after all, operated by human beings. We have persistently cautioned against the arrogant notion, promoted by those with a disproportionate confidence in technology, that humanity can completely control nuclear power. A case in point is the Japanese government, which is now aggressively pushing its Nuclear Fuel Cycle Plan to utilize the dangerous material plutonium in nuclear power plants. By firmly opposing this plan, we can take concrete steps toward creating a nuclear-free global society.

### - Solidarity with the Hibakusha

The world's population of radiation victims is estimated to exceed 2.5 million. A half century after their exposure, the hibakusha of Hiroshima and Nagasaki still suffer from the long term effects of radiation. New generations of hibakusha have also emerged from the accident at Chernobyl as well as among people living near uranium mines, nuclear test sites, and nuclear weapons development facilities. By strengthening our network with hibakusha throughout the world, as well as engaging in joint actions with people everywhere who wish to foster an anti-nuclear worldview and achieve a nuclear-free society, we believe that we can create a world without nuclear plants and nuclear weapons.

## Banning biological weapons

The 1925 Geneva Protocol was a welcome effort to combat the menace. It outlawed the use of biological weapons as well as chemical ones. Since then, accelerating technological research has created opportunities for better health, but the same research results can also be used for annihilation. The **Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction** — more commonly known as the BTWC — entered into force in 1975. However the treaty lacks verification and compliance procedures, unlike the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention. In 1991, at the Third Review Conference of the States Parties to the BTWC, the States decided to form an ad hoc group to work on the formulation of a verification system. However the effort collapsed due essentially to a withdrawal of cooperation by the USA.

### The growing danger

Biological weapons do not require complex delivery systems, and their ease of manufacture is increasing with advances in microbiology and biotechnology. The importance of these industries for peaceful purposes has led to the rapid diffusion of relevant technologies and knowledge throughout the world. They have, however, a **dual-use nature** which means that such materials equipment and skills can be used both for legitimate commercial activities or for illegitimate weapons production. In addition, new discoveries in **genetic engineering** are opening up the prospect of a whole new range of developments which might be misused for prohibited applications that could lead to the development of new biological weapons. For example, new agents could be developed by altering benign micro-organisms to make them toxic, resistant to antibiotics or vaccines, or more environmentally stable (and thus more militarily useful).

Given their relative affordability, effectiveness and flexibility (they can be used to attack plants, animals or humans), biological weapons are increasingly being regarded as an attractive option by some countries or and terrorist groups. The number of states with biological warfare programs has been estimated to be in the range of 16 to 20. (Barnaby p13). The number of states with the capacity to make BW is over 100. Given the secrecy with which such programmes are conducted, plus the dual-use problem, firm knowledge is scarce. The US Congress

Office of Technology Assessment estimates that \$10m would suffice for a country to develop a large BW arsenal. (Compare this to tens of millions for CW and hundreds of millions for nuclear weapons.)

### Drug wars

There are reports that the US is now developing fungi and viruses that will kill opium poppy, marijuana, and coca plants. These are designed to have a high plant kill rate and to be deliberately sprayed in crop eradication programmes. The US is pressuring some countries with such illicit crops to use these pathogenic fungi to forcibly eradicate them. Countries reportedly approached in this context include Colombia and Burma, which have large areas of coca and/or poppy cultivation and are combat zones where rebel movements are fighting against the national government. This strategy carries great dangers of undermining international prohibitions on biological weapons, presenting risks to human health and posing dangers to the environment. Like any other biological agent, the fungi would be very difficult to control after release: they are infectious agents that spread uncontrollably beyond the target area.

### Why renewed efforts are needed

Several other developments in the last decade or so show that the current regime is inadequate and requires a full inspection and verification regime:

- In 1992, Russia admitted that for 20 years the former Soviet Union had continued an offensive biological weapons program in violation of the BTWC.
- Following the 1990/91 Gulf War, the UN Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) gradually showed that Iraq had a significant biological weapons program;
- In 1995 the Aum Shinrikyo attack in Tokyo's subway, killing 12 people and injuring over 5,500. This was a chemical weapon, but it has since become known that the cult was also seeking a biological weapons capability.
- In September/October 2001, several attacks were carried out in the United States using anthrax which resulted in a few deaths and much concern about public safety. These incidents make it clear that biological weapons could be used for terrorist purposes.

Effectively countering the threat from biological weapons requires a number of mutually-reinforcing actions, including a strengthened prohibition regime for bio-



logical weapons, enhanced control of the storage, use and transfer of pathogens and dual-purpose equipment, preparedness and the development of protective measures against biological weapons, and determined responses to threats or actual cases of biological weapons possession and use. A strengthened BTWC Regime will, over time, increase transparency and build confidence that all States Parties are in compliance with the Convention, as well as deterring would-be violators. But to achieve this there needs to be a greater awareness among the public. Citizens should press their governments to work for agreement on the Verification Protocol – especially through influencing the US government to shift its negative stand. They can also make contact with science and social science teachers, with a view to running study sessions with students. The issue urgently needs to be popularised. The public should also be offered accurate information with which to counter the wilder fantasies of a sometimes alarmist mass media.

### Development implications

The Protocol regime will facilitate and encourage international trade in micro technology, biotechnology and related fields -- which are increasingly important to global health and prosperity -- without the fear that dual-purpose materials, equipment and facilities may be misused for prohibited weapons purposes. As in the case of chemical weapons, this is a vital concern for developing countries.

### BWTC Article X

(1) The States Parties to this Convention undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the use of bacteriological (biological) agents and toxins for peaceful purposes. Parties to the Convention in a position to do so shall also cooperate in contributing individually or together with other States or international organizations to the further development and application of scientific discoveries in the field of bacteriology (biology) for prevention of disease, or for other peaceful purposes.

(2) This Convention shall be implemented in a manner designed to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of States Parties to the Convention or international cooperation in the field of peaceful bacteriological (biological) activi-

ties, including the international exchange of bacteriological (biological) and toxins and equipment for the processing, use or production of bacteriological (biological) agents and toxins for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of the Convention.

## CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS / ARMS TRADE

It is hard to separate the specific effects of weapons from the overall effects of the conflict itself. War is a terrible and destructive phenomenon, no matter where it takes place, and no matter what mix of weapons are used. Since conventional weapons are the principal tools used in all wars up to the present day, they can be said to be responsible for almost the entire range of impacts on development.

### How many wars?

The world suffered 32 armed conflicts in 2004, the lowest total since at least 1987. The number of states hosting armed conflicts (26) was also the lowest. This confirms the downward trend from the peak of 44 conflicts in 1995. An armed conflict is defined as a political conflict in which at least 1000 people have been killed during the course of the conflict.

“The general downward trend in armed conflicts since 1987 supports the value of increased multilateral efforts at peacemaking, peacekeeping, and especially peacebuilding to prevent the re-emergence of violent conflict. Despite the persistence of political, communal and criminal violence across the globe, there is evidence that international efforts to reduce, end and prevent armed conflict are bearing fruit.”

*(Ploughshares Monitor, Canada, summer 2005 edition)*

The bad news is that many of the remaining conflicts are long-running and highly intractable (Colombia, Congo, Afghanistan, Israel-Palestine..) and the damage they do to development processes is immense.

### Effects on development

Among the many different effects of conventional weapons we can identify the following:

### Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo)

GENSUIKYO was established in September 1955. Since then it has waged various kinds of campaigns for: the prevention of nuclear war; the total ban on and the elimination of nuclear weapons; and support and solidarity with Hibakusha (victims of the atomic bombing.) The council's founding followed the first World Conference against A & H Bombs, which was held in August of the same year in the wake of the U.S. hydrogen bomb testing at the Marshall Islands in the South Pacific. The test, code named “Bravo”, had victimized, along with a number of the islanders, many Japanese fishermen. The Japanese people was outraged for being exposed to the nuclear weapons for the third time after Hiroshima and Nagasaki and felt the need to establish an organization that would take charge in mobilizing national movements against nuclear testing and nuclear weapons.

Gensuikyo is a non-governmental and an umbrella organization constituted by local Gensuikyos of all of the 47 prefectures of Japan, and some 50 national organizations (such as trade unions, women, youth/students, religious, lawyers organizations) and individuals that share the same goals. Its action program is discussed and decided by its board members at annual national council meeting.

Gensuikyo sends delegations to international conferences related to nuclear disarmament, including the annual U.N. General Assembly and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It also participates numerous international conferences not only on disarmament issues but also on broader issues related to war and peace.

Gensuikyo has also sent delegations to meet with nuclear victims of other parts of the world and worked in solidarity with the victims and peace organizations of those countries. Those places include the United States, the former Soviet Union, the U.K., French Polynesia, the Marshall Islands, Fiji and India.



## Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, USA

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation initiates and supports worldwide efforts to abolish nuclear weapons, to strengthen international law and institutions, to use technology responsibly and sustainably, and to empower youth to create a more peaceful world. Founded in 1982, the Foundation is comprised of individuals and organizations worldwide who realize the imperative for peace in the Nuclear Age. The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan international education and advocacy organization. It has consultative status to the United Nations Economic and Social Council and is recognized by the UN as a Peace Messenger Organization.

### Vision

Our vision is a world at peace, free of the threat of war and free of weapons of mass destruction.

### Mission

To advance initiatives to eliminate the nuclear weapons threat to all life, to foster the global rule of law, and to build an enduring legacy of peace through education and advocacy.

- Deaths, maiming, wounding, trauma.
- Bereavement, psychiatric disturbances, family breakdown.
- Medical and rehabilitation costs
- Famine, malnutrition, disease
- Destruction of housing, industries, markets, transport infrastructure, communities
- Disruption of trade and industrial production, loss of investment
- Using up of valuable foreign exchange
- Displacement (both refugees and internally displaced people)
- Damage to the environment and to agricultural production
- Growth in criminality, corruption, black market
- Loss of employment and transmission of traditional skills.
- Regional instability, arms races
- Increased dependency on foreign assistance
- Effects on future generations – economic, political, cultural, psychological

**Note:** Certain weapons systems cause **specific** effects that add to the case for their elimination or severe limitation. (see *landmines and small arms*, below).

## Arms transfers

Global arms transfers have remained relatively stable since 1995, with the USA accounting for almost 50% of the total, followed by Russia, France, the UK and Germany. Taken together, the members of the European Union rank as the second largest arms supplier. The five suppliers account for almost 85% of all arms transfers.

Arms transfers are often in total opposition to the real needs of societies. They are associated with huge diversions of money, corruption, and lack of transparency. Such transfers also have a severe impact on political stability and human rights, while undermining democracy. They fuel violent conflicts and weaken diplomatic efforts to settle problems peacefully. They have repeatedly been associated with massacres and acts of genocide.

Sharp escalation of human rights abuses are commonplace in countries and regions such as Kashmir, Colombia, Israel-Palestine and many parts of Africa, where weapons fuel conflicts.

The UN estimates that in the 1990s conventional weapons were used to kill more than 5 million people and force 50 million to flee their homes. Millions more lost their property, their livelihood or their loved ones. The devastation continues today. Many of the weapons and ammunitions used to commit such crimes were obtained through international arms transfers - arms transfers that could have been stopped.

## Measures to regulate trade in conventional arms

The long-standing association of the nation state with military power is slow to weaken. Article 51 of the UN Charter acknowledges the inherent right of national or collective self defence. However, advances in ethical approaches to military force are taking place.

Much of the "arms trade" covers the broad sector of conventional arms not covered by treaties: tanks, helicopters, battle cruisers, artillery etc. Here, there is not yet a clear, globally-accepted norm to outlaw or curtail production and trade. Meanwhile, developing countries are joining the rank of conventional arms producers and exporters. This will continue until countries no longer consider it their right – or good contingency planning – to retain a defence industry and export/import trade. But there are exceptions: Costa Rica is an example of a country without an army.



Photo in:  
*'t Kan Anders*, sept. 2005

In the final analysis, it is clear that to protect human lives and to allow the process of economic and social development to take place unhindered, the emphasis must be on prevention of armed conflict, and where it does break out, its rapid resolution. Conflict can best be perceived as a potential vicious cycle, rather than a linear process, in that many of the aftermaths of war can lay the ground for fresh outbursts of violence, if effective post-conflict reconciliation programmes are not implemented.



The arms trade is no longer organised along Cold War lines. But market forces are unlikely to be able to regulate the trade, which is why pressure from civil society is vital. For example, NGO action was crucial in bringing about the 2001 UN Small Arms and Light Weapons Conference, and in making the case for an Arms Trade Treaty (see below).

There have been a variety of regional measures, mostly undertaken by developed countries, to tighten the control over the arms trade, which is seen as destabilising and increasingly linked to human rights criteria. These measures run into criticism from many developing countries as being put forward ostensibly for transparency or ethical reasons, but mainly to preserve Western economic and political influence.

### The Wassenaar Arrangement

The first global multilateral arrangement on export controls for conventional weapons and sensitive dual-use goods and technologies, it received final approval by 33 co-founding countries in July 1996 and began operations in September 1996. The WA countries maintain effective export controls for the items on the agreed lists, which are reviewed periodically to take into account new developments. Through transparency and exchange of views and information, suppliers of arms and dual-use items can develop common understandings of the risks associated with their transfer and assess the scope for coordinating national control policies to combat these risks.

### The UN Register of Conventional Arms

The Register (set up in 1991) is a unique global co-operative security instrument with a mandate to deal with the challenges related to the proliferation of conventional arms. Its main function is to promote greater transparency in international arms transfers, both as a confidence-building measure and as an early warning mechanism. In 1992, 95 Governments submitted reports; in 2004 the number had risen to 106, with the highest number recorded in 2002, when 123 governments reported. A total of 164 Member States have reported to the Register one or more times. While this is progress in the right direction, it is clear that more is needed.

Moreover, the Register is still only voluntary, and a number of challenges remain regarding its implementation. Despite the opportunity to provide details in an appended document, it is still not a requirement for participants to describe the type of equipment being transferred. This has the effect of weakening the transparency efforts the Arms Register was designed to foster. The effectiveness of the Register might also be improved by the addition of new categories of weapons (such as small arms and light weapons) or supplemented by discussions of Register data submissions within regional security organizations.

The continuing operation and further development of the UN Register was reviewed by the 2003 Group of Governmental Experts, drawn from twenty-four Member States. The report (*A/58/274*) recommends a number of measures to further strengthen the operation and scope of the Register. This was the fourth review by governmental experts since its establishment in 1992.

### European, International, and American Codes of Conduct

On 11 June 1998, the Foreign Ministers of the 15 European Union Member States adopted an **EU Code of Conduct** on arms exports (which is politically, not legally, binding). Significant progress on regulating the arms trade has been made since that date. Nevertheless, the text of the agreement does contain weaknesses on human rights criteria, on the form of consultation and notification on undercutting, on the nature of the annual review, etc.

On 29 May 1997, 14 Nobel Laureates led by Dr. Oscar Arias of Costa Rica met to launch a draft **International Code of Conduct** in New York. The Code would have required arms suppliers to certify that all arms recipients meet a range of strict criteria. While the Code was not adopted by states at the time, it did pave the way for the Arms Trade Treaty now under discussion.

Efforts were also made to gain acceptance for a **US Code of Conduct** that would permit arms sales only to regimes that are democratically elected, respect human rights, refrain from armed aggression and participate in the UN Register. In June 1997, the Code was passed by voice vote in the House of Representatives as an amendment to a larger bill, but it ultimately fell

### Guiding Principles

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation seeks to be a source of hope and inspiration in the creation of a peaceful and secure world in which:

- Conflicts are settled justly and without violence;
- Security is based on meeting human needs;
- Natural resources are used sustainably;
- and Transnational, international, national and local institutions support these aims

### Western States Legal Foundation (WSLF), USA

Western States Legal Foundation is a non-profit, public interest organization founded in 1982, which monitors and analyzes U.S. nuclear weapons programs and policies and related high technology energy and weapons programs, with a focus on the national nuclear weapons laboratories. WSLF recognizes that nuclear weapons affect the environment, the economy, the role of violence in society, and democracy itself. Rather than enhancing our "national" security, nuclear weapons threaten our fundamental human security. WSLF seeks to abolish nuclear weapons, compel open public environmental review of nuclear technologies, and ensure appropriate management of nuclear waste. Grounded in nonviolence and rooted in both international and environmental law, the principle guiding WSLF's activities is democratization of decision making affecting nuclear weapons and related technologies.

### Program areas:

- Research and analysis on current U.S. nuclear weapons policies, ongoing nuclear weapons research, testing, and production activities, and their impacts on international security.
- Research and analysis on other high technology weapons programs, such as ballistic missile defense and efforts to further militarize outer space, which threaten international stability and make the elimination of nuclear arsenals more difficult to achieve.



- Assisting communities affected by the health and environmental impacts of nuclear weapons research and production and of other nuclear technologies.
- Organizing for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

## WORLD COURT PROJECT - UK

The World Court Project is an international citizens' network which is working to publicise and have implemented the 8 July 1996 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice which could find no lawful circumstance for the threat or use of nuclear weapons. The World Court Project is part of Abolition 2000, A Global Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons.

The advisory opinion was an important legal development, giving the backing of the highest international authority to what many anti-nuclear campaigners instinctively felt. Our website attempts to make sense of the opinion, to inform about legal developments since the judgment, to give anti-nuclear activists legal material they can use in addition to their other campaigning tactics, and to report how this has been done.

### **History of the World Court Project**

How it all started.

### **Nuclear Weapons and the Law**

Reports, discussion and theory of the law in relation to nuclear weapons.

### **Nuclear Weapons in Court**

Actual court cases involving nuclear weapons

### **Dialogue with those in Power**

What government ministers or officials have actually said or written on the subject in response to World Court Project approaches.

### **Government Position**

Information on what we have gleaned from various sources on the government's actual position on nuclear weapons and the law.

### **Campaigning**

News and advice on campaigning against nuclear weapons

victim to unrelated Congressional disputes. Since the arrival of the Bush administration its chances of gaining acceptance have dropped even further.

## Arms trade treaty – control arms campaign

The most important new initiative to regulate the trade is the proposed Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), put forward by the Control Arms campaign (spearheaded by Amnesty International, the International Action Network on Small Arms and Oxfam). This has yet to gain widespread governmental support but a number of states (including arms suppliers such the UK) are looking at it with interest. The basic idea is to negotiate an international instrument which codifies the most important obligations in international law to which states are already bound (eg not to give assistance to genocide or to supply weapons that are inherently indiscriminate) and to require all arms transfers to be approved by an appropriate state authority. Thus governments would have to ensure that the arms they transfer to others do not, for example, violate embargoes or will be used for serious human rights violations.

Additional issues to be taken into account when authorising transfers under the proposed regime include whether they 'are likely to be used' in violent crime, to destabilise region, or to **adversely affect sustainable development**.

(see Shattered Lives, Control Arms campaign, 2003)

## Evaluating the development impact of arms transfers

The Control Arms campaign has devised a carefully constructed assessment methodology for evaluating arms transfers in terms of their impact on development. (See Guns or Growth? Control Arms campaign, 2004). This consists of :

1. a **flow chart** in which questions are posed which may trigger 'alarm bells'. These concern: the level of poverty in the recipient country, the value of the transfer; and whether it is part of a bigger deal.
2. an **information gathering process** in which the economic performance of the country is analysed, looking at public spending, aid and capital flows, trade and overall performance. There is

also consideration of the state's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the gender dimension and general security situation in the country.

3. a **judgment** is then arrived at, bearing in mind 4 sets of factors such as responsible governance; arms procurement decision-making processes; appropriateness and affordability; and importer capacity.

## Campaigns against the arms trade

There have been anti-arms trade campaigning groups around the world for at least 30 years, with human rights as their main concern. Most groups stress that economic and social development is hindered by excessive defence expenditure and arms imports.

Informing the public is an important function of all existing anti-arms trade groups, since secrecy is one of the traditional characteristics of the military-industrial sector. Long-standing campaign groups such as Campaign Against Arms Trade in the UK have research teams that make use of extensive archives when feeding stories to the press.

Arms exhibitions are an ideal focus for peace movements, with accompanying rallies, marches, pickets and vigils. The **Eurosatory** exhibitions in Paris have been a particular focus. Many conferences and projects on economic conversion have also been organised.

The **European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAT)**, formed in 1984 at the initiative of the IPB, is one result of the growing internationalism in this field. National groups have come to know their neighbours, and the sharing of knowledge has been extensive. ENAAT has an important monitoring role regarding the UN Register. In the last two years **IPB-Italia** has developed a new project on European arms trade regulation, involving a comparative study of regulatory legislation in the various EU states.



## SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

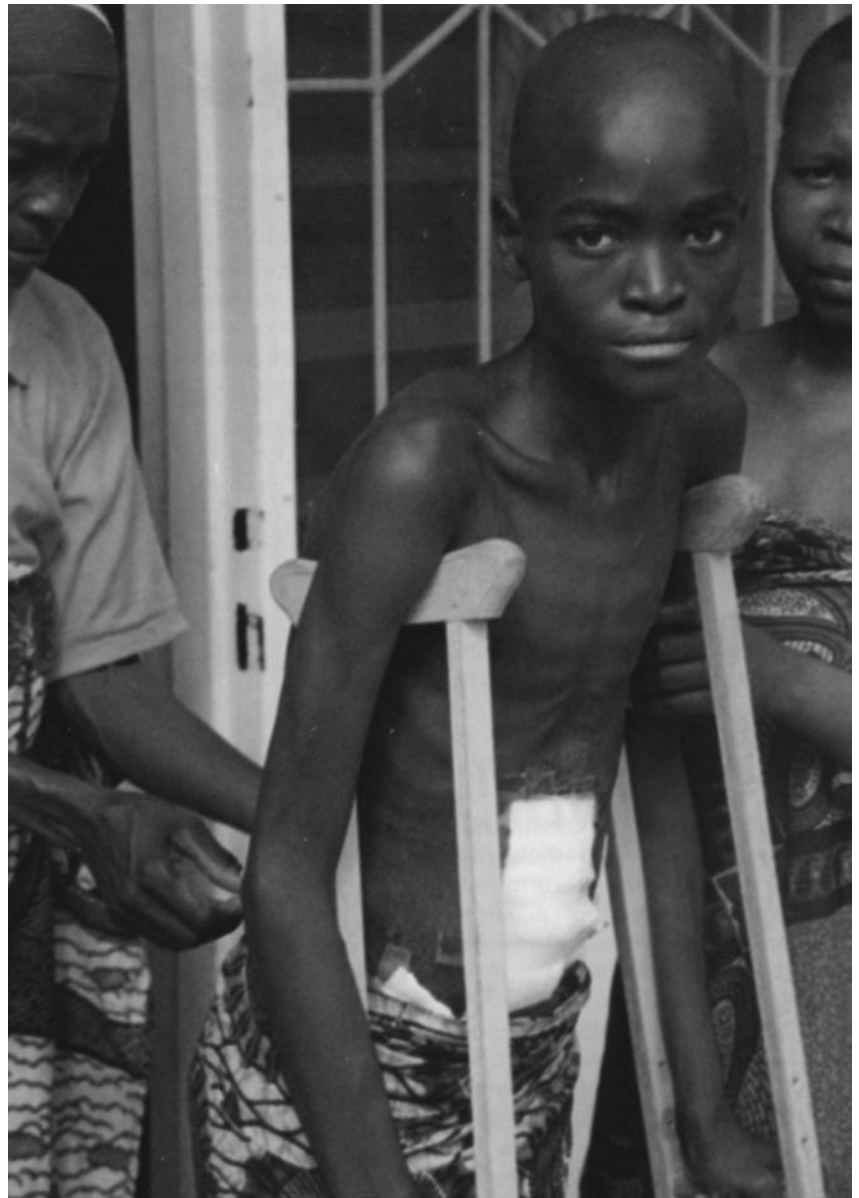
Experts estimate that the total number of small weapons held around the world is 640 million. Small arms account for around 25% of the \$40-50bn worth of conventional arms sold every year on the global market. There are some 600 manufacturers, with about half based in the US. Contrary to the larger weapons, there is a sizeable production in developing countries. Every year some 300,000 people are killed in war and armed conflict; and 200,000 more die as a result of intentional violence, suicide and accidents. (Source : Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue)

### Development impacts

Many of the development effects of small arms (or SALW) are similar to those of larger conventional systems. However their small size means that it is far harder to control their dispersal, and therefore the penetration into illicit markets, extremist political factions, private security forces and criminal circles is much greater. If anything their development-related effects are even more serious and certainly more widespread:

- Killings and woundings
- Medical and rehabilitation costs
- Bereavement, funeral expenses, family break-down
- Loss of employment and re-training/re-location costs
- Stocks and materials looted
- Infrastructure damaged
- Forced migration
- Workers and residents endangered, climate of fear installed
- Psychological effects, short and long-term.
- Aid and development programmes and deliveries blocked or slowed down
- Post-conflict reconstruction and investment hampered
- Community self-confidence undermined
- Growth of firearms market – distortion of local economy
- Increase in crime and violence – linked to drug trade, trafficking, prostitution, kidnappings, arms dealing, gangs
- Young men and boys drawn away from legitimate activities into criminal sub-culture

Among the indirect effects on development of an increase in weapons proliferation is



the channelling of resources normally devoted to welfare or commerce into the expansion of security forces or the acquisition of privatised 'protection' services.

"To make matters worse, any governments involved in such conflicts will be tempted to accelerate the exploitation of available resources – oil, minerals, timber and so on - in order to pay for the weapons. Insurgent groups and local warlords, if they are able, will do the same."

(Michael Klare, *Small Arms Proliferation and its Impact on Security and Development*)

It makes for a gloomy picture, but what is encouraging about this issue is that innovative and proactive initiatives in response to small arms violence are emerging from the affected communities themselves:

*14 year old Burundian boy, survivor of a savage gun attack*

*Photo: Nigel Marsh, World Vision*



## Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), UK

### Aims

Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) was set up in 1974 by a number of peace and other organisations who were concerned about the growth in the arms trade following the Middle East war of 1973. It is a broad coalition of groups and individuals in the UK working to end the international arms trade. This Trade has a negative effect on human rights and security as well as on global, regional and local economic development. In seeking to end it CAAT's priorities are to:

- end government subsidies and support for arms exports;
- end exports to oppressive regimes;
- end exports to countries involved in an armed conflict or region of tension;
- end exports to countries whose social welfare is threatened by military spending;
- support measures, both in the UK and internationally, which will regulate and reduce the arms trade and lead to its eventual end.

CAAT recognises that, in a world of military alliances and transnational military industry, traditional national 'defence' no longer exists for the UK. Whilst within CAAT there is diversity of opinion on the general issues of military defence, non-violence and security, it is agreed that high military spending is unacceptable, and only reinforces a militaristic approach to problems.

CAAT supports the promotion of peace, justice and democratic values, and the use of the United Nations and civil society to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. CAAT also encourages policies to reorientate the UK economy away from military industry towards civil production.

### Commitment to nonviolence

Involvement in organising and participation in CAAT's demonstrations and protests is conditional on accepting the need to remain nonviolent at all times.

"...The International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) has documented a vast array of community-led efforts that often escape the headlines: from anti-weapons campaigns in Rio de Janeiro to gun-free zones in Johannesburg. These efforts often involve collaboration between various different NGOs and civil society groups to document the extent of small arms possession, to stimulate a change in attitude towards guns, and to physically collect and destroy weapons....Given the far-reaching consequences of small arms misuse on development, aid targeted at small arms reduction represents a cost-effective investment. But the real test is for the development community to think creatively about how to successfully and sustainably 'roll' small arms reduction into current and future poverty-reduction strategies."

(Muggah and Gainsbury, *Holding up Development: the effects of small arms and light weapons in developing countries*, [www.id21.org](http://www.id21.org))

## Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

One particular area in which experience has been fast developing – and where there have been notable successes – is the process known as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) (see Chapter 2). In almost all current conflicts that have been resolved, or are on the way to resolution, effective DDR exercises have been vital in preventing a resurgence of violence. The combatants have to be gathered together in cantonments; weapons must be surren-

dered and secured; re-training programmes need to be readied; food, clothing, housing and other basic needs must be supplied; there will need to be psychological and employment-related counselling; support must be provided for family members; and follow up monitoring planned. This is a costly process but an essential investment in the affected community's development.

Such measures are prominent in the **Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons** that governments signed in New York in 2001. However due to political pressures, the PoA only relates to the illegal trade. Most analysts appear convinced that the origin of most weapons is in the legal trade, which accounts for some 80% of the total trade in SALW and at this stage is hard to subject to international regulation.

To coordinate the efforts of the United Nations, a system-wide mechanism, the **Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA)**, was established in 1998 to help all the various departments and agencies share information, experience, and practices, and to provide a forum for consultation in matters related to the field of small arms and light weapons.





# Small Arms and Development

## Small arms hinder development because:

- **Small arms-related conflict and crime damage fragile economies**
- **Small arms violence deters foreign investment**
- **Domestic economic resources are diverted to expenditures on public security**

Unsafe and insecure environments make sustainable development impossible. Interstate conflict and internal insurgencies – fueled by the spread of small arms – destroy the physical and human resources needed for an economy to grow. Armed groups systematically block or damage transit routes, disrupt natural resource development or divert it for their own use, and attack key national industries as part of their combat strategy. Long-standing conflicts also divert human and economic resources away from agriculture, education, industry, and other constructive activities.

In post-conflict societies, large numbers of former combatants flood the job market only to discover a lack of economic opportunities. Ex-soldiers, typically still armed, often turn to crime as the only means of survival. In El Salvador, the number of gun-related deaths actually rose after the civil war ended, due to the widespread use of weapons in criminal activities. In post-war Iraq, the U.S. order disbanding Saddam Hussein's army has left as many as 400,000 soldiers without any income – but still in possession of their weapons.

Small arms violence deters investment. A high crime rate, especially when combined with a damaged public infrastructure, creates a climate of fear that can prevent public and private foreign investors from proceeding with essential projects. Donor-supported development projects are particularly sensitive to incidents of violence, and can be frozen or canceled entirely when conflicts rage. For example, development projects were halted in Liberia, Niger and Sierra Leone after conflicts broke out in those countries. Promised international development aid to post-war Afghanistan has largely failed to materialise because of continued insecurity.

Organised crime and a thriving black market also hinder new economic activities. Profitable companies may become targets of banditry or other attacks. As a result, businesses and successful individuals must invest more in their own protection to avoid kidnapping or other extortion. Colombia's government estimated that the major guerrilla groups inside its borders 'earned' an average of \$140 million annually between 1986-2000 from ransoms and other extortion activities. European companies reportedly paid \$1.2 billion to insurgent extortionists during the 1990s, more than official European aid to the countries involved. These extra costs can drive businesses out of a region or prevent them from settling in that area in the first place.

The widespread use of small arms in crime or conflict also raises the cost of maintaining public order for the governments of developing nations. Such extra expenses on internal security divert scarce resources away from investment in the economy. In a vicious circle, the state's resulting inability to create jobs and provide a better standard of living for its residents increase the incentive for individuals to obtain and use guns for malicious purposes.

## LANDMINES

### The Story of Thor Jan

"Thor Jan was known throughout his village for being helpful and honest. Whenever he had the time he would work on the farms of his neighbours, digging the soil or watering the crops. He was hard working. One day Thor was farming in an area of Daman District, he stood on an anti-personnel mine. The explosion destroyed one of his legs, which was later amputated by a surgeon. Now he has an artificial leg and is not able to work as he once did.



Photo in:  
CAAT News, UK

Because of his injury, Thor has become angry with everybody, and has lost his friends. He has difficulty raising money for his family and is depressed about his life. He has no permanent job now. (Stories about Landmine Victims, Handicap International – Belgium, 2002)

"...places just die because of landmines; the land is dying, the villages are dying. You can send millions of dollars, you can send NGO workers to train people to grow more rice, but if they cannot go into their fields, if they cannot transport their rice from one point to another, nothing can happen, absolutely nothing..."

(Benoit Denise, Handicap International, Cambodian Mine Action Centre Gov-

erning Council member, 1993, quoted in: Davies, Paul and Dunlop, Nic, War of the Mines, Pluto Press 1994)

### Saboteurs of development

Anti-personnel landmines literally 'undermine' development, through:

- Killings and maimings
- Medical and rehabilitation costs (prostheses)
- Loss of employment and relocation/retraining costs
- Land cannot be cultivated
- Transport and communications are disrupted – access to markets blocked
- Refugees and displaced people unable to return to their communities of origin
- High cost of mine action programmes:

1. Mine clearance
2. Stockpile destruction
3. Victim assistance
4. Mine awareness

(see also box on following page)

### Casualties

"From 1995 to 2005 there were 42,500 landmine casualties. (killed and injured) worldwide. Many injuries go unreported and the real number is much higher, probably 15-20,000 new casualties a year. There are more than 230,000 known landmine survivors in 97 countries. Some are from incidents dating back to the Second World War, but the vast majority are from the mid-1970s onwards."

(Landmine Action, UK)

### De-mining and development

Judy Grayson (UNDP Chief Adviser for Mine Action in Sri Lanka) gives a vivid explanation of the development contribution of de-mining:

"In February 2001 I watched as a team of de-miners in northern Chad worked under the desert sun to open a road between Faya Largeau, a northern oasis, and the capital city of N'Djamena... In the twenty years since this section of the road had been closed, local inhabitants had carved a detour through the dunes that added 30 kilometres to the trip.

"What is the cost of a 30-km detour? In many countries it is no more than minutes on a highway; it could have been an annoyance. Yet in Chad, the implications of an extra 30 km are huge. For a truck in the rainy season the detour translates into at least an additional



eight hours' slog through the dunes. In a country with little refrigeration, eight hours of additional transport time means that certain produce is not viable for sale from one village to another. It means that transported livestock needs to be fed another day or arrive at market thinner and therefore less valuable and less nutritious. For Faya Largeau it meant that in the years since the road fell into disuse because of suspicion and landmines, certain crops were no longer worth growing because they could not make it to a wider market, and it meant that other perishables that the inhabitants enjoyed receiving from farther south no longer made it to the oasis." (Grayson, Judy, 'Mine Action and Development: merging strategies', in: Disarmament Forum: Disarmament, Development and Mine Action, UNIDIR 2003)

Grayson argues that understandings and attitudes within both disarmament and development communities have evolved over recent years – from a situation where landmines were seen purely as a military and humanitarian matter to one where their presence is seen as a key obstacle to the development strategies of affected regions. However there remain a wide range of issues about institutional cultures, funding priorities and turf battles. The detailed recommendations given in her article are most instructive.

### What is Mine Action?

There are five aspects or "pillars" of mine action:

- Removing and destroying landmines and explosive remnants of war and marking or fencing off areas contaminated with them.
- Mine-risk education to help people understand the risks they face, identify mines and UXO and learn how to stay out of harm's way.
- Medical assistance and rehabilitation services to victims, including job skills training and employment opportunities.
- Advocating for a world free from the threat of landmines and encouraging countries to participate in international treaties and conventions designed to end the production, trade, shipment or use of mines.
- Helping countries destroy their stockpiles of mines as required by international agreements, such as the 1999 anti-personnel mine-ban convention.

Landmines affect at least 60 countries and

injure or kill between 15,000 and 20,000 people annually. ([http://www.mineaction.org/section.asp?s=what\\_is\\_mine\\_action](http://www.mineaction.org/section.asp?s=what_is_mine_action))

**"All States parties will :** Encourage the international development community – including national development cooperation agencies where possible and as appropriate – to play a significantly expanded role in mine action, recognising that mine action for many States parties is fundamental to the advancement of the UN Millennium Development Goals." (Action 47, Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009)

### LANDMINES : What's the problem?

Antipersonnel landmines are still being laid today. These - and mines from previous conflicts - continue to claim victims in every corner of the globe each day. The situation has improved in recent years, but a global mine crisis remains and there is still a lot to be done before we live in a mine-free world.

### Indiscriminate

- **Antipersonnel mines cannot be aimed:** they do not distinguish between the footfall of a soldier or a child.
- They lie dormant until a person or animal triggers their detonating mechanism.
- Then, landmines kill or injure civilians, soldiers, peacekeepers and aid workers alike.

### Inhumane

- When triggered, **a landmine unleashes unspeakable destruction.**
- A landmine blast causes injuries like blindness, burns, destroyed limbs and shrapnel wounds.
- Sometimes the victim dies from the blast, due to loss of blood or because they don't get to medical care in time.
- Those who survive and receive medical treatment often require **amputations, long hospital stays and extensive rehabilitation.**
- The injuries are no accident, since **landmines are designed to maim rather than kill** their victims.

### Stolen lives, limbs and livelihoods

- Mine deaths and injuries over the past decades now total in the **hundreds of thousands.**

### Organisation

CAAT has no formal membership structure. Individuals and affiliated groups (local branches of peace organisations, trade unions, churches, etc), donate whatever they can afford towards the cost of running the Campaign and receiving CAAT News. There are also sponsoring groups who either took part in founding CAAT or have taken a major supporting role since. CAAT has local groups and individual local contacts that between them cover much of the country. They are CAAT Representatives and organisations who take action locally against the arms trade.

### CAAT Networks

Within its campaign structure CAAT has two main networks: Local and Christian. The Christian Network looks at arms trade issues involving churches and campaigns within and without the Christian faith. The activities of this group are the focus of the on-going campaign Call to Conversion. Local Networks are small groups that have been set up by individuals to tackle arms trade issues together with others in their region. All Networks are initiated by supporters and volunteers themselves and evolve from their concerns. Potentially, other new networks can be formed at any time.

### International Links

The globalization of the arms industry has massive implications. To remain relevant, opposition to the arms trade must also globalise. CAAT is keen to develop existing connection and make new friends, build relationships, share information and work with all anti-arms organisations around the world to apply global pressure on the international trade in weapons. CAAT works closely with European Network Against Arms Trade as well as organisation in South Africa, Canada, Australia and the USA.

### Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation (SweFOR)

The Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation has a long history of working for peace and reconciliation through active nonviolence. We are an ecumenical member-based civil society organisation, founded in 1919. Our three thousand members come from all denominations. Within our Human Security and Disarmament Program, we work with government officials, parliaments and



civil society to stop the proliferation of arms and prevent armed conflict. One of our subprograms is aimed at inspiring the religious community to get involved in the public discourse on human security and arms trade. The Secretary General of SweFOR is represented in the Expert Group on Arms Trade of the Christian Council. In May 2002, SweFOR signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Department of Disarmament Affairs (DDA) on co-operation in the field of Small Arms in Latin America and the Caribbean. We co-ordinate the Swedish Action Network on Small Arms.

In our other programs, we give courses in nonviolence, conflict resolution and peaceful conflict management. We send volunteers to conflict areas, where they support local peace-building efforts and protect human rights defenders. Through advocacy work, we promote peace and reconciliation in the Middle East.

SweFOR is the Swedish branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, IFOR, which has consultative status at ECOSOC.

## MEDICAL ACTION FOR GLOBAL SECURITY (MEDACT), UK

Medact is a global health charity tackling issues at the centre of international policy debates. Led by its health professional membership it undertakes education, research and advocacy on the health implications of conflict, development and environmental change, with a special focus on the developing world.

### Our history

Medact was formed by a merger of two older organisations in 1992. The first, the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, was founded by Sir Richard Doll, Horace Joles, Lionel Penrose and others in 1951 during the Korean War as a medical lobby for peace. The second, the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, was founded in 1980 and was instrumental in undermining the idea that nuclear war was "survivable". Medact's work on war and weapons continues today, and is now complemented by action on the health impacts of poverty and environmental change.



- It is estimated that there are between **15,000 and 20,000 new casualties** caused by landmines and unexploded ordnance **each year**. That means there are some 1,500 new casualties each month, more than 40 new casualties a day, at least two new casualties per hour.
- Most of the casualties are civilians and most live in countries that are now at peace.
- In **Cambodia**, for example there are almost 40,000 landmine survivors recorded between 1979 and 2002. These are the survivors. Some 18,000 people were killed in this period. More than 60 % of the total casualties, numbering some 57,000, were civilians (source: Landmine Monitor Report 2003).

### Development disaster

- Landmines **deprive people in some of the poorest countries of land and infrastructure**.
- Once there is peace most soldiers will be demobilized and give in their guns, **mines however don't recognize a cease-fire**.
- They **hold up the repatriation** of refugees and displaced people.
- They also **hamper reconstruction** and the delivery of aid.
- Assistance to landmine survivors can be an enormous **strain on resources**.
- Landmine casualties deprive communities and families of breadwinners.
- Mines also **kill livestock** and wild animals and wreak environmental havoc.

### Landmines are everywhere

- **Every region** in the world is mine-affected.
- More than **80 countries** are affected to some degree by landmines and/or unexploded ordnance.
- Nobody knows how many mines are in the ground. But the **actual number is less important than their impact**: it can take only two or three mines or the mere suspicion of their presence to render a patch of land.
- Some of the **most contaminated places are Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Cambodia, Chechnya, Colombia, Iraq, Nepal and Sri Lanka**.
- Some countries with a mine problem don't provide much public information about the extent of the problem such as Myanmar (Burma), India or Pakistan.

### Still work to be done

- o Sadly, antipersonnel landmines are **still being planted today** and minefields dating back decades continue to lie in wait of innocent victims.
- o **Vast stockpiles** of landmines remain in warehouses around the world and **a handful of countries still produce** the weapon.

### More info

- For information about a country or region's mine problem see our **country pages**: [www.icbl.org/country](http://www.icbl.org/country) and the **annual Landmine Monitor report**: [www.icbl.org/lm](http://www.icbl.org/lm)  
(Source: ICBL)

## EXPLOSIVE REMNANTS OF WAR / CLUSTER MUNITIONS

### What are Explosive Remnants of War?

Explosive Remnants of War (ERW) are unexploded ordnance and abandoned ordnance, other than landmines, that remain after conflict is over. Often they are referred to as Unexploded Ordnance (UXO), though there are some fine distinctions between the various categories. They include artillery shells, grenades, mortars, rocket and air-dropped bombs as well as cluster bombs. They are a threat to innocent lives long after conflict has ended. ERW exist on the scale of hundreds of thousands per conflict region. Some of the most affected regions are Iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique. But ERW are also found in parts of Western Europe (e.g. France), where thousands of explosive items remain as a legacy from World War 2 and even World War 1. (Webster, 1998)

### Why are Explosive Remnants of War so dangerous?

- ERW are very unpredictable: an item's likelihood of detonating can depend on whether or not it has been fired, the extent of its corrosion or degradation, and the specific arming or fusing methods of the device.
- They contaminate much wider areas than landmines do, with denser coverage, and are located much more indiscriminately. ERW may be clearly visible on the surface, hidden in undergrowth or buried beneath the ground.

- It can be difficult to identify ERW. Items may be fragmented or corroded and hard to recognise.
- In the case of cluster sub-munitions, they are often small and brightly coloured, making them especially attractive to children.
- Civilians often have no choice but to engage with ERW in the course of their daily lives. Fatalities occur when people attempt to move ERW, out of economic necessity or a sense of social responsibility - for example, attempting to make an area safe for children.

### How are communities affected by Explosive Remnants of War?

- Civilian deaths. Deaths and injuries from ERW are now considerably greater than from landmines (already covered by the Ottawa Landmines Treaty): yet international attention has been focused almost solely on landmines, due to the successful ICBL campaign and negotiation of the Ottawa Treaty. However, unlike landmines, which are designed to incapacitate rather than kill, incidents involving other UXO are much more likely to prove fatal. Children account for a high proportion of fatalities. In Kosovo they account for the majority of ERW-related deaths.
- Fear and trauma. The presence of ERW makes people afraid. They are frightened to use their land, which may be their only source of food or income. They may be constantly worried about the safety of their children. Persistent fear may prevent them from overcoming the psychological trauma of war.
- Destruction and impoverishment of communities. ERW often has a severe negative effect on development and can increase poverty. Farming and commercial activities are disrupted and post-conflict reconstruction is delayed. Traditional social and economic ways of life may change forever – in some cases whole communities have been abandoned.

### The impact of ERW on civilians and development

The setback to development from ERW in affected countries such as Afghanistan, Laos, Sri Lanka, etc is very great: internally displaced people and refugees are prevented from returning to ERW-ridden land, and there are very high medical costs for victim treatment and support. Clearance is a difficult and costly process. Cluster munitions

provide the worst problem because they look like attractive toys to children, and can bury themselves deep into soft soil, surfacing years later after the ground has been officially cleared. ERW also hinder peace processes (as in Sri Lanka) and damage cultural patterns through land displacement.

There are other negative socio-economic impacts too:

1. The presence of cluster munitions and other ERW prevents the use and rehabilitation of community infrastructure and resources, including housing, water and irrigation systems, villages, schools, places of worship, and the paths and roads between them.
2. Cluster munitions and other ERW deter people from certain types of land use, or make use of local resources less efficient – affecting economic productivity, and traditional social and economic practices.
3. Most affected communities are in the developing world so they are dealing with cluster munitions and other ERW from very limited resources.
4. Cluster munitions and other ERW may have a value as a resource, e.g. as scrap metal, so people undertake high risk activities for economic survival that may result in death or injury.

### Can ERW be banned?

A new protocol to the UN Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) governing explosive remnants of war was agreed at the 2004 Meeting of States Parties in Geneva. Protocol V, which required unanimous acceptance from member states including Russia, China and the US, will enter into force once 20 states have come forward for ratification. It is felt by many NGOs that, given the urgency and scale of the ERW problem, this Protocol must meet certain minimum requirements (including being legally binding) even though it is only a first step. Looking beyond the Protocol, these NGOs see a need for stronger measures at a later stage, including a complete ban on Cluster Munitions.

### Responsibility for clearance, including costs

Should this belong solely to the user of the munitions concerned? Most NGOs believe so, since most “user” countries are developed and most “host” countries are very poor. This seems to be too much for most “user countries” to accept, so the likelihood is that the formula will be for either

Since 1992, Medact has taken a lead in highlighting the health aspects of many of today’s global health issues, including landmines, Third World debt, climate change and refugees.

#### Current issues

##### Responding to the war on Iraq

Medact has produced two reports on the health situation in Iraq, one before the outbreak of war and one after it.

Together, they describe the appalling state of health in that country, made worse by the war and insecurity which has followed in its wake. A new report - due out towards the end of 2004 - will further detail the hidden health costs of war, and make policy recommendations to the international community.

##### Can we stop the brain drain?

Health services in many of the world’s poorest countries are at the point of collapse. Partly as a result, health staff are migrating to other parts of the world where wages are higher and working conditions and prospects for career advancement better. Can the downward spiral of service collapse be halted? Medact has commissioned new research on this subject and, along with partner organisations from across the world, hopes to campaign further about brain drain in 2005.

**New campaign on WMD** Medact - with a coalition of other peace and disarmament groups - is sponsoring a major new campaign on Weapons of Mass Destruction, which will be launched in London by former leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev.

**Global Health Watch** Together with the People’s Health Movement and the Global Equity Gauge Alliance, Medact will launch the first ever civil society view on global health next summer at the 2nd People’s Health Assembly in Cuenca, Ecuador. Work on this exciting project is already proceeding, with Medact acting as the secretariat.



## Pax Christi International

### Spirituality

Pax Christi International's work is based in spirituality. It is a Catholic organisation but welcomes all religious groups and strives for dialogue and co-operation with non-governmental organisations and movements working in the same field – Christian, Jewish, Muslim and non-religious.

### Representation and Advocacy

Representation and advocacy is integral to Pax Christi International's work. It is recognised and has representation status at the United Nations in New York and Vienna, The UN Human Rights Commission and Sub-commission in Geneva, UNESCO in Paris, UNICEF in New York, and the Council of Europe.

### Local Priorities

Although the national Pax Christi sections establish common priorities, each section is autonomous in adopting general priorities according to its own situation. It also develops its own programme of action within the spirit of the movement. Each section may also have a Youth Forum co-ordinated by young people with a particular focus on the issues of peace and justice most concerning them.

shared responsibility between the user and "host" country, or a weaker solution of "cooperation" between the two.

### Cluster munitions

Cluster munitions now stand out as the weapon category most in need of stronger national and international regulation in order to protect civilians during armed conflict. The immediate danger that cluster munitions pose to civilians during attacks, demands urgent action. This is due to their inaccuracy and wide dispersal pattern; the long-term danger they pose after conflict due to the high number of landmine-like submunitions duds; and the potential future dangers of widespread proliferation.

Cluster munitions pose an especially high risk to civilians in the growing number of conflicts where they have been used. There are 33 producers and 58 countries that own cluster munitions around the world.

Actions which the international community could take on cluster munitions (in advance of a negotiated ban on their production, export and use) include an export moratorium; a code of conduct with more stringent rules of engagement in the battlefield to avoid civilian areas; and technical improvements to munitions, reducing the danger of failure to explode on impact.

### The Cluster Munitions Coalition

A new international coalition dealing with the serious humanitarian impact of cluster munitions and other explosive remnants of war (ERW) was launched in 2003 in The Hague, by 85 member organisations from 42 countries from Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and the Middle East. The CMC was founded to provide a coordinated, global response to the growing problems created by cluster munitions and other ERW.

The CMC is an inclusive coalition open to non-governmental organisations, community groups and professional associations, which support the aims, policy objectives and overall programme of action of the coalition.

## DEPLETED URANIUM

The deployment of any radioactive material on the battlefield has to be at least subject to question from a human security point of view. The use of depleted uranium in recent conflicts, primarily by the USA, has certainly given rise to controversy. DU is an extremely hard and heavy metal, capable of both protecting tanks and in turn penetrating tank armour and similar defences when formed into shells. It is also incendiary. The US has exported it to many countries including Egypt, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, (tanks) and 15 other countries (Phalanx weapons system). Competitors include Pakistan, France, and Israel.

### Effects on development

As with explosive remnants of war, the main immediate effects on development are seen through health and environmental impacts. Children are especially vulnerable, on account of their greater susceptibility to low-level radiation (even more so when in the womb), and when at play in areas in or near battle zones they are liable to pick up used shells or other DU-contaminated items. DU is one of the many elements attributed to the notorious Gulf War Syndrome, which is a set of symptoms that appear to affect both combatants and civilians in almost all modern (i.e. hi-tech) wars. Eyewitness and medical reports from areas such as southern Iraq testify to the multiplicity of factors influencing the very high rates of infant mortality and also deformities. These may also include the effects of long-term sanctions, war trauma and underlying poverty, but DU must certainly be considered one of the key aspects.

### Where has it been used?

The principal theatres of war in which DU is known to have been used are:

- Iraq - Gulf War 1991
- Bosnia 1995-6
- Serbia/Kosovo 1999
- Afghanistan 2001
- Iraq 2003 -
- Okinawa, Panama, Vieques and other US bases (exercises)

### Civilian uses

It is estimated that the US and other countries have amassed thousands of tonnes of DU as by-products of the nuclear industry. They have found a wide range of civilian uses and have exported millions of dollars worth. The Manufacturing Science Corporation claims to have 70,000 DU objects



(‘safe, useful products’): radiation screens, counterweights for planes, transport containers, keels for boats etc.

## Effects of DU on health and environment

The main concerns centre on contamination of the air, the water and the food chain.

We should bear in mind that most of the areas in which DU has been used are poor countries with limited monitoring capacity of contamination, in many cases few alternative water sources.

DU takes two forms: either

1. as a metal remaining on or in the battlefield after having missed its target. It is then liable to decay and with oxidation slowly becomes soluble in water, seeping into the groundwater; or:
2. it is transformed into an aerosol, after projectiles have struck their targets or rocks. Contaminated uranium dust is then spread around by the wind over vast areas.

When UN Environment Programme officials visited Kosovo after the US attacks there, they found that samples of bark and lichen clearly showed ‘a contribution from DU’. These as well as water sources for fish and molluscs are early links in the food chain, and therefore the possibility exists of contamination of animal foodstuffs and human food intake. Exactly how much contamination is a subject of debate.

The argument from the ‘precautionary principle’, frequently cited in environmental literature, has been expressed thus:

“The current vagueness of scientific knowledge about the essential features of uranium’s transformation in the environment...ought to be sufficient reason for the halting and banning of all further military use of DU”  
(Gut and Vitale, p91)

## Banning DU

Campaigners and experts have come up with several possible approaches to the banning of this weapon.

- Affirmative interpretations by governments that the 1925 Gas Protocol also covers DU
- A new protocol to the CCW Treaty covering DU, analogous to those covering booby traps, incendiary devices and blinding laser weapons
- As a radiological weapon: but it cannot be proven that it is specifically designed to spread radioactivity.



*An Iraqi tank destroyed by coalition forces just north of Basra*

*Photo: Bruce Adams, AP*

- As an incendiary weapon: but it cannot be proven that the use of DU is specifically designed to create fire
- As a toxic weapon: DU has effects that are toxic but it is not primarily a chemical weapon, therefore it could be hard to deal with it under the CWC.
- As a violation of customary law (various customary law principles concerning protection of non-combatants and the environment)
- A new free standing treaty specifically banning DU.

All of these approaches have their pros and cons. None will be easy to develop given the opposition of the US and probably the UK and their allies. But a start has been made, through research, public education and lobbying.

## International Campaign to Ban Uranium Weapons (ICBUW)

This newly founded campaign brings together civil society activists from many countries and aims to develop a strategy to outlaw these weapons. The international petition it has launched has 6 demands:

1. An immediate end to the use of uranium weapons.
2. Disclosure of all locations where uranium weapons have been used and immediate removal of the remnants and contaminated materials from the sites under strict control.
3. Health surveys of the ‘depleted’ uranium victims and environmental investigations at the affected sites.
4. Medical treatment and compensation for the ‘depleted’ uranium victims.
5. An end to the development, production, stockpiling, testing, trade of uranium weapons.
6. A Convention for a Total Ban on Uranium Weapons.

### The Work

The work of Pax Christi International is carried out in commissions, thematic and regional groups, and consultations. The working groups deal with issues important to particular regions or specific themes. Commissions deal with interest areas across regional lines. These commissions and working groups meet on a regular basis. Pax Christi is a member of the Cluster Munitions Coalition.



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# 3 MILITARY SPENDING - AND THE COSTS OF MILITARISM

*"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population. It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals. It is some 50 miles of concrete highway. We pay for a single fighter with a half million bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. This, I repeat, is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking. This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."*

(US President General Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953)

## WHAT DOES THE WORLD SPEND ON THE MILITARY?

The greatest taboo in the development field is the silence regarding the costs of militarism. Global military spending levels – stimulated by the war on terrorism - are now climbing back to the heights they reached during the Cold War. After dropping substantially during the 1990s, now, some 15 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the world's military bill comes to **\$1035 billion, and is still rising.** (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) figures for 2004). This is close to the Cold War peak of 1987-88, and as a global average corresponds to \$162 per capita. It is a colossal sum of money; one that – if it could be diverted - would go a long way towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

## Fundació per la Pau, Spain

**Fundació per la Pau** is a NGO that was created in 1983. It aims to establish a Culture of Peace in a progressive way. This foundation is the result of the cooperation of many citizens, and work, that raises civic, enlightened and well informed awareness to make a difference for peace in a democratic way.

**Fundació per la Pau** is actively involved in the movement for world-wide peace: It is a member of the International Peace Bureau (IPB) and promotes the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP): In Catalonia, it is a foundational member of the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia and the Catalan Federation of NGOs for Peace.

**We work...** Promoting peace research to improve our knowledge about the causes of violence and wars and how we can avoid them (conferences, seminars, publications, etc.).

We carry out action plans and proposals for **Peace education** as a way of replacing, in a progressive way, the Culture of Violence for a Culture of Peace (exhibitions, activities and teaching materials, workshops, conferences, etc.).

We organise **awareness campaigns and political pressure** in order to engage our political institutions in compromises to bring about disarmament, demilitarisation, conflict prevention, respect for human rights and active promotion of the Culture for Peace

## Regional distribution of military spending, 2003 equivalents (US\$ billion)

Region <sup>a</sup>	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	1995-2004
<b>Africa <sup>a</sup></b>	8.8	8.5	8.7	9.3	10.3	10.8	11.0	11.6	11.7	12.6	+ 43
North	(3.4)	3.5	3.7	3.8	3.9	4.3	4.4	4.8	4.9	5.5	+ 65
Sub-Saharan	5.5	5.0	5.0	5.5	6.3	6.5	(6.6)	6.8	6.8	(7.1)	+ 29
<b>Americas</b>	367	347	347	340	341	353	358	398	446	488	+ 33
North	347	328	326	319	320	332	335	375	424	466	+ 34
Central	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.5	3.4	3.2	+ 2
South	17.2	15.6	18.1	17.4	17.0	17.9	19.9	19.6	18.4	18.8	+ 9
<b>Asia &amp; Oceania</b>	136	141	138	135	137	147	151	151	(158)	(164)	+ 21
Central Asia	0.4	0.5	0.5	(0.5)	0.5	..	(0.6)	..	(0.6)	(0.7)	+ 73
East Asia	113	119	115	111	112	121	124	123	(129)	(132)	+ 17
South Asia	13.4	13.6	14.2	14.4	15.5	16.2	16.8	17.0	17.5	20.0	+ 50
Oceania	8.7	8.6	8.8	9.1	9.6	9.5	9.9	10.3	10.6	11.0	+ 26
<b>Europe</b>	237	236	237	234	239	243	244	250	256	254	+ 7
CEE	28.1	26.2	27.7	23.4	24.8	27.3	29.2	30.7	33.2	34.2	+ 22
Western	209	210	209	211	214	216	215	220	223	220	+ 5
<b>Middle East</b>	40.1	39.1	43.0	46.5	46.0	51.7	55.3	52.9	54.4	56.1	+ 40
<b>World</b>	<b>789</b>	<b>772</b>	<b>774</b>	<b>765</b>	<b>773</b>	<b>806</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>927</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>+ 23</b>
Change (%)	..	-2.3	0.3	-1.2	1.1	4.2	1.6	5.4	7.2	5.3	



The 25 member states of the EU represent roughly 23% of the global total, or \$237 billion. Between 1998 and 2004, world military spending increased by 27%. The biggest rise was that of the USA (47%). The increase in the Middle East was 35%, with 35% and 21% increases for Africa and Asia-Oceania.

Western Europe's increase of 4% contrasts sharply with the 46% in Eastern Europe, giving an overall EU rise of 10%.

Some 2004 spending figures:

UK \$47.40 billion

France \$46.17

Japan \$42.44

China \$35.40

Germany \$33.88

Russia \$19.40

Saudi Arabia \$19.29

Nigeria \$518 **million**

(Source: SIPRI)

### For comparison: development aid figures

Rich countries spend up to 25 times as much on defence as they do on overseas aid, and have increased their assistance to the poorest African countries by just \$3 per head since 1990, according to the UNDP's 2005 Human Development Report.

is still only 0.36% (for OECD-DAC members as a whole), which is well below the 0.50% level achieved in the 1960s, when the DAC was created., and far less than the UN target of 0.7%. Furthermore, some of this 'aid' will in fact be emergency aid, debt relief or technical assistance which does not necessarily mean new money for developing countries to use.

(Source: DAC News, Sept-Oct 2005)

Thus the contrast between the amounts of taxpayers' money made available to the military and those for development aid is a stark one. Human security requires financial resources, in large amounts. The challenge is a double one: firstly how to persuade governments to reduce their investment in the military; and secondly how to ensure that the savings made are spent on sustainable development.

### What does the US spend?

It is no secret that the Pentagon is the world's biggest military spender. The US government spends \$466.6 billion on military programmes, **excluding the costs of the Iraq war and occupation.** This is 47% of the global spending total, and exceeds the combined military spending of the 15 countries with the next largest defence budgets.

The amount the US has spent on the war against terrorism (including the wars in Iraq **and** Afghanistan) amounts to \$238 billion for the years 2003-5 – ie approx. \$80 billion per year – more than the military spending of the entire Third World, including China. (SIPRI figures for 2004)

### Iraq War Costs

The National Priorities Project (USA) has devised a 'Cost of War Calculator' which is set to reach \$204.6 billion at the end of fiscal year 2005 (September 30, 2005).

"The amount is based on the National Priorities Project analysis of what Congress has allocated for the Iraq War. To date, four supplemental requests have been made by the Administration for funding, and Congress has appropriated funding with minor changes. The first included approximately \$54.4 billion for the Iraq War (enacted in April 2003); the second \$70.6 billion (enacted November 2003), the third \$21.5 billion (passed as part of regular appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 2005); and the fourth \$58 billion (enacted April 2005).



Gulf war 1991

Guardian, UK, 14 feb. 2003  
Photo: Steve Mc Curry

The Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development records the total aid flows from North to South. Total OECD-DAC spending was approx **\$78 billion** in 2004. Increases in aid announced at the G8 meeting in July 2005 suggest that the total annual figure will rise to around \$130bn in 2010. However as a proportion of Gross National Income, the level expected in 2010



"Our figures include military operations, reconstruction and other spending related to the Iraq invasion and occupation. Spending only includes "incremental" costs, additional funds that are expended due to the war. For example, soldiers' regular pay is not included, but combat pay is included. Potential future costs, such as future health care for soldiers and veterans wounded in the war, are not included. It is also not clear whether the current funding will cover all military wear and tear. It also does not account for the contribution of war spending to the deficits incurred in the federal budget. In other words, we have not included the cost of interest on the debt".

(National Priorities Project USA  
<http://costofwar.com/numbers.html>)

### Costs of nuclear arsenals

Another significant component of the US budget is the nuclear arsenal. Current estimates put the annual cost at around \$35 billion. Stephen Schwartz's team at the Brookings Institute estimated the total cost of the US nuclear weapons programme from 1940 to 1996 at **\$5.5 trillion**.

([www.brook.edu/FP/projects/nucwcost/weapons.htm](http://www.brook.edu/FP/projects/nucwcost/weapons.htm))

One can calculate from the Brookings Institute's figures that the overall cost to 2005 comes to around **\$7 trillion**:

"This is the only authoritative such study in the US. If one inflates their figures to 2004 dollars and extrapolates the total using current spending levels, one arrives at \$7.0 trillion to date in 2004 dollars. Updating to today (2005) brings one to about \$7.2 trillion...Since approximately 70,000 weapons have been fielded by the US, this gives a round number of \$100,000,000 as the average life-cycle cost per weapon".

(Greg Mello, Los Alamos Study Group, private communication, April 2005)

### How about the other nuclear weapons states?

Unfortunately, there have been no similarly detailed "audits" of the rest of the world's nuclear-weapons programs, few of which are noted for their transparency.

"No one can state the exact opportunity cost of all this investment. No one knows precisely how many other social and economic goals might have been achieved with this largesse, with additional benefits for international peace and security. Nor can one confirm the alleged benefits of such expenditures,

given the notorious difficulty of attributing the prevention of nuclear war to nuclear deterrence."

(Dhanapala, Jayantha, 'A Disarming Proposition', in: Harvard International Review, The Future of War, Vol. 23 (2) - Summer 2001)

### Some encouraging news

One small but positive sign as regards the US nuclear budget was the recent congressional defeat of a bill requesting funds for new nuclear weapons. All funds were eliminated for the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP), or nuclear "bunker buster," (\$27.6 million) and for the Advanced Concepts Initiative, which could include research into low-yield nuclear weapons, or "mini-nukes" (\$9 million). In addition, funds to renovate the Nevada Test Site for a nuclear test were cut from \$30 million to \$22.5 million. Funds for the modern plutonium pit facility (for nuclear warheads) were reduced from \$30 million to \$7 million, and the bill prohibits this money from being used to select a site for the facility.

However given the government's positions on developing nuclear weapons, we can expect the Administration to return with fresh funding proposals.

(Source: Friends Committee on National Legislation, 5 January 2005)

### Who are the other big spenders?

While the overall picture is mixed – with many smaller countries continuing the post-Cold War downward trend in military spending – a number of important players are following the American example, in many cases explicitly encouraged to do so by the US and the UK. Large states such as Russia, China, India, and others such as Israel and Pakistan are using the new fashion for anti-terrorism to increase their military arsenals and personnel, re-equipping for long-term battles with rebels and/or hostile neighbours. Each has echoed in its own way the new doctrine of pre-emptive war advocated by Washington neo-conservatives. This provides the ideological support for inflating the military's share of the national pie.

North Korea, with one of the world's highest per capita military budgets, and under permanent threat from the US, has chosen to go down the path of nuclear weapons acquisition. Many commentators have pointed out that so far this move seems to have helped prevent a US attack. However one can only hope that the N. Koreans

## Mouvement de la paix, France

### Who we are ?

The Mouvement de la paix was born after the Second World War, to oppose wars, to oppose nuclear weapons and to promote a type of international relations founded on justice, democracy and cooperation between peoples.

Since then, the Mouvement de la paix works for disarmament, specially nuclear, but also against trade and transfer of weapons and the reduction of military expenditures.

The Mouvement de la paix is officially defined as an «Association for popular education».

It promotes a global conception of the building of peace through the concept of culture of peace.

It opposes wars and promotes the peaceful resolution of conflicts

It supports the peace forces acting within war zones.

### What are our main directions of action ?

- o The promotion of a culture of peace and education for a culture of peace.
- o The support of the UN Charter and the development of multilateral security institutions.
- o Stopping wars and the promotion of the peaceful resolution of conflicts
- o Disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons
- o The reduction of military budgets and conversion of military industries
- o The globalisation of peace and the building of «another world»

### How do we act ?

In many French cities, the local committees (150) of the Mouvement de la paix stimulates and organises mobilisations on different questions linked to peace and the promotion of a culture of peace. This work is done in partnership with other groups who are also promoting a more just and more peaceful world.

Beside the classic methods of activism (petitions, debates, conferences, exhibitions, demonstrations...) the local committees organise festivals, peace cruises, sports events, concerts, international meetings, and concrete solidarity efforts with peace forces in war zones and with children in conflict areas.



### International solidarity

The Mouvement de la paix develops international solidarity in partnership with local peace actors. It is a member of many international networks such as International Peace Bureau, World Peace Council, Abolition 2000, Global Network against the Iraq War, etc. Mouvement de la paix has a permanent observer status at the UN's Conference on Disarmament.

The Mouvement de la paix is part of the movement toward «another world» in the alter-globalisation movement as an actor in the building of a world movement for a culture of peace, as promoted by the UN General Assembly.

### The renewal of the movement

The Mouvement de la paix is open to the general public and especially to the youth, so everyone can play their role from their own perspective in a global vision of the building of peace, each contributing to the renewal the historical role of the peace movement.

know the history of nuclear deterrence and have some idea of the cost implications. This may be one of the reasons for their 'weapons-for-reactors' deal proposed at the 6-party talks in September 2005.

### Hidden spending

The official figures given for military spending are not always reliable. In many cases military expenses are hidden within non-defence budgets or do not appear at all. The US nuclear weapons complex costs, while not entirely hidden, are largely found under Dept of Environment budgets. In other states, contingency funds are used for activities such as paying military debts or repairing military hardware; military budgets are supplemented with funds diverted from unspent budgets from the social sectors; military activities are portrayed as 'peace operations' or 'public security' activities and get paid for by non-military departments such as the police or social welfare.

Conversely, income for military activities can be generated from businesses or criminal enterprises (fuel smuggling, drugs/arms trafficking, diamond mining etc). In Indonesia, army-run businesses enjoy charitable status. In China, the PLA is among the country's largest enterprises. Many governments – Cambodia for example – find it difficult to avoid high off-budget military spending due to the integral role played by powerful military establishments in the political system.

Dylan Hendrikson argues that "The central issue for donors should not be about improving data collection on actual expenditure, but rather to help countries address the underlying governance problems that reduce transparency and accountability within the defence sector. As the issue of off-budget military expenditure is often primarily political, its resolution ultimately requires stronger democratic governance of the defence sector, including the activities of both civil and military officials."

(Hendrikson, Dylan, 'Behind the scenes military spending: dilemmas for managing public expenditure', in: Insights 2004, [www.id21.org](http://www.id21.org))

Among the organisations at the international level working to address these issues is the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces, DCAF. They operate a training programme for parliamentarians and others confronted with the complexities of approving military plans and budgets.

## HUMAN SECURITY NEEDS

**Provide Clean, Safe Energy**  
\$ 50 billion

**Retire Developing Nations' Debt**  
\$ 30 billion

**Prevent Soil Erosion**  
\$ 24 billion

**Provide Health Care and AIDS Control**  
\$ 21 billion

**Provide Shelter**  
\$ 21 billion

**Eliminate Starvation and Malnutrition**  
\$ 19 billion

**Stabilize Population**  
\$ 10.5 billion

**Provide Safe, Clean Water**  
\$ 10 billion

**Prevent Acid Rain**  
\$ 8 billion

**Prevent Global Warming**  
\$ 8 billion

**Eliminate Nuclear Weapons**  
\$ 7 billion

**Stop Deforestation**  
\$ 7 billion

**Stop Ozone Depletion**  
\$ 5 billion

**Refugee Relief**  
\$ 5 billion

**Eliminate Illiteracy**  
\$ 5 billion

**Build Democracy**  
\$ 2 billion

**Remove Landmines**  
\$ 2 billion

Source: World Game Institute



## THE INVISIBILITY PROBLEM

Military spending statistics are not widely known among the general public, or even among lobby groups. There is a serious problem of perception, or rather of quasi-invisibility. Military spending, when it is seen and analysed at all, is not viewed as part of the development equation. Let us take an example. The key issue in the early phases of the international response to the Asian tsunami in early 2005 was getting adequate relief supplies to the affected areas and then paving the way for the long haul of reconstruction and redevelopment. The USA immediately pledged \$350m in aid, later increased to \$950m. Certainly a significant sum, but not hard to spend given the scale of the reconstruction required. But compare this with the sums quoted above for the occupation of Iraq, an operation that has no clear end in sight, and whose economic fruits mainly benefit a limited number of US corporations linked to the Bush administration.

Yet this financial imbalance is one that few analysts seem keen to point out. This is not new; the commentaries put out by the aid/development industry over the years have only rarely made the comparison with the vast sums spent on the military. (see: Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*)

Here, for example, is one of the world's most famous development economists:

"The US has launched a war on terror, but it has neglected the deeper causes of global instability. The \$450 billion that the US will spend this year on the military will never buy peace if it continues to spend around one thirtieth of that, just \$15 billion, to address the plight of the world's poorest of the poor, whose societies are destabilised by extreme poverty and thereby become havens of unrest, violence and even global terrorism" (Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty*, 2005, p.1)

One would not expect a G8 declaration on poverty to make the connection; after all they are the world's big military spenders and arms dealers. But it is disturbing that in recent years UN agencies and even most development NGOs appear to have ignored this very substantial potential source of human-security funding. Skewed priorities are betrayed by skewed budget allocations.

## WHAT CAN BE DONE?

There are no quick fixes for this problem. The question is this: **how to transform the morally-obvious into the politically-practical?** Many among the political class in western countries appear to be aware of the size of the military bill, yet are unwilling to challenge it for fear of appearing politically incorrect. For parliamentarians there is also the fear of losing votes in constituencies hit by arms industry shrinkages or base closures. In many countries (North and South) there is also a serious issue of corruption to confront. The challenge for peace and development movements, as for civil society more generally, is therefore to build a wide alliance of groups that would benefit from a realignment of the national budget, a coalition that can generate strong political pressure. The first step is to create an awareness among the general public.

We can identify three essential political issues to be addressed:

### 1. Threat Perceptions

There is the difficulty of **defining an appropriate level of security**. During the Cold War almost any level of spending seemed to be justified by the superpowers, since they were locked into the 'missile gap' numbers game. But the new threats to national security in the West are largely related to the threat of terrorism, which cannot be 'defeated' by traditional military means. Besides, the actions taken by military forces of the US and the UK in particular appear if anything to be increasing the danger – provoking terrorism - rather than diminishing it. To this we should add that policy makers should really be adopting human security definitions of threat rather than those inherited from centuries of military conquest and 'defence' technology.

Here we see the effects of the economists' 'Law of diminishing returns'. After a certain point, there is little or no additional benefit from greater and greater military spending. Interestingly, Robert MacNamara, former US Secretary of Defense, made this case in 1977, arguing that more spending on development would be a more cost-effective way to achieve greater security.

"Focussing on the core causes of human insecurity, a broader range of concerns and measures is brought into the analysis. For most countries, this will reveal a gross imbalance in spending for security, over-spending on military actions, under-spending on other measures for

## Peace Action, USA

Peace Action, the merger of SANE and The Freeze, has effectively mobilized for peace and disarmament for over forty years. As the nation's largest grassroots peace group we get results: from the 1963 treaty to ban above-ground nuclear testing, to the 1996 signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, from ending the war in Vietnam, to blocking weapons sales to human rights abusing countries. We are proof that ordinary people can change the world.

### At Peace Action we believe...

...that every person has the right to live without the threat of nuclear weapons.

There are over 30,000 nuclear weapons in the world. The US and Russia still have thousands of nuclear weapons pointed at each other, ready to launch in minutes. While the Cold War may have ended, the nuclear threat has not. The only way to ensure that nuclear weapons will never be used - whether purposefully, or accidentally - is global abolition. We can build a nuclear weapons free world for future generations.

...that war is not a suitable response to conflict.

For over 40 years Peace Action has worked for an environment where all are free from violence and war. We understand that long-standing global conflicts require long-term solutions, and that US foreign policy has a lasting effect on the world. We work to promote a new foreign policy for the US, based on support for human rights and democracy, reducing the threat from weapons of mass destruction, and cooperation with the world community.



...that America has the resources to both protect and provide for its citizens.

As the Pentagon's budget soars to over \$400 billion, 17% of American children live in poverty. For what the US will spend on Missile Defense in one year we could: put over a million children through Head Start OR provide healthcare for over 3.5 million children OR create over 100,000 units of affordable housing OR hire over 160,000 elementary school teachers (source: National Priorities Project). At Peace Action our priorities are clear.

We believe, given the right tools, ordinary people can change the world. At Peace Action, we recognize that real change comes from the bottom up and we are committed to educating and organizing at the grassroots level. When you join Peace Action you become part of an effective citizen movement. We work hard to keep you informed through our quarterly newsletter and publications. As a member you can join our Action Alert Network which allows citizens throughout the country to rapidly respond to important legislation online. You can become an important part of a national movement that includes 30 state affiliates and over 100 chapters that organize on a local level. Together, we have the power to change the world.

prevention and control of threats to human security."

(Richard Jolly, Disarmament and Development – an overview, paper for the Group of Governmental Experts on Disarmament and Development, UN, March 2004)

Developing countries often have different threat perceptions from those in the West. For example they may have well-founded fears of rebels or neighbouring states grabbing mineral resources or making territorial claims backed by force. But initiating a new regional arms race is not the answer. Far more resources should be devoted to regional security pacts, dialogue with rebels, efforts to ensure equitable distribution of power and economic investment etc. In so many cases the military has built up its political power base and it hard for a regime dependent on the armed forces and related industries to cut back on resources that appear to ensure its own survival.

Thus civil society has two long term tasks: to contest the assumed threat perceptions, and to make the case for a human security budget – one where the bulk of the government's resources are devoted to the needs of the people – with the priority assigned to vulnerable and marginalized groups.

## 2. Making Reductions

Next there is the question of **what should be cut**:

- weapons systems? In which case which ones? What will be cost of disarmament?
- which services/regiments/battalions should be downsized? What should be retained for UN peace keeping roles?
- deployments in particular countries? Which ones, and at what speed should troops be withdrawn? Should they then be re-located elsewhere or laid off? In which case there will be redundancy payments, pensions, re-deployment and re-training costs.
- should military bases be closed? In which case which ones...the same questions apply.

Complex problems, indeed, for decision-makers, and ones that can only be solved at the national level, but they should not obscure the fact that in the long run scaling down military activities will produce very substantial cuts in spending – spending that is, of taxpayers' money.

There is also the important argument that the costs of disarmament should rightly not be considered an extra burden for which re-

sources must now be found, but rather that they are inherent in the cost of acquiring the weapon in the first place. This principle is gradually finding its way into the personal computer trade, for example, at least in certain countries, where recycling/ecological disposal is now the norm, and where an extra tax is imposed on the purchaser for this purpose by the retailer.

## 3. Alternative expenditures

Finally there is the question of **how to spend the savings made**. Many governments will choose to reward the rich through tax cuts, or encourage private industry and commerce through subsidies and lower interest rates. It is far from automatic that savings will be spent to improve health, education or social services for the less well-off, let alone to fund development programmes in poorer countries. At each stage there will be a political struggle for alternative priorities. The IPB's basic position was outlined in a statement published in 2003:

What should the money saved be spent on? In any genuine democracy, this is a matter that must be decided by elected representatives, since there are many competing priorities, all of which are vital for survival, human security and welfare. In our view, resources need to be diverted on a massive scale, away from investments in the military machine and its inflated bureaucracies, towards health, education, housing, employment, sanitation, transport, the environment and many other fields. At a time when the human family is confronted with a whole series of dramatic emergencies (from HIV-AIDS and climate change to hunger and extreme poverty on a massive scale) we believe it is imperative that politicians be made to understand that our spending priorities have to change, and that the public demands it. How can this shift be brought about? By public education, coalition building, persistent pressure and intelligent organisation. (IPB statement on military spending, IPB News Oct. 2003)



## THE UN SYSTEM OF REPORTING

It is hard to argue in favour of expenditure reductions if the basic figures are not made available to the public. So transparency is the first stage in the process. It took a long time for the political agreement to be reached to establish an official international monitoring system for military spending, but in 1980, the UN did set up the **Standardised Reporting Instrument for Military Expenditures**.

“The reporting instrument covers military related expenditures on the operating costs of personnel, operations and maintenance, procurement and construction, and research and development.

...More than 110 states have participated in the military expenditure instrument on one or more times. These states together constitute around 80% of the global military expenditure. In 2001, the Secretary-General received reports from 61 states compared to fewer than 40 in 2000. In 2002, 82 states submitted reports, while the number in 2003 stands at 75. This is a significant increase considering that only between 20-25 member states of the United Nations, on average, close to submit information on their military spending during the 1980s. Approximately, 30-35 states have participated during the 1990s. Although there has been some improvement recently, participation by African and Asian states remains minimal.”

**Both the reporting forms and the data are available at: <http://disarmament.un.org/cab/milex.html>**

(Source: US Department of State Fact Sheet March 2004)

The great drawback of the UN system is that it is purely voluntary. Unsurprisingly, results have been disappointing. The same is true of the **UN Register of Conventional Weapons**. This important transparency instrument came into force in 1992, after a long process of diplomatic consultation following the Gulf War of 1991, which had pushed the questions of arms sales to the top of the international agenda. General Assembly resolution 46/36L outlined the

basic structure of the Register. Information would be requested from participating states on the number of weapons imported and exported during the previous calendar year in each of 7 categories: battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, large calibre artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships and missiles and missile launchers.

These are indeed heavy items; the Register makes no attempt to cover the small arms and light weapons that do the bulk of the killing in contemporary warfare. In 2004 the number of participating states was 106.

## SLIMMING DOWN

Reductions are possible. It is not just a pacifist's pipe-dream. The most significant cuts in the size of the military were of course seen after the end of the Cold War. From 1988 – 1998 there was a significant drop in overall levels, from around \$1000 billion in 1988 to \$700 billion in 1998. The conventional wisdom is that the long-hoped for 'peace dividend' never materialised. However an important argument has been made by the Nobel laureate economist Lawrence Klein (in papers delivered to two UN symposiums on Disarmament and Development (1999 and 2004)). He argues that after Cold War, the substantial cuts in US military spending led to a reduced deficit which, when combined with a tight lid on other government spending, gave rise to a significant drop in interest rates.

“Not only did conventional capital formation move ahead, but venture capital for the new technologies was forthcoming. The US economy ultimately enjoyed the combination of unprecedented expansion of employment, (with [joblessness] down to less than 4 %), high productivity gains, low inflation and all the 'butter' the civilians could absorb....In the 1990s, the US became the principal locomotive of the world economy.”

(L. Klein, World Peace and Economic Prosperity, presented to the UN Symposium on Disarmament and Development, 2004.)

Klein stresses the importance of distinguishing the short- and long-term effects of reductions in military spending. The essential fact is however that the military competes with the civilian sectors for scarce government resources. The post-Cold War re-allocation of resources was clearly a key factor in the 1990s wave of globalisation. The key issue for debate is therefore: can there be a

## Swedish peace and arbitration society (SPAS)

SPAS is the world's oldest and Scandinavia's largest peace organisation. It was founded in 1883 by the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate K P Arnoldson.

SPAS is a non-profit organisation and has about 6 000 individual members and some 20 local groups in Sweden. The organisation is independent of the state and has no religious or political ties.

SPAS's major aims are to ease tensions, speed up disarmament, forward the transference of military resources to development and support democratization.



## World Disarmament Campaign, UK

The World Disarmament Campaign was founded in 1979 by Fenner Brockway and Philip Noel-Baker to work for the implementation of the policies agreed at the 1978 Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly. The Final Document of that session was signed by every then member of the UN. It included a Programme of Action relating to all types of weapons, from the nukes that have the capacity to destroy the whole of civilisation to the small arms that have been responsible for millions of deaths in the many conflicts that have racked the world since 1945. Had the permanent members of the Security Council, in particular, implemented their obligations, many of those lives could have been saved and the world would be a safer place today.

WDC continues to campaign for world-wide disarmament, both nuclear and non-nuclear, for military expenditure to be diverted to sustainable development, the eradication of poverty and the protection of the environment, and for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in disarmament negotiations.

true 'development dividend'? What is the optimal path to security and prosperity for all in a globalised economy?

## South Africa – a model for developing countries ?

South Africa can also report a very positive experience in terms of reduced budgets. The post-apartheid government inherited the most powerful armed forces in Africa. By 1989 defence spending had reached 25% of the national budget and 5% of GDP. Yet the process of change initiated as a result of the freedom struggle and the worldwide anti-apartheid movement resulted in significant cuts in armed forces already before the handover to Mandela's government. Even under the De Klerk administration defence spending was reduced by 40% and the defence industry went into decline. The nuclear weapons programme was abandoned and conscription ended. The new ANC government (1994) had very different priorities, based on a Human Security philosophy - which were articulated in the **Reconstruction and Development Programme**. Every year from 1994 to 1998 the defence budget was cut, resulting in an overall reduction of 57% from the 1989 level. The savings were used to benefit education (up from 17.7 to 22% of government spending), health (from 9.8% to 11.2%), social welfare (6.3% to 8.5%), etc.

(Source: C.N. Makupula, 'Disarmament and Development: a South African Perspective', in Disarmament Forum, 2003/3, UNIDIR).

However S.Africa continues to play an important military role on the continent and the industry has been lobbying for new equipment. There are debates too within the government and the ANC over how far military reductions should go. The government was subject to a legal challenge from the S. African branch of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction over a massive R30 billion arms deal in 1999 involving military ships and aircraft. This was justified in terms of protecting fisheries and creating jobs, but its opponents point to the 'overwhelming human security threat' in South Africa, which is HIV-AIDS.

Nevertheless the achievement is a remarkably positive one, and – despite occurring under very particular conditions of political transformation – remains an inspiring model for many over-militarised and poverty-stricken nations.

## ALTERNATIVE TAXATION PLANS AND REDUCTION TARGETS

A variety of schemes have been put forward over the decades for securing additional, large sums of money for development. Proposals have been made for 'alternative' taxes on everything from financial transactions (the '**Tobin Tax**' promoted by ATTAC), on carbon consumption, on credit card payments, and most recently on airline tickets (the Chirac plan, now backed by the EU's finance ministers). There is already a **Digital Solidarity Fund**, launched by Senegal, with the backing of France, Nigeria and Algeria. (BBC News 16 March, 2005). Partnerships between leaders from North and South have been convened, such as the Lula-Chirac call for an international tax to end hunger (2004), which was soon supported also by Chile (Lagos) and Spain (Zapatero). So far it has not caught on with the other big powers, though it probably contributed to the July 2005 G8 decisions on aid and debt. But suggestions for a **tax on armaments** (or military spending) have met with little enthusiasm so far, even (or especially) from disarmament campaigners, who tend to view it as an obstacle to reducing arms sales, and in some sense legitimising militarism.

Calls, appeals and proposals have frequently been made by civil society groupings for a specific target for reductions in military spending, ranging from 1% per annum to 5% or more. For example, at the 1995 Beijing women's conference, a **Women's Peace Petition** was delivered, which called for a 5% reduction a year for 5 years in military spending and the reallocation of these substantial resources toward human security programs and peace education. Similar calls were already made at the 1992 Rio summit, but found little echo at the government level.

## MILITARY CONVERSION FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Conversion can be defined as the reorientation of military-sector companies to civilian production. It is a difficult process that often implies partial restructuring, with diversification of the product range, and partial conversion through relocating and retraining personnel and reorientation of business practices. In the past, reorientation from military to civilian production was seen as the most promising form of conversion.



While 'tanks into tractors' was at one time a popular slogan, the experience of recent decades tends to suggest that it is often more efficient to close arms production plants entirely, and re-deploy the workers into other sectors, rather than attempt to convert the factories directly into civilian production.

Conversion also includes troop reductions and the re-employment of ex-combatants in civilian life, conversion and re-use of military facilities, re-directing military research and development, and the destruction of weapons. The availability of former military sites for civilian purposes is also one among the most visible signs of disarmament.

## DIVERSE COSTS OF MILITARISM

Militarism must be analysed from a variety of points of view. Its proponents claim that the cost of the military is like an insurance premium, that must always be paid, for the moment of crisis could strike any time... But the true price to be paid is counted in many other ways. Apart from the **opportunity costs** (alternative spending options for the same budget) discussed above, we should consider:

### 1. Military research

A huge proportion of the world's brainpower is lost to the civilian sector due to the power of attraction that military projects hold for scientists and experts of every stripe.

For example:

"In wealthy countries like the USA, France and the UK, significant military research and development budgets drive a weapons-based, high technology military agenda. In 2003-4, nearly one third of British public funding for research and development (£2.6 billion) was spent by the Ministry of Defence, while 40% of government scientists and technologists work for the MoD". Furthermore: "The Ministry of Defence only spends approximately 6% of its budget on conflict prevention."

(Langley, Chris, *Soldiers in the Laboratory: Military involvement in science and technology – and some alternatives*, Scientists for Global Responsibility, UK, 2005)

It is reported that over 300 US universities, research institutes and corporations were involved at the height of that country's BW programme in the 1950s and 1960s. (Barnaby p. 89)

As regards what should be done: the SGR report quoted above has a list of 15 recommendations to government, professional bodies, and individual scientists, which include the following measures:

- Divert a major portion of R & D to wider issues.
- Restrict military involvement with emerging technologies, such as nanotechnology.
- Make defence funding of R & D far more transparent.
- Devote more resources to implementing a more inclusive concept of security, including peacebuilding and non-violent conflict resolution.
- Conduct reviews of military agreements with foreign powers.
- Cease all scientific and technical work related to new nuclear weapons.
- Require all research papers and reports to acknowledge military funding where this is the case.

In Spain, a highly successful civil society campaign (organised by IPB member organisation Fundacio per la Pau) has developed a critique of that country's research agenda and has gathered thousands of signatures from scientists for a 'hippocratic oath' by which researchers refuse to undertake military-related work.



Photo: Kieran Doherty, Reuters

### 2. Environment and health

Military-related costs that should be considered here include :

- contamination from waste and accidents related to nuclear weapons programmes and chemical/biological agents;
- the effects of landmines and explosive remnants of war, which can devastate the environment and pose significant social, financial, logistical and scientific challenges.
- pollution of the air, land, and water in peacetime, notably from military bases and large scale exercises and firing ranges.
- severe contamination from nuclear weapons development and production
- destruction of farming land taken over for military purposes.



- burning of oil wells (Gulf War, 1991)
- accidents related to military activities are frequent and sometimes have serious health or environmental consequences (eg 'Broken arrows' (nuclear accidents) and incidents at or near military bases). The military must also recognise its share of responsibility for climate change – via greenhouse gases emissions, especially from aircraft. And yet it is precisely the military whose activities have been excluded from the scope of the Kyoto Treaty. In addition the historical record holds some especially severe cases:



Photo: Jack Fields/Corbis

- **Scorched-earth tactics.** It has been military practice down the ages for retreating armies to lay waste to enemy territory. Historical examples include Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and the Nazis in the Soviet Union and in Northern Norway.
- Use of "**Agent Orange**" and other US defoliants during the Vietnam War which rendered about a third of Vietnam a wasteland. The Vietnamese farming landscape is defaced by 2.5 million craters. To this day, there are innumerable cases of birth deformities. In all the wars between 1945 and 1982, Vietnam lost over 80% of its original forest cover. The ecological devastation of the country will take generations to repair.
- The **Gulf War** had major ecological consequences. Four to eight million barrels of oil were spilled into the sea. 460 miles of coastline have suffered massive damage due to oil spills and burning wells. Crude oil may have long-term chronic effects that will

eventually lead to coral death. The fuel-air bombs used to clear mine-fields pulverised topsoil and destroyed all nearby vegetation. The use of ammunition with depleted uranium led to radiation effects. The Coalition forces left huge quantities of refuse, toxic materials and 45-54 million gallons of sewage in sand pits.

- During the **NATO military action in Kosovo and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**, severe environmental damage resulted from air attacks. Burning oil refineries leaked oil products and chemicals into the Danube. Chemical plants were bombed, spreading extremely dangerous substances into the environment. Biodiversity sites were hit in the FRY. Increased levels of radioactivity resulted from the use of depleted uranium ammunition. The Kosovo conflict was the first where the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) made a post-conflict environmental assessment. They concluded that pollution at four localities in Serbia was serious and posed a threat to human health.
- In **Afghanistan**, hundreds of thousands of anti-personnel landmines litter the fields and mountain passes. There is evidence that the use of ammunition containing depleted uranium in the current conflict with Al-Qaeda may also have led to environmental contamination and long-term health hazards.

"The expense of treatment, rehabilitation and long-term care for those injured places a heavy burden on health systems, if such systems exist at all. Health costs incurred by research on, use of and clean-up relating to weapons of mass destruction are also considerable – and in the worst cases the ill effects might be transmitted to subsequent generations. The financial costs of treating injuries from some conventional weapons, such as landmines, are onerous."

*(UN Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, 2004 – A/59/119)*

### 3. Social impacts

Under this heading we can consider a range of negative consequences such as:

- prostitution – especially in areas around military bases and docks, together with increased rates of HIV-AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases;



- increased crime and violence (including rape) in military-affected communities due to the presence of guns and other weaponry;
- distortions in the local employment market – for example businesses that are dependent on foreign military bases but which then collapse when the base is withdrawn.
- conscription, one of the traditional forms taken by militarism over the centuries, still exists in many countries, despite being condemned as a human rights violation by the UN Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International and many other bodies.

#### 4. Economics

Militarization tends to decrease an economy's capacity to meet basic needs. This is because increased military production leaves less national capital (physical, human and natural) for the civilian sector of the economy, which produces consumer goods and services.

"High military spending leaves less money in the government budget for dealing with social, environmental and other development issues. Militarization also hinders an economy's efficiency because a lack of competition in the military sector often allows military producers to feel less compelled to cut their production costs. As for the additional employment allegedly provided by the military sector, this is only a short-term effect: military production tends to use proportionately more capital equipment and less labour than civilian industries and so creates fewer jobs than could be created from a similar investment in civilian production, particularly services."

(World Bank factsheet, 2005)

#### 5. Politics

The military run, control, or at the least, heavily influence governments all over the world. While the number of military dictatorships declined significantly in the 1980s and 1990s – notably in Latin America and parts of Africa – the hidden hand of the armed forces plays a crucial role in many nominally-democratic states (or 'democraduras' as Nobel Peace Laureate Alfonso Perez Esquivel calls them). It is difficult to 'play democratically' when one's opponent has a gun in his hand. The human rights violations committed in such countries have been, and continue to be, well documented by the human rights agencies. In these nations, the price of militarism can be very high in terms of human lives lost or cruelly damaged.

#### The Military-Industrial Complex

But the problem exists also in developed, fully democratic states. It was described vividly by Eisenhower in his farewell speech. (see below). Since then the expenditures on the military have increased massively and with them the influence of the military-industrial complex in political life. Since 1960 the US has fought major wars in Vietnam-Cambodia-Laos, the Gulf, Kosovo-Serbia, Afghanistan and Iraq. It has been involved in violent conflicts in Central America, the Middle East, and several African regions. It has built bases all over Eurasia, and since 1990 it has been the world's dominant military power. Small wonder that the military exercise such a powerful influence on national life – and through Hollywood and the mass media, such a strong influence on the rest of the world. Other developed states may not have developed as powerful a military, and in most cases have shifted from a conscript to a professional army, but the military remain an important lobby in all of them and a strong cultural and political force.

"Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence -- economic, political, even spiritual -- is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

(Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961 – Farewell address to the nation)

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# 2 DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT: HUMAN SECURITY IN ACTION

When the UN was founded in 1945 the two principal tasks assigned to it were international security and the promotion of development. Small wonder that much thought was given during the following decades – and much said and written by diplomats and analysts – to the key linkage between them: a subject that came to be known as **Disarmament and Development**. The main focus of the debate throughout the Cold War was primarily on the colossal costs of the arms race, mainly spent by the superpowers, compared to the equally colossal needs of poor countries. The Charter declared in the now neglected Article 26:

“In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in article 47, plans to be submitted to the members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.”

*(Charter of the United Nations, p. 16)*

It is well known that the Military Staff Committee has not met for many years and the ‘system for regulating armaments is at best fragmentary and in key aspects purely voluntary. However, many ideas were put forward to reduce arms spending and to transfer the resources to the developing world. But little was actually transferred until the end of the Cold War, when military budgets started dropping, and redundant weaponry was sold off. However proposals such as a UN Poverty Fund using ‘military money’ were never put into practice. Instead, the reduction in military spending led to lower interest rates and a long economic boom, led by the US. This proved to be the engine of the new wave of globalisation which over the last 15 years has granted enormous benefits to a limited global elite, while millions still languish in desperate poverty. Meanwhile military spending has risen dramatically once again.

It is therefore most encouraging that the United Nations has chosen to revive the Disarmament-Development issue, with the appointment in 2002 of a Group of Experts, whose report (approved by the UN General Assembly in 2004) helps to bring the issue up to date.

## **DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT - HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

### **A calendar of events covering a range of UN and related activities:**

1945: Drafting of Art. 26 of the UN Charter (“...least possible diversion for armaments...”)

1950: Nehru – Indian proposal to create a Global Peace Fund

1950 - present day: a long string of SG reports and UNGA resolutions calling for the transfer of resources from military to social spending;

1955: Edgar Faure: French proposal to establish an International Fund for Development and Mutual Assistance

1956-58: USSR variants. Special UN Fund for Economic Development to be financed through reductions in military budgets.

1964: Brazil proposed fund for industrial conversion and economic development (20% from reduced military budgets)

1968: Declaration of 13 eminent personalities dealing with Disarmament, Development and Security as a Triad of Peace.

1970-79: Second UN Development Decade and First Disarmament Decade

1970-1: UN expert report, commissioned by U Thant: Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security

### **All Mothers Educated Now (AMEN), Pakistan**

This Lahore-based NGO’s mission is to address the imbalance in education opportunities for women in Pakistan. It was set up in 1996, with funding from the Canadian International Development Assistance Programme (CIDA) to run 65 classes for illiterate women. Since then it has educated more than 7,000 women, through education projects funded by western and Asian donor agencies in Lahore, Faisalabad, Jaranwala, Gujranwala and Narowal.

“The literacy rate for women in Pakistan is one of the lowest in the world. Most programmes that address the issues of ‘female literacy’ are aimed almost exclusively at young girls below the age of 10 as the primary target group and teenage girls as the secondary audience. Female literacy programmes that concentrate exclusively on mothers are virtually non-existent,” points out AMEN director Josna Azim. In addition to equipping women with functional literacy skills, AMEN also focuses on health, education, human rights and practical life skills.



## Canadian Voice of women for Peace

Since its foundation in 1960, the Canadian Voice of Women for Peace/ La Voix Canadiennes des Femmes pour la Paix has worked locally, nationally and internationally on issues related to peace, social justice, human rights and development, always seeking to promote a woman's and a feminist perspective.

### VOW's objectives are:

- To unite women in concern for the future of the world;
- To help promote the mutual respect and cooperation among nations necessary for peaceful negotiations between world partners;
- To protest war or the threat of war as the decisive method of exercising power;
- To appeal to all national leaders to cooperate in the alleviation of the causes of war by common action for the economic and social betterment of all; and
- To provide a means for women to exercise responsibility for the family of humankind.

VOW is one of the non-governmental organizations (NGO) cited by UNESCO's standing committee in the working group report entitled "the contribution of women to the culture of peace". An accredited NGO to the United Nations, affiliated to the Department of Public Information (DPI) and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), VOW was the Canadian lead group for peace at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Members have been active in follow-up activities, including writing the chapter, "Women and Peace" in *Take Action for Equality, Development and Peace*.



1973: GA resolution calling for 10% reduction in P5 military budgets

1974: Bradford Proposals – launched by Nobel Peace laureate Sean MacBride, IPB President. Paved the way for the 1978 Special Session.

1976: At Habitat I, member states affirmed the following:

"The waste and misuse of resources in war and armaments should be prevented. All countries should make a firm commitment to promote general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, in particular in the field of nuclear disarmament. Part of the resources thus released should be utilized so as to achieve a better quality of life for humanity and particularly the peoples of developing countries" (II, 12 Habitat 1).

### 1978 : First UN Special Session on Disarmament

- various proposals on Disarmament and Development: France (Giscard), Senegal, Romania...

1981: Report of Expert Group (Chair: Inga Thorsson, Sweden)

In 1981, in the General Assembly resolution entitled Resolution on the Reduction of the Military Budget, the member states

- (i) reaffirmed "the urgent need to reduce the military budget, and agreed to freeze and reduce the military budget";
- (ii) recognised that "the military budget constitutes a heavy burden for the economies of all nations, and has extremely harmful consequences on international peace and security";
- (iii) reiterated the appeal "to all States, in particular the most heavily armed States, pending the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, to exercise self-restraint in their military expenditures with a view to reallocating the funds thus saved to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of developing countries".

### 1982: Second UN Special Session on Disarmament

1983: A General Assembly Resolution on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development affirmed that curbing the arms build-up would make it possible to release additional resources for use in

economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries. Member states considered that "the magnitude of military expenditures is now such that their various implications can no longer be ignored in the efforts pursued in the international community to secure the recovery of the world economy and the establishment of a new international economic order."

### 1987 UN Conference on Disarmament and Development.

The high point in the UN's work on this issue. The conference was attended by 150 governments, but not by the USA.

"The world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigour or move consciously and with deliberate speed towards a more stable and balanced social and economic development within a more sustainable international economic and political order; it cannot do both" (from the *Final Document*)

### 1988: Third Special Session on Disarmament

1989-91: End of the Cold War

1992: UN Conference on Environment and Development: all member states recognized that "Warfare is inherently destructive of sustainable development" ( Rio Declaration, Principle 24, and in Chapter 33 of Agenda 21, member states made a commitment to "the reallocation of resources presently committed to military purposes" (33.18e).

1994: UNDP's Human Development Report – puts forward the human security perspective.

1994: At the International Conference on Population and Development, the UN member states concurred that the attainment of "quantitative and qualitative goals of the present Programme of Action clearly require additional resources, some of which could become available from a reordering of priorities at the individual, national and international levels. However, none of the actions required - nor all of them combined - is expensive in the context of either current global development or military expenditures." (Article 1.19)

1995: the Social Development Summit endorsed the calling for "the reallocation of military spending to ensure a greater pocket of resources to expand public services".

1995, UN conference on Women, Equality, Development and Peace. In the Platform of Action, States made a commitment to maintain “peace and security at the global, regional and local levels, together with the prevention of policies of aggression ... and the resolution of armed conflict” (Art. 14) and to reduce “...military expenditures” (Art. 15). States also made a commitment to the “prevention and resolution of conflicts” (Art.15) and to “increase and hasten, ... the conversion of military resources and related industries to development and peaceful purposes” (145a).

1998: International Conference on Sustainable Disarmament and Sustainable Development, Brussels, sponsored by the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

See statement by Jayantha Dhanapala, UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs:

“It is not so much the shortage of good ideas -- but their coordination -- that constitutes the greatest challenge to those seeking to advance our collective international security and disarmament goals. At virtually all levels of political life today -- state, regional, and global -- initiatives for curbing the arms trade or its consequences are proliferating almost at a daily pace.”

‘Small Arms: Achieving Sustainable Disarmament’:

<http://disarmament2.un.org/speech/statements.htm>

1999: UN-ECAAR symposium on Disarmament and Development.

Topics included DDR, small arms and policy suggestions.

1999: UN High Level Steering Group on Disarmament and Development established

2000: Millennium Report, Millennium Declaration, Millennium Development Goals

2000: Establishment of the Human Security Network (13 governments)

2002: appointment by the UNSG of the **Group of Governmental Experts** on Disarmament and Development

2002: World Summit on Sustainable Development (Rio+10):

Jayantha Dhanapala, UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, called on all participants at the Johannesburg Sum-

mit “to recognise that that the twin global problems of ‘overarmament and underdevelopment’ identified at the 1987 conference, remain very much with us today. These problems can and must be addressed together – in the interests of sustainable development, sustainable disarmament and sustainable peace and security for all”.

2003: Report of Human Security Commission

2004: UN symposium on Disarmament and Development

### **2004: Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on Disarmament and Development**

(A/59/119)- accepted by the UNGA in December 2004.

## **THE GROUP OF EXPERTS REPORT**

The intention of the Group of Governmental Experts’ report is to update the UN, member states and the general public on the issue, by stressing on the one hand the continuing relevance of key themes highlighted in 1987, notably military spending, and on the other the emergence of ‘new’ issues such as landmines and other explosive remnants of war, small arms, and wider issues of security, notably the threat of terrorism. In this new report the emphasis is placed on a more holistic analysis of the relationship between disarmament and development and the importance of security, notably the enlarged definition of ‘human security’, seen as the ‘third pillar’. Interestingly, the concept of ‘non-military’ threats to security is already strongly emphasised in the Final Document from the 1987 conference – well before the generally accepted first appearance of ‘human security’ in UN literature in the 1994 Human Development report. However there was some reluctance to use the term in the Expert Group’s report, due to disagreements over meaning.

Two particular themes that have become increasingly common in the ‘new’ disarmament-development discourse, and which are referred to several times in the Group of Experts’ Report are Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Demobilization, Disarmament and Re-integration (DDR).

## **Rwanda Women’s Network (RWN)**

Rwanda Women’s Network (RWN) is a national humanitarian non-governmental organization (NGO) dedicated to promotion and improvement of the socio-economic welfare of women in Rwanda through enhancing their efforts to meet their basic needs. The Network came into being in 1997 taking over from its parent organisation, the US-based Church World Service (CWS), which had initiated a two-year program (1994 – 1996) in the country following the genocide in 1994. To date, RWN caters to survivors of sexual and gender-based violence across the country in the recognition that women and children bore the brunt of the genocide, and remain the most vulnerable and marginalized groups within Rwanda civil society.

Rwanda Women’s Network implements three core programs. These include provision of health-care and support through the Polyclinic of Hope and the Village of Hope, education and awareness programs on human rights and legal procedures, socio-economic empowerment and institutional capacity building for the Network. It offers training for the women in the respective program areas, with peace and reconciliation being the ultimate goal in all its programs.

Other initiatives to support its peace building programs are shelter construction and rehabilitation of the survivors of the genocide, returnees to Rwanda, widows, child-headed households and orphans. Included in the community-based activities are projects in reproductive health, nutrition, primary health care, micro-credit finance and an HIV - Aids Project.

RWN works with various local and international partners, including the Ministry of Gender and Women in Development, with whom it is currently involved in training and development of materials on SGBV for communities countrywide.

Though there remains some challenges, the organisation’s accomplishments over the years have gained wide recognition, leading to it being cited as a replicable best-practice worldwide.



**Security Sector Reform** can be defined as:

“the current and/or planned changes of security practices within a given state. The goal of these reforms is to create a democratically-run, accountable and efficient Security Sector within a state. [This] includes the armed forces, paramilitary units, the police, the intelligence services and civil authorities mandated to control and oversee these agencies. Reforming the Security Sector helps reduce the risk of violent conflict and is therefore important in conflict prevention and crisis management.”

(Robin Bloomfield, Quaker Council for European Affairs newsletter, spring 2005).

One could add that well-conceived SSR can help to reduce the demand for weapons by agencies of the state, and to limit the impact of poorly controlled armaments on civilian populations. It should be stressed that such reforms need to proceed from improved, human-security-oriented policies in general. A repressive, elitist state machine is unlikely to show great concern for the ways its police and military operate vis-a-vis deprived

populations, especially if they are from a different ethnic or religious group from that which dominates the government. Since this is a sensitive area for states, it is not easy to impose – or even encourage – such reforms from the outside, though certain Western, and international, agencies do often include SSR under the ‘good governance’ rubrics of their aid conditions.

**Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration** has constituted an important new area of expertise – and a new set of challenges – in the post-Cold War era, notably in the wake of the many conflict settlements and peace accords. These have brought into focus the urgent need, not only to remove weapons from the community to avoid re-stimulating activities such as banditry, trafficking and extortion, but also to help rebel groups to re-join society by trading the ‘bullet for the ballot’. In general the rebels are young males who have

missed out on sections of their education and have grown used to getting their own way by the threat or actual use of weapons. In order to embrace a new civilian role, they need training, equipment, finance, health care, counselling, and the acceptance of a community that may prefer to reject them and their past behaviour. Women and girls have special needs, depending on whether they have been rebel fighters, assistants, sex slaves or performing other services. Both men and women ex-combatants may have both given and received severe abuse, and in a conflict-scarred and poor community their future prospects are far from rosy. However the experience of DDR programmes across the globe suggests that some remarkable transformations can and do take place.



Recycled weapons,  
Mozambique

Photo: World Vision  
Germany

#### **Weapons for Development projects**

have largely replaced Buy-Back schemes, since the latter tended to boost the arms trade rather than end it. The Tools for Arms approach in Mozambique is a fine example/of WFD:

“The **Christian Council of Mozambique** is collecting at least some of these weapons and destroying them on the spot. Some weapon parts are then modelled into works of art, demonstrating to the people that such killing devices are no longer needed. Project components of this programme are.

- retrieving information, collecting weapons and ammunition, and destruction of weapons on the spot (a lorry with a work bench is used for that purpose);
- providing tools and other items, such as bicycles, sewing machines and tool kits, in return for handed-over weapons;
- civil education (workshops within the communities of beneficiaries); and
- transforming collected arms into art – the sale of which provides funds for the project...

“Between October 1995 and October 2003, the project was able to collect a total of 7,850 weapons, 5,964 pieces of unexploded ordnance (such as mines and grenades of various types) and 256,537 rounds of ammunition.”

(Ekkehard Forberg, ‘Transforming Arms into Tools – a humanitarian approach to voluntary disarmament’, in: Global Futures (magazine of World Vision) 1<sup>st</sup> quarter, 2005)



The relationship between these two areas is well expressed in the following analysis:

“There are many inter-related factors to deal with in a post-conflict situation, and the effective DDR of ex-combatants must be a leading priority. However DDR programmes will never be effective if a number of other factors have not been taken into account. To name a few examples: weapons can be removed from ex-combatants but if they are not destroyed there is a risk they will leak back into society, leading

to further violence. Similarly, if issues of security sector reform are not addressed, a sense of security is not instilled in communities and resorting to armed violence to ensure personal safety becomes a likely possibility...The early and responsible involvement of civil society in the planning and implementation of peace operations will ensure that such programmes contribute to a stable post-war environment.”  
(David Atwood, ‘DDR and Small Arms Control’, in: QUNO Reporter, Geneva, Feb-April 2005)

## **IPB PROGRAMME DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT: 2005 - 7**

In response to the recent developments at the UN and elsewhere, the International Peace Bureau has decided to launch a major new programme to intensify civil society pressure for action in this field.

Summary of main areas:

### ■ **Military spending**

- creating a new global civil society network, to work for a substantial and permanent shift of resources towards development

### ■ **Effects of weapons on development**

- building a series of civil society partnerships, both to give support to communities suffering from weapons effects, and to strengthen the work of campaigners seeking to eliminate or limit the production and trade in weapons of all types

### ■ **Broader security context**

- helping to strengthen civil society capacity to redefine the problem in terms of human security needs, rather than in terms of military responses by the state.

*Further details at: [www.ipb.org](http://www.ipb.org)*



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United Nations, *Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between disarmament and development in the current international context*, 2004.

# WEBSITES

## **Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform**

[www.gfn-ssr.org](http://www.gfn-ssr.org)

## **QCEA**

[www.quaker.org/qcea](http://www.quaker.org/qcea)

## **QUONO**

[www.quono.ch](http://www.quono.ch)

## **UN Department for Disarmament Affairs:**

<http://disarmament.un.org>

especially:

<http://disarmament.un.org/cab/d&d.html>

## **UN Development Programme**

[www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org)

## **UNIDIR – Weapons for Development project**

[www.unidir.org](http://www.unidir.org)

## **World Vision**

[www.wvi.org](http://www.wvi.org)



# 1 Introduction

# THE HUMAN SECURITY CONCEPT, AND A CRITIQUE

## WHAT IS SECURITY ?

There is no such thing as complete security. Life is a dangerous place. We know this even before we step out of our front doors. We can be thinking about being mugged, knocked over by a passing vehicle, or falling into a hole in the road as soon as we leave home – and then slip on an oily kitchen floor, trip over an electric cable or scald ourselves with a boiling kettle. In the UK, to take one example, 2.86 million people suffered an accident in the home in 1998, including over a million children. (Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents, General Accident Statistics). Once out in the 'real' world, all kinds of other dangers lurk: terrorists, rapists, thieves – polluted water, computer viruses, AIDS...

Such is the fearful picture of the modern world that many would have us adopt. Fear helps to generate public support for firm policing, robust military responses, more power to the state.

Of course, none of these threats is imaginary. It is a question of seeing them in proportion, developing a global view - and getting the balance between safety and freedom. Society is much more than simply a minefield of menace. It is also about communities, politics, struggle, risk-taking.

The questions that politicians – and civil society activists – must grapple with are about trade offs between different forms of security, different priorities as to how resources should be used, what risks are acceptable.

**In this book we will argue that a commitment to tackling the forms of security that really matter most to the world's majorities, to the most vulnerable populations – will require a major shift in priorities. As long as governments (and corporations, banks, universities and other institutions) continue to invest billions of dollars every day in the technology and organisation of militarism and the defence of the state rather than the people, we are in effect robbing millions of our fellow citizens of their fundamental security. Meanwhile, the tools used by the**

**military – notably weapons of all types – are having damaging effects on civilians and on the process of economic and social development in which they are engaged. This double challenge is one that requires the full attention of civil society and its allies at government level.**

## HUMAN SECURITY – NOT SUCH A NEW IDEA

The conventional wisdom is that the term 'Human Security' was invented or at least broadly popularised in the 'international community' by the UN Development Programme in its 1994 Human Development Report – intended as an agenda-package for the UN's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday the following year. The definition it gave was:

"The security of people through development, not arms; through cooperation, not confrontation; through peace not war" (p.6), or more explicitly:

"First, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second,... protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development". (p.23)

But as the Report itself points out, this is not really a new idea at all. It reminds us that the founders of the UN have always given equal importance to people's security and to territorial security. The idea of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' is found in Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' during World War 2, and in dozens of reports and analyses in the decades since. What was new in the early 1990s was the post-Cold War context, which allowed politicians and analysts to shift their focus away from the apocalyptic threats of East-West conflagration and notice what was happening 'on the ground' – what ordinary people were experiencing all over the world. The UN became unfrozen in the sense that the UN





Photo: Sebastiao Salgado

Security Council was no longer paralysed by the veto, and superpower control of the votes and actions of smaller states was loosened up. New issues could come to the fore without being decked in Cold War colours. Scourges such as landmines, small arms, the use of child soldiers, 'conflict-goods' and so on - could all be considered as threats and abuses in their own right rather than being seen through the prism of the superpower conflict.

## THE HUMAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE

### Multiplicity of threats

The world today faces a wide range of serious crises and instabilities, causing immense suffering to millions of people and threatening the security of the human fam-

ily far into the future. Analysts differ over the relative priority of, to cite only the most prominent threats:

- climate change
- HIV-AIDS
- weapons of mass destruction
- ethnic conflict, genocide, mass rape
- terrorism
- mass poverty and famine

But to these enormous general challenges we should add more specific ones such as diseases like

- TB, malaria and measles which continue to ravage the young and the poor;
- the scourge of violence related to handguns, drugs and crime;
- the often-neglected death tolls of road accidents and suicides;
- increasing rates of rape, sexual abuse, prostitution and trafficking;
- the millions who live in unemployment or struggle to find even exploitative, low paid jobs with poor conditions.

### National security

These deep-rooted and interlocking threats can scarcely be addressed at all with traditional notions of national security. By this we mean the attempt to protect 'the State', primarily through the threat or use of political or military force against competing states, either to deter attack or to pursue a foreign policy objective. Such policies pay little attention to the social and political conditions within the state, little regard to popular participation and consent, and almost none whatsoever to protecting the natural environment. The government, the fundamental purveyor of security, often fails in its obligations and at times becomes itself a threat to its own people - most obviously in extreme cases of repressive or 'failed' states. Attention must therefore shift from the state to people. There is also a growing recognition of the role that can be played by people themselves - as individuals and as communities - in ensuring their own safety. Security, like democracy, can be bottom-up.

### A Path to survival

A certain kind of security was assured at various times in the past, through the use of brute force by rulers. Examples of such imposed stability would be the Pax Romana or the Austro-Hungarian empire at its height. Today the issue is bigger than the simple control or protection of subjects or



citizens. Humankind itself will face self-extinction through nuclear or environmental catastrophe if our centuries-old habits of military violence and despoliation of natural resources are not curtailed. We need to adjust our concept of security to the new conditions in which humanity lives. The Human Security doctrine argues that we must put the human being, and the natural environment, at centre stage. Genuine security must be based on social justice, addressing the real needs of citizens, and including their participation in systems of national and international governance that promote sustainable development.

### Goals

The main goals of human security have been defined as 'freedom from fear', through the rule of law that provides justice; and 'freedom from want' through an equitable and environmentally sustainable economic system. However, like the 'right to peace' or the 'right to development' such grand objectives invite a wide variety of interpretation as to how best to reach the goal, and thus in themselves only go so far in setting out a policy agenda. Fortunately the concept has now been elaborated greatly and a healthy debate is under way, at least in certain academic, civil society and policy communities.

### Integrated strategy

The responses to the dangers facing humanity cannot be effective if they are fragmented – between, for example, those dealing with human rights, security, humanitarian concerns, health and development. The key benefit of the human security approach is that it demands a more balanced and integrated response from all actors and stakeholders: local communities, governments, international agencies and civil society.

### Characteristics of Human Security

In summary we can say that human security differs from state security in four key respects:

- **People-centred:** *Its focus is on protecting people from a wide range of menaces, rather than external aggression alone.*
- **Menaces:** *It approaches protection not just in terms of territorial boundaries and with - and from - uniformed troops. It also includes protection from environmental pollution, transnational*

*terrorism, massive population movements, infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS and bird flu, and long-term conditions of deprivation and oppression. The most direct threat to human security is the presence of illegal and excessive armaments, and their continued proliferation in post-conflict zones.*

- **Actors:** *The range of actors is also greater - not states alone, but regional and international organisations, NGOs, and civil society.*
  - **Empowerment:** *It brings people together to identify and implement solutions.*
- (Human Security Now, p.6)*

Obviously, it will be a very long time before we could say that the goal of the full achievement of human security has been met. Violent conflicts, injustices and poverty are extremely persistent and the world's problems often appear to be accelerating. The pursuit of human security is a new version of the struggle for the 'good society' that men and women have dreamed of through the ages. In this sense it builds on the visions and labours of our ancestors.

### THE HUMAN SECURITY INDUSTRY

The ideas embedded in the human security concept were already circulating in policy circles twenty years before the UNDP report. The 1980s saw the arrival of a variety of heavyweight commissions, each with its package of prescriptions and recommendations: Brandt (development), Brundtland (environment), Nyerere (the South), Palme (common security) - each contributed important perspectives to the global debate, and in particular to the evolution of UN programmes.

This was followed in the 1990s by a long series of UN-sponsored World Conferences, which did much to focus public attention on the 'state of the world' as seen through the lens of particular sectors. Among them were large-scale gatherings on:

- environment and development (Rio, 1992)
- human rights (Vienna, 1993)
- social summit (Copenhagen, 1995)
- population (Cairo, 1994)
- women (Beijing, 1995)
- habitat (Istanbul, 1997)

There was no such summit on peace. Happily civil society took up the challenge and in May 1999 the Hague Appeal for Peace conference took place in the Dutch capital, with an attendance of 10,000. The event was co-organised by IPB, the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA), the International Physi-



cians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) and the World Federalist Movement (WFM).

All these events served to highlight the scale of humanity's problems, and to map out specific agendas to tackle them. The very fact of giving visibility to the social dimensions of security did much to shift the centre of gravity away from Cold War preoccupations.

### Human Security Institutions

Over the last few years, new bodies have sprung up to develop further these issues. States have formed the Human Security Network; the Japanese Government with the assistance of various agencies and foundations has put together the Human Security Commission, and a number of new academic institutes focussing on human security have been created at Harvard, University of British Columbia (Liu Centre), American University, Tufts etc., tasked with doing research and teaching work in this field. (see BReferences and Websites)

### The Human Security Network (HSN)

The Human Security Network originated in May 1998 in the "Lysoen" partnership (named after the Norwegian town where the first meeting took place) between Canada and Norway. The Network now consists of 13 states: Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, South Africa (observer), Switzerland, and Thailand. The Network seeks to promote human security in areas such as human rights, conflict resolution and international humanitarian law. It welcomes cooperation with civil society to pursue the common goal of human security.

The Network holds annual meetings at Ministerial level. The initial meetings were held in Canada (2000), Jordan (2001), Switzerland (2002) and Chile (2002). The more recent ones have been held in Austria, Mali and Canada. The main topics covered at the Austrian meeting were human rights education and children affected by armed conflict. The Network adopted a training manual on Human Rights Education; a Child Rights Training Curriculum; and a Medium-Term Work Plan until 2005. The issues of small arms and light weapons, HIV/AIDS, and the continuing development of international law were also addressed. Topics at the Bamako meeting included human rights education, children in armed conflict, small arms and gender in peacekeeping operations (UNSC Resolution 1325).

In addition, HSN workshops have been organised on human security and science and technology, HIV/AIDS, children in armed conflict, the humanitarian aspects of small arms proliferation, and human security policy.

The Human Security Network is beginning – albeit timidly – to promote the goal of human security more actively in the United Nations and beyond. In 2003, for the first time, statements on its behalf were delivered (by Austria) in Security Council debates, on "Women, Peace and Security", and on "Protection of Civilians". The HSN also addressed the UN Human Rights Commission in 2003 for the first time, on inter-linkages between political, civil, economic and social rights. The HSN has also launched an initiative to create a regional/national support network of Human Security Study Centres comprising civil society, academic institutions and NGOs. However it remains to be seen how much commitment the member governments of the Network are prepared to make to this important joint project in the longer term. Certainly there should be many opportunities for government-civil society partnerships in a field that covers such an enormous range of problems, and where NGOs and other actors are so active.

### The Human Security Commission (HSC)

The independent Human Security Commission was established in 2001, as an initiative of the Government of Japan, in response to the UN Secretary-General's call at the 2000 Millennium Summit to achieve the twin goals of "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want". It had twelve distinguished members from around the world, and was chaired by Mrs Sadako Ogata (former UN High Commissioner for Refugees) and Prof. Amartya Sen (Nobel Laureate in Economics, 1998). It had three objectives, under its two-year mandate:

- to promote public understanding and support for human security
- to develop the concept of human security as an operational tool for policy formulation
- to propose a concrete plan of action to address critical threats to human security.

At the conclusion of their mandate, in May 2003, the Commission presented their report to the UN Secretary General, entitled *Human Security Now*. At its launch in Geneva, Mrs Ogata recognised that human security means many different things to many



people, be it freedom from terrorism, the enjoyment of health, employment, human rights, economic growth, disarmament, or adequate food and water. The human security concept, she said, with its twofold strategy of protection and empowerment of peoples, addresses all these factors in its presentation of conflict prevention and human development as integral to the security of individuals.

The Commission's report views human security as **complementary** to state security, implicitly acknowledging that a strong, democratic state which respects human rights is vital to individual welfare. It argues that a concerted effort to develop norms, processes and institutions that systematically address insecurities will serve to protect people. Concurrently, empowerment of individuals, enabling their full participation in the decision-making process, will ensure continued democracy. This, the Commission wrote, is "no more than a beginning". However, with "leadership and vision as well as commitment from the world community," the philosophy may escort us away from the apprehension and insecurities currently characterising the new millennium.

The plan of action proposed in "Human Security Now" includes:

- *Protection of people, particularly civilians, in violent conflict and continued efforts to secure law and justice, democracy and disarmament*
- *Supporting the security of people on the move, including an investigation into the possibility of a legal framework for international migration*
- *Establishment of Human Security Transition Funds for post-conflict situations*
- *Encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the very poorest, and the development of an efficient and equitable global system for patent rights*
- *Universal access to health care and basic education; provision of minimum living standards everywhere*
- *Clarifying the need for a global human identity, while respecting the freedoms of individuals to have diverse identities and affiliations.*

(*Human Security Now*, ch.8)

## A PEACE MOVEMENT CRITIQUE

Much of the analysis put forward by UN-sponsored think-tanks and independent commissions is necessarily couched as generalised descriptions of social issues, together with a set of 'mainstream' prescriptions for change at the global level. It is a discourse that avoids discussions of the dynamics of power exercised by specific governments and dominant institutions. In our own time, post Cold War, post 911, the overpowering fact of international relations is the unmatched global reach and capacity for unilateral action exercised by Washington – in some cases exercised in tandem with its allies in London. This power can be seen in four main domains: military, economic, political, and cultural. It can also be viewed historically, in terms of the growth of the economic engine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the rise to global predominance in all fields in the 20<sup>th</sup>, coupled with a long and tragic trail of wars, occupations and military interventions on all continents.

*Human Security Now*, published by the Commission on Human Security in 2003, is a prime example of a certain type of useful but limited analysis – one that carefully surveys the landscape without remarking the main obstacles that hinder progress. The report is undoubtedly an important landmark in the evolution of international policy-making. Coming after a long series of international commissions, it aspires to bring the best thinking from them all into one united approach. The analysis is certainly wide-ranging and sophisticated in its interweaving of elements from many disciplines and areas of UN activity. It draws on much recent scholarly literature and expert reports on conflict, migration, health, poverty and education. Its plea for an integrated policy response to the challenges of development and peace (in the broadest sense) is certainly a wise one. The Commission was made up of distinguished figures from several institutions and professions, and consulted very widely all over the world. In view of all this it was perhaps inevitable that its recommendations should be written in a somewhat cautious language that somehow satisfies most but challenges none.



**Many in the NGO peace community would argue that a number of very important perspectives are ignored or only touched on very briefly. The following commentary is offered as a way, not just of filling in missing dimensions, but also of seeing the overall picture of human security from another angle. We do not take issue with the main proposals and analyses put forward by the Commission. Indeed, we applaud them and recommend them to governments and decision makers. But there is much more to say about what can be done and where the main obstacles lie.**

### **A - Economic globalisation and resistance to it**

Possibly the largest single cause of human insecurity rests in the economic framework within which most of the planet lives and works. This system – let us call it free market capitalism or globalization – is dominated by the trans-national corporations (TNCs), mostly based in the West. While the last 20 years or so of neo-liberal policies have seen tremendous absolute economic growth in both North and South, and has lifted millions out of poverty, it is very widely recognised that this growth has failed to narrow the gap between rich and poor. On the contrary, the gap, both between and within countries, has never been larger. It has also produced a series of huge financial scandals, a number of stock market crises, and alarming effects on the global environment. Something is gravely wrong. Now it is not only those on the left of the political spectrum who are critical of these general tendencies. Senior figures from the World Bank such as Joseph Stiglitz have spoken out against the excesses of policies based on the (selectively –applied) credo of free trade.

The Human Security Commission's report touches on many aspects of the poverty debate – direct investment, micro-credit, measures to tackle extreme poverty, trade and protectionism, and the role of civil society – but says (remarkably) almost nothing about the central debate on the character of globalization.

While reference is made to 'people's alternatives' such as the Self-Employed Women's Association (India), there is scant recognition of the long tradition of popular resistance all over the world to the exploitation of labour by private capital. The fact that Marxism is out of fashion -- even in

Communist countries! -- should not invalidate the labour movement's challenge to a system whose entrepreneurial engine is powered by private greed and ambition.

What we have seen in the last few years is an extraordinary recomposition of the movements of protest against poverty and exploitation, through the remarkable series of 'anti-globalization' demonstrations beginning in Seattle in 1999, and through the ever-expanding World Social Forums, born in Porto Alegre. This new rainbow-coloured movement builds on a long history of struggles by labour, women's, black/ethnic minority, youth, environment, peace and other movements – whose roots are in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (and even earlier) campaigns for democracy and social reform in the North; and in 20<sup>th</sup> century struggles against colonialism in the South. These movements have involved millions of people and enormous suffering and sacrifice, as well as powerful victories that have changed history.

The activists who make up these movements have not only marched, protested and gone on strike; they have formed the social basis of political struggles for power, and at the same time they have been closely associated with efforts to create socially-progressive alternative structures and lifestyles. We think of the early utopian socialist communities, the still-flourishing cooperative movement, fair trade projects, community- (and party-) based services and self-reliance schemes, childcare and sports associations, workers' education, credit unions, people's budgets and many more. Any account of the efforts towards ensuring human security worldwide must take full account, both of the worldwide resistance to domination by private capital, but also of the great array of attempts to create viable alternatives.

### **B – US global reach: resource wars, military bases, and the environment**

The US inherited the imperial mantle from the UK and France at the end of World War 2 and through the process of decolonisation in the 1950s and 60s. Since the end of the Cold War it has had no rivals for dominance. Now under the second Bush administration it is pushing to extend the US's global influence via the 'war on terrorism'. This new geo-political context has significant implications for human security. Key to the new foreign policy are the notions of unilateralism and pre-emptive strikes – more radical



approaches than even the Bush Sr. administration dared to adopt. The new posture can be seen in the policy doctrines enshrined in the National Security Strategy, promulgated in 2002, in the doctrine of Full-Spectrum Dominance, and indeed in the whole US conduct of the Iraq War. The rise of the so-called 'neo-cons', even before 9-11, was well-documented and much discussed in the media, so there can be little surprise at the positions adopted by the Administration. (for example Ambassador Bolton's rejection of the draft declaration of the Heads of State summit Sept. 2005)

What seems hard to deny is that, under the surface of political justifications such as "pursuing the terrorists and the states that harbour them", or in the case of Iraq, the decision to "overthrow a dangerous dictator armed with weapons of mass destruction", can be seen the determination to maintain access to important strategic minerals and other resources, notably petroleum and gas. To ensure its military reach the US has over the last few years developed substantially its network of bases, not only in Eurasia but on all continents. Clearly the US idea of 'national' security has now become a global one. Much of the purpose behind these extremely costly deployments is related to the explicit desire to extend US political control as widely as possible, and to protect access to resources. Resistance to this overpowering military presence is also worldwide, varying from terrorist attacks and street warfare in Iraq to (largely) non-violent demonstrations in places like Okinawa, S.Korea and the Philippines.

The effects of these great geo-political upheavals on the security of the population – not only in the regions immediately affected but ultimately of the whole planet – are immense. In order to assess the future patterns of interaction between large states, small states, international organisations and non-state actors – and thus the fallout for ordinary people everywhere - one has to look in particular at where the major conflicts are likely to take place.

The largest factors are **economic and environmental**. First is the crisis caused by the growing scarcity of fossil fuels, in relation to the continuing growth of the world's population and the increasingly voracious industrial system. Regardless of where one stands in the complex debate on

'Peak Oil' and the viability of alternatives, it seems hard to avoid the conclusion that the leaders of the world's largest economies have a duty to accelerate the transition to renewable energies and to institute massive programmes of conservation and energy use reduction.

Otherwise the implications for war and conflict are ominous. Given the rapidly-rising economic power and appetite of China and India, and the continuing dependence of all major economies on oil, the largely Muslim societies of the Middle East are set for a series of confrontations with the mightiest military in world history. The issue will be priority access to the ever-diminishing black gold that keeps the machines and transport systems moving. What we see in Iraq today could be simply the dress rehearsal for even worse conflicts in Iran, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere. This is without consideration of the current dispute over nuclear programmes or US support for Israel. Central Asia is also becoming a crucial theatre of rivalry between the big powers, including Putin's Russia. The 19<sup>th</sup> century 'Great Game' is being played once again, and the stakes are high.

A clearly related environmental crisis with direct bearing on the prospects for human security is **climate change**. Scientists have been predicting drastic consequences for human societies – worldwide, not only for small islands and low lying territories – of long term shifts in climate patterns brought about by industrial emissions and those related to motor and air transport. The Bush administration appears to be deaf to such warnings, and in 2004 even contrived to suppress a Pentagon-commissioned report spelling out the severe security implications of climate change predictions.

Another phenomenon that is little discussed in the human security literature is the **impact of the military on the environment**. Under this heading we would include the use of chemical defoliants and other toxic chemicals, both in war and in peacetime, the giving over of productive land for military bases and exercises, radioactive contamination around nuclear installations and test sites, damage to oil wells and coastlines, not to mention the opportunity cost of expending vast quantities of public and private money on preparations for killing, money that could have been used to save lives and preserve natural habitats.



## C - Terrorism, its causes and the war against it

The challenging picture outlined above is further complicated by the events of September 2001 and their many aftermaths. Terrorism has been used for centuries as a military or political tactic by both rulers and the ruled. Imperial powers such as the US and UK, and local dictators and tyrants such as Papa Doc and Saddam Hussein, have used terrorist tactics on a systematic basis. The greater ease of access to explosive devices in recent decades has been one reason for the upsurge of terror attacks by rebels and non-state actors. The 1990s saw many examples -- including the earlier



Police search for terrorist evidence

Photo: El Pais

1993 attack on the World Trade Center -- but they did little to shift the focus of global politics. However the 9-11 incidents forced the US and the world to focus directly on the issue. Terrorism has now entirely replaced the communist bogey of the Cold War, and has provided an ideological justification for a whole new

apparatus of military spending, technical innovation, and global deployment – a new landscape of attack and defence.

### A definition

We shall define terrorism in the simplest possible terms as deliberate attacks on non-combatants for political purposes. This covers aspects of most state-organised bombings and invasions, as well as the various attacks attributed to Al-Qaeda and other non-state actors in locations all over the world.

Attacks on civilians in places such as Mombasa, Madrid, Bali, Morocco, Istanbul, Sharm el Sheikh, London and especially Iraq, are fairly clear evidence that the Islamist-led campaign is continuing, and growing. According to the US State Dept., the number of 'significant terrorist attacks' around the world tripled in 2004 to 651. Most terrorists appear to benefit from high technology communications and access to significant amounts of money. However, the London bombings suggest that a new wave of more amateur, Al-Qaeda-inspired,

groups is now at work. This is not to ignore the fact that other, non-Muslim, brands of terrorism exist. The overwhelming majority of Muslims are not terrorists; but most of those who threaten Western (and other) civilians do call themselves Muslims and employ Muslim rhetoric.

### Getting to the underlying causes

Is there a specific 'human security' response? Certainly there is no single set of measures that could be given that label. Nevertheless, there is wide consensus, at least on the political left and centre, that rather than try to stamp out the problem via an endless stream of repressive measures that reinforce all the grievances, a wiser course would be for the US administration and its allies to address seriously the underlying issues. This includes building a more positive relationship with Arab communities and the Muslim world in general, and firmly opposing the growing climate of Islamophobia. In that context, 'human security' initiatives might have a chance of some success. To ignore the causes in favour of a concentration on military force is to stoke the fires of anti-Western feeling. Events in Iraq give powerful support for this point of view.

The countless media (and more scholarly) analyses of the causes of what can be loosely termed the Al Qaeda phenomenon revolve around several broad and overlapping issues:

- The historical background of **crusades**, colonial rule and continuing Western domination of the Muslim world;
- US and British support for **Zionism** and the state of Israel and their failure to pursue justice for the Palestinians;
- **Western support over many decades for corrupt regimes** and Arab elites;
- US-UK-inspired **sanctions against Iraq** resulting in enormous preventable disease and death, followed by the unauthorised invasion of March 2003 and the ensuing tragic chaos;
- Military **occupation of the holy places** in Saudi Arabia;
- The pursuit of a 21<sup>st</sup> century version of the **Great Game** in Central Asia (in particular the ongoing war in Afghanistan) and the Middle East, in order to ensure **permanent control over oil and gas for Western economies** increasingly worried about long term sources of supply and the stiffening competition with China and India;



- The perception of an **aggressive promotion of western cultural products** and lifestyles, hostile to Islamic values, via the globalised media and cultural industries;
- Widespread and enduring **poverty and massive unemployment** alongside vast oil wealth, creating a pervasive sense of frustration and hopelessness among young people. who in earlier times might have channelled their anger into communist or nationalist politics, now discredited;
- The rise of **new and more radical sects within Islam**, notably the Wahhabite and Salafist strands, who reject compromise with modernism and seek the return of a 'pure' Islamic utopia without borders;
- **Funding of Taliban and Al-Qaeda-related groups by the US** as part of its struggle to defeat the Soviet presence in Afghanistan in the 1980s – accomplished by huge flows of funds, weaponry and training directed through the Pakistani ISI. This helped to create the training grounds for tens of thousands of militants, ready to die and kill in the cause of martyrdom.

Given such an explosive combination of deep-seated grievance and ease of access to weaponry of all kinds, one could even be surprised that the level of violence directed at Western (or Western-sympathising) targets has not been greater. Certainly it suggests that the threat to both ordinary citizens and high-profile political or military institutions will be a long-term one.

### Dirty bombs?

There is an important – and at times alarmist – international debate over the possibility of weapons of mass destruction falling into terrorist hands. This could come about either via non-state actors accessing the black market, or through their capture of a nuclear-armed state, for example Pakistan. Since neither of these developments can be completely ruled out in the medium term, this issue must be considered a very significant threat to human security, as understood to mean the safety of the general public everywhere. Thus one can argue that the position of the 'war against terror' at the top of the Western world's political priorities is not entirely misplaced. However politicians, media and opinion-formers tend not to see this menace in proportion to the myriad other significant threats to the se-

curity of human populations. Consider the mounting seriousness of the apparently unstoppable chain reaction of HIV-AIDS, which has already claimed millions of victims, or the cataclysmic possibilities of global climate change. Even road traffic accidents claim more victims than terrorism – at its current levels. But those who have lived with the nuclear bomb, or created it, or in the case of Japanese hibakusha, actually suffered from it, know well what is the scale of potential mass destruction.



Muslims demonstrate against terrorism, Spain

Photo: El País, 6 April 2004

### Time for a change of direction

Against this background, one must ask: what can and should be done? It is here that the accumulated wisdom of most western commentators is so weak. There have been fierce and widespread criticism of the Bush-Blair administrations: of their rush to war; of the lies put forward to justify the policy; of the dangerous doctrine of pre-emptive strikes; of the growing limitations on citizens' freedom in the name of protecting freedom; and of the huge increases in military spending as opposed to investment in 'first response' emergency services. But despite all this, there have been surprisingly few voices arguing for systematic attention to the deeper causes of the problem.

In our view it is high time, before relations between the West and the radical branches of Islam get any worse, that a major change of direction – not less than a wholesale change of heart – be signalled by the leaders of the US, UK and their remaining allies. Given the rigid and self-righteous positions still held by leaders in Washington and Westminster, it will be a task for critical



politicians and public opinion more generally. A whole range of measures need to be undertaken to respond to the root causes listed above. This would include, among others:

- withdrawal of Coalition forces from Iraq and a hand-over to the newly-elected authorities;
- high-level talks to give support to the post-Gaza Israel-Palestine peace process;
- withdrawal of all remaining troops from Saudi Arabia;
- fair (and rapid) trials for the Guantanamo prisoners, and the dismantling of Camp X Ray.
- a massive investment plan to create employment for young people in the Arab world;
- evidence of seriousness in the plan for democratisation in the 'greater' Middle East should be manifested, not only through pressure of elections, but also through funding for civil society initiatives of all kinds. This programme should prioritise empowerment of women and education for girls, and should be channelled through a UN-run multilateral fund, in order to avoid the charge of creating new structures of western domination.
- rapid acceleration of the switch to renewable energies and conservation in all sectors of industry in order to reduce dependence on Middle East and Central Asian fossil fuels.

Much of this programme could be funded through reductions in the grossly inflated US military budget and via multilateral institutions, and the private sector. However equally important would be a series of statements from the highest levels acknowledging the historical responsibility of the Western powers for the tragic and worsening situation, and the opening of a permanent, public (hopefully televised) dialogue among religious, political and other leaders between the Muslim and Western worlds.

#### **Reducing the appeal of extremism**

It will be argued that such measures constitute 'giving in' to terrorism. On the contrary, it is the way to undermine terrorism, since it will remove major resentments that Islamist extremists feed on. Furthermore, the measures proposed are valuable and necessary in their own right. Even such a politically ambitious programme would

probably be insufficient to put a complete end to terrorist acts by Al Qaeda and others. Indeed, there is no panacea for such a virulent disease, for a relationship so badly damaged.

We would agree with many government leaders on the necessity of highly skilled intelligence gathering and active community policing to root out potential terrorists. There has to be continued focus on the funding of terror and thorough investigations into Western, and Eastern, complicity in such activities – at all levels. We accept that there will be a balance required in the curbing of some civil liberties in order to catch criminals before they commit atrocities. This must however not go so far as to undermine the very fundamentals of the western human-rights based system. The recruiting grounds for murderous militancy can be vastly reduced by a programme that demonstrates that the West can no longer be successfully caricatured as a 'Great Satan'. The dream, or maybe nightmare, of bringing down corrupt regimes and establishing a pure Islamic caliphate will continue to haunt some radicals, of that there can be little doubt. But reducing its appeal in the minds of millions of disaffected, embittered Muslims can never be achieved by military might and billions of Pentagon dollars. As so often, the lesson of history is that when violence is applied instead of human intelligence and imagination, the result is only another cycle of blood.

#### **D - Military spending and diversion of resources from programmes to meet basic human needs.**

Human security requires financial resources, in large amounts. But the intensification of the 'war on terrorism' has led to military spending levels in some countries (notably the USA) returning to Cold War levels after dropping substantially. Now, some 15 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is once again rising. Global spending totals have again reached \$1000bn and are climbing. The US government alone is spending over \$400bn on military programmes with Iraq war costs on top of that. Other countries are following the same pattern, in many cases explicitly encouraged to do so by the US and the UK.

Large states such as Russia, China, India, and others such as Israel and Pakistan are



using the new fashion for anti-terrorism to increase their military arsenals and personnel, re-equipping for long-term battles with rebels and/or hostile states. Each has echoed in its own way the new doctrine of pre-emptive war advocated by Washington neo-conservatives. North Korea has drawn the obvious conclusion from its confrontation with Washington and equipped itself with a nuclear 'deterrent'. Who can be surprised?

The conclusion to be drawn – but which the Human Security Commission fails to draw – is that a change of heart by this or the next US administration, to re-think its strategies and to re-deploy its treasure into prevention measures, would be the greatest single contribution to human security that any government could make.

### **E - Weapons trade and weapons of mass destruction - and efforts to promote disarmament**

The Human Security Commission does mention briefly the fact that the conventional weapons trade is run essentially by four of the 'Permanent 5' states (+ Germany). But its consideration of the problem is cursory. It requires far more analysis and tougher prescriptions for action. There is a problem of how to control a transnational trade that is not illegal under international law (Article 51 of the UN Charter does after all allow for self-defence, within limited conditions). In the face of this difficulty, advocates have come up with a number of Codes of Conduct, and above all the (voluntary) UN Register of Conventional Arms Transfers. Small arms activists have emphasised the notion of supply- and demand-side measures encompassing a wide range of conflict-related initiatives. The main focus of the Human Security Network in the military field is the now-burgeoning fields of small arms and landmines. These are of course extremely important in terms of current human suffering, but without a corresponding focus on the large weapon systems it is an unbalanced approach.

Similarly, without a firm critique of WMD possession by all states (and any non-state actors) the prescription of 'non-proliferation' risks reinforcing the agenda of the powerful – who, as we saw in 2003, are willing to go to war in order to destroy the (mythical) WMD of smaller states. Meanwhile the world remains threatened by the

stockpiles of over 20,000 nuclear weapons left over from the 1980s, while new nuclear conflagrations loom in the Middle East, South Asia and East Asia. A serious crisis in any of these flashpoints could lead to the actual use of nuclear weapons. Civil society peace movements with long commitments to this issue – and long memories of the Cold War and its nightmares – share the firm conviction that the objective must be nothing less than the total abolition of all nuclear weapons.

Large conventional and nuclear weapons are only two of the many categories of weaponry that need to be tackled in order to remove serious threats to human populations. The authors believe that without rapid and serious progress in disarmament as a whole, there can be no true human security. Programmes of action are urgently required in approximately 10 weapons system areas (both mass-destruction and 'conventional'), all of which are at different stages of international control.

### **F - Patriarchal culture in all societies: the missing gender analysis**

A gender lens applied to the issue of human security reveals that since women are typically in the role of care givers in families, at work and in communities, the security-tissue of those communities depends on them. If women are raped, imprisoned, abducted, starved or murdered, the community – notably the young, the very old, the sick and disabled – usually suffers more than if the same happens to men, even if the latter are the breadwinners.

Most analysts of human security do give recognition to the threats to women's security arising from conflict, poverty and other sources. But few seem to view the problem as systemic. However human societies have been patriarchal for thousands of years and the struggle to bring about an equal society is a monumental one. Sexism (institutional and behavioural) is putting women's lives at risk in a whole series of contexts, and limiting their potential and power in countless ways. Commentators frequently point out that women and other unarmed civilians are often the primary victims of modern armed conflicts; women are usually at the bottom of the economic pile and yet may be shouldering the double burden of child- and house-care as well as productive work



outside the home. The idea of 'empowerment' will mean little if women are not included equally in the process of liberation.

The various approaches sketched out above are interconnected in a number of ways. The following quotation puts them together rather succinctly:

*"The roots of contemporary militarization...include the capitalist organization of the production of weaponry and the profits to be made through their sale....[they] also lie in the widespread belief in the inevitability and efficacy of violence as a route to power; elite political use of fear and narrow security rhetorics to control populations and extract wealth...; masculinist nationalism and militarized religious fundamentalisms that purport to justify violence in defence of group ideals; [and] the global inequality of consumption that creates incentives to attempt military capture of resources"*

*(Catherine Lutz, Democratic Social Movements against Militarization, at UNDP GGlobal Forum on Human Development 2005.)*

United Nations and civil society to achieve the goals of human security. Innovative, law-based, multilateral, non-military solutions are urgently needed. The firmest foundation for such solutions is a partnership between governments, the UN and civil society -- the new "democratic diplomacy", which was the main theme of the 1999 Hague Appeal for Peace conference. It is embodied in a number of encouraging recent achievements. For example, a remarkable number of armed conflicts have recently been resolved, or are set well on the way to resolution. In the sphere of human rights, we have seen the establishment of the International Criminal Court (2002) and the Child Soldiers Convention (2002); while in the disarmament sphere there has been the Ottawa Landmine Convention (1997); the new protocol to the Certain Conventional Weapons Convention on Explosive Remnants of War; and the UN Action Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2001). Far more needs to be done, and soon, especially in terms of accelerating progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. Meanwhile, an essential long-term path to achieving human security is to change mind-sets. The role of public education and civil society advocacy in all of these areas cannot be underestimated.

## THE WAY AHEAD

The global context described in the preceding pages confirms more than ever the inadequacy of military or state security as the central means of securing human well-being, and the urgent need to move to a human security paradigm. In this sense the failure of the September 2005 Heads of State Summit at the UN to endorse a radical programme is a bitter disappointment. But despite the opposition from those in the US and other governments committed to national, military power and to maintaining economic privileges for the rich, a strong partnership is being gradually forged between the majority of other states, the



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# HUMAN SECURITY WEBLINKS

(compiled by Ilan Zvi Baron)

The **After September 11 Archive** set up by the American Social Science Research Council (SSRC) offers essays by academics from all over the world about politics, religion, peace, global order and other topics related to 9.11. <http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/>

The **Bonn International Center for Conversion** has extensive resources on demilitarisation and demobilization. <http://www.bicc.de/>

The **Canadian Consortium on Human Security (CCHS)** is an academic-based network promoting policy-relevant research on human security. Its core missions are to facilitate the exchange of information and analysis on human security issues, and to help build a human security community in Canada and internationally. The CCHS is funded by the Human Security Program of the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT): [http://www.humansecurity.info/CCHS\\_web/Home/en/](http://www.humansecurity.info/CCHS_web/Home/en/)

The **Human Security Bulletin** is their online quarterly publication. The Bulletin is a core part of the CCHS' mandate to facilitate the exchange of information and analysis on human security issues. It strives to present policy-relevant human security research being pursued in Canada and internationally, including research being pursued by CCHS Human Security Fellowship holders. It also offers annotated human security-related resources, such as article and publication abstracts, electronic resources, and conferences and seminars announcements and proceedings.

<http://www.humansecuritybulletin.info>

The **Canadian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's** human security foreign policy document, Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security (2000) is available online. [http://pubx.dfaite-maeci.gc.ca/00\\_Global/Pubs\\_Cat2.nsf/0/56153893ff8dfda285256bc700653b9f/\\$FILE/Freedom\\_from\\_Fear-e.pdf](http://pubx.dfaite-maeci.gc.ca/00_Global/Pubs_Cat2.nsf/0/56153893ff8dfda285256bc700653b9f/$FILE/Freedom_from_Fear-e.pdf)

The **Centre for Human Security at the Liu Institute for Global Studies, The University of British Columbia**, pursues interdisciplinary and policy-related research and advocacy on global public policy issues related to human security. Its research agenda embraces international relations, human security, peace and disarmament, global public opinion and democratization, the environment, conflict and development, and global health and international justice issues. <http://www.ligi.ubc.ca/chs.htm>

The **Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue** is an independent and impartial organisation, based in Geneva, Switzerland, dedicated to the promotion of humanitarian principles, the prevention of conflict and the alleviation of its effects through dialogue.

<http://www.hdcentre.org/>

The website of the **Center on International Cooperation** at NYU, has online copies of many of their publications. <http://www.nyu.edu/pages/cic/index1.html>

Papers from the **Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation** in South Africa can be found at: <http://www.csvr.org.za>

The **Charter of the United Nations** website: <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

The **Coalition for International Justice**, hosts a website devoted to war-crimes tribunals in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. <http://www.cij.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=homepage>

The **Commission on Human Security** website: <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/index.html>

The **Conciliation Resources** web page includes postings of the ACCORD publications which surveys peace processes on a case study basis available. <http://www.c-r.org>

The **European Community Humanitarian Office** is responsible for EU humanitarian assistance. [http://europa.eu.int/comm/echo/en/index\\_en.html](http://europa.eu.int/comm/echo/en/index_en.html)

Working papers from the **European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation** can be found at [www.euconflict.org](http://www.euconflict.org)

Information on the Programme for International Cooperation and Conflict Resolution at the Norwegian social research institute **Fafo** is available at: <http://www.fafo.no/piccr/>

There is a good bibliography on conflict, NGOs, humanitarianism and development at the **FEWER** website: [www.fewer.org/research/studbib.htm](http://www.fewer.org/research/studbib.htm)



The **Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century** references disarmament and human security. Links to the Agenda in English, French, Spanish and German, as well as the Agenda's supplement can be found by going to the Hague Appeal for Peace's website (<http://www.haguepeace.org/index.php>), or directly with the following link:

<http://www.haguepeace.org/index.php?name=agenda>

**The Program on Human Security at Harvard University:**

<http://www.cbrss.harvard.edu/programs/hsecurity.htm>

Information on human rights and humanitarian dimensions of conflicts can be found at the **Human Rights Watch/Helsinki Watch** site. <http://www.hrw.org>

**Human Security for the Global South, American University Center for the Global South:** <http://www.american.edu/academic.depts/acainst/cgs/hsgslinks.html>

The **Human Security Network** website: <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/>

Reports and documentation produced by the London-based NGO, **International Alert** can be found at <http://www.international-alert.org>

The **Institute for Human Security at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy**, Tufts University website can be found at: <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/humansecurity/index.html>

The **Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy** provides links and publications on non- and semi-official diplomatic initiatives. <http://www.imtd.org/>

The **International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development** includes publications on **Women's Rights in Situations of Conflict** (you can search the website to find a bibliography on women's rights in conflict situations). <http://www.ichrdd.ca/flash.html>

The **International Committee of the Red Cross:** [www.icrc.org](http://www.icrc.org)

The **International Crisis Group** posts up to date information on particular crises and conflicts. Go to: <http://www.crisisweb.org/>

The **International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty** can be found at: <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/report-en.asp>

The **International Peace Academy** has resources on peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Go to their website at: <http://www.ipacademy.org/>

The **International Relations and Security Network** offers an extensive database on IR and security issues. <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>

**Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs** has a human security page. [http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human\\_secu/](http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/)

**Linking Complex Emergency Response and Transition Initiative:** <http://www.certi.org/>

The **Minorities at Risk** project, with information on ethnic conflict around the world is available at: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar2/>

A clearinghouse for material on conflict, development and humanitarian issues and agencies (governmental as well as NGOs) is provided by **Oneworld**. <http://www.oneworld.net/article/frontpage/10/3>

**Project Ploughshares'** Armed Conflicts Report details the state of war around the world. The report describes lesser-known conflicts, as well as the issues that surround conflict. <http://www.ploughshares.ca/content/ACR/acr.html>

**Relief Web:** <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf>

Papers from the **Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research** are located at: [www.transnational.org/](http://www.transnational.org/)

**University of Harvard Program on Human Security at the Centre for Basic Research in the Social Sciences:** <http://www.cbrss.harvard.edu/programs/hsecurity.htm>

Reports and information on the **United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs** are available at. [http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha\\_ol/index.html](http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/index.html)

**UNCRD Human Security Research Programme Documents:** [http://www.virtualref.com/uncrd/\\_sub/s1170.htm](http://www.virtualref.com/uncrd/_sub/s1170.htm)

The **United States Institute of Peace** supports research and training on peace/conflict resolution issues. <http://www.usip.org/>





# 7

## CONCLUSION

The tragic war in Iraq, as well as many other contemporary armed conflicts, has reminded us of the high price of militarism and of the military-led response to the challenge of terrorism.

### **Making the challenge**

It is a political tragedy that so many billions of dollars are being poured into an apparently bottomless pit. It is also a moral scandal, given the colossal human needs around the world - needs which could be met if the world's great powers could only come to develop a different set of priorities. Helping them - encouraging them, pressuring them - to reach that different set of choices is the task of civil society. This represents a serious challenge to decision-makers, one that will entail disruption to many cosy relationships. But for the sake of the majority world, the 3-4 billion poor and disadvantaged people on this planet, and especially those communities who continue to suffer the effects of war and weaponry, such a challenge must be made.

### **A big tent**

The human security 'community' (if such a thing really exists) can be considered as a 'big tent', allowing many different approaches and embracing a range of philosophies that all have the comprehensive welfare - i.e. security in all its aspects - of the human being at their core. But we hope to have shown in this brief analysis that the good work done by the official commissions and networks needs to be supplemented by a more radical understanding of the obstacles to human security in today's world. This is a world dominated by

vested interests and military machinery, and subject to a process of globalisation rushing headlong in the direction of both accelerating inequality and ecological disaster.

### **Civil society responses**

The range of civil society responses to this situation is almost infinite, and - since civil society is divided into all kinds of cooperating and competing interests - in some cases contradictory. For example, the views of the National Rifle Association USA and the International Action Network on Small Arms are diametrically opposed. Yet both represent segments of civil society. Many people complain about the profusion, and diffusion, of NGOs and other citizens' associations. While duplication of effort can indeed be a danger, it can also be argued that duplication is even necessary in order to reach all corners of society with a strong and effective message.

It is also evident that experience of coalition-building (at all geographical levels) has grown rapidly in recent years with the communications revolution. Many coalitions have hundreds, even thousands, of partner groups. Large organisations like Amnesty and Greenpeace are constantly cited as examples of countervailing civil society influence, 'big players' in a globalised world of decision-making. However these are in fact rather untypical examples of just one type of civil society group, the international non-governmental organisation or 'INGO'. Other categories, according to Prof. Mary Kaldor, would include 'old' and 'new' social movements; think-tanks and commissions;



transnational civic networks; 'new' nationalist and fundamentalist groupings; and 'new' anti-capitalist movements.

"The array of organizations and groups through which individuals have a voice at global levels of decision-making represents a new form of global politics that parallels and supplements formal democracy at the national level."

(Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: an Answer to War*, Polity, 2003)

In the field of disarmament-development, the level of civil society mobilising has so far been weak (with certain exceptions such as the highly successful Ban Landmines campaign). The fact that the UN and its member states abandoned the terrain for nearly 20 years is certainly one explanation. The effort on military spending is at present largely confined to research institutes and (in a limited number of countries) lobbyists at the national level. Each of the different weapons systems has its community of specialists and activists, but there are not so many links made across the categories. This is something the IPB is helping to provide. In future we wish to bring together both communities affected by war and different kinds of weapons, and campaigning movements seeking to ban or limit those weapons and reduce military budgets.

### Partnerships for solidarity

Organisations striving to promote peace and development in areas seriously affected by war and weaponry have a wide range of needs. The conditions in which they operate are extremely difficult. Violent incidents may be occurring, or threatened, or recently ended. Obstacles to carrying out their work include repression, fear, loss of equipment or trained personnel, and of course poverty and lack of adequate finance. They need protection, resources, political and moral support.

Groups outside the area, or abroad, may be able to assist in specific ways. Not only with finance or by helping identify (or influence) funders, but also by securing media coverage, getting access to political leadership, providing training, or by setting up twinning arrangements. The list of possible forms of collaboration is long.

'Outside' groups have their own needs, the nature of which depend on whether they are themselves in a conflict zone or in a 'peaceful' area or country, one where it is easier to organise peace/disarmament campaigns or solidarity programmes. They will need testimonies and reports, analyses of how weapons are used within the conflict and how they effect communities, as well as photo/video/audio documentary material. Decades of experience now exists among the development, humanitarian and peace communities worldwide as to how best to develop these relationships and how best to meet the needs.

The IPB and its worldwide network of member organisations – the work of which the reader will have glimpsed in these pages – represent but one fragment of a wide field of endeavour. Every day, every year, a new start is made on the task of rolling back militarism. We invite you to join us.







# THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU

IPB is the oldest and most comprehensive of the international peace federations, covering a broad range of issues related to the prevention of war and violence. Our current main area of work is the **Disarmament for Development Programme**, based on the analysis outlined in this book. We also do work in a number of areas that can be considered as contributions to the broad goal of **Human Security**. These include women in peacemaking, human rights, conflict prevention/resolution and peace education. We have a special interest in promoting a greater public interest in peace history.

With 20 international and 230 national/local member organisations (plus individuals) in over 60 countries, IPB brings together people working for peace in many different sectors: not only pacifists but also women's, youth, labour, religious, and professional bodies. IPB was founded in 1891 and won the **Nobel Peace Prize** in 1910. Among the **13 IPB officers who have won the Nobel Prize** in their own right was the Irish statesman Sean MacBride, President from 1974 to 1985. Every year IPB makes an official nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, and also awards its own **Sean MacBride Peace Prize**.

IPB has had **Consultative Status with ECOSOC** since 1977 and has been for many years the Secretariat for the **NGO Committee for Disarmament** (Geneva).

IPB organises a **Triennial Assembly** and an annual **Council** meeting combined with an international conference. Day-by-day direction is given by an elected **Steering Committee**.

Our recent **publications** include:

- From War to Peace, an analysis of 9 different peace negotiation processes;
- Peace is Possible, a collection of 31 short and readable stories of successful peacemaking;
- Farewell to Bombs, basic information on 7 weapons systems and efforts to ban or curb them;
- Time to Abolish War! The Youth Agenda of the Hague Appeal for Peace; and
- The Report of IPB's Geneva Conference on Peace Education. (in English and French)

IPB is funded by a mix of membership fees, private donations, foundation grants, government subsidies, publication sales and sub-letting income.

**Hon. President:** Amb. Jayantha Dhanapala, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament

**President:** Cora Weiss

**Secretary-General:** Colin Archer

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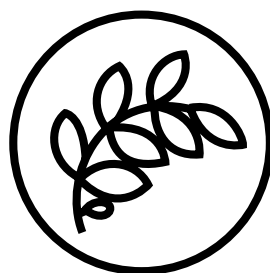
**[www.ipb.org](http://www.ipb.org)**



**Human Security** has gained broad acceptance internationally as a comprehensive policy response to the many complex challenges to the safety and welfare of civilian populations. This book offers a critique of mainstream versions of the doctrine, and also takes a new look at an issue which many thought buried with the Cold War: the relationship between vast and growing military expenditures and the needs of the world's poor. Global military spending levels have once again exceeded \$1,000 billion, yet the subject remains a taboo, even within anti-poverty campaigns. The 'war on terror' has offered a whole new set of justifications for states to increase their arsenals, including weapons of mass destruction – just at the time when intense pressure is being brought to bear on all governments to accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goals.

**Warfare or Welfare?** also analyses the effects of a range of weapons systems – from nuclear weapons to landmines, cluster bombs and small arms – on development. The rapidly spreading network of military bases is also examined from this point of view. The International Peace Bureau calls for a new worldwide campaign under the banner of '**Disarmament for Development**', in order to bring together more effectively two important sectors of civil society, and to empower us all to make challenges to the system of military and economic domination which increasingly threatens the security of humanity as a whole.

**The Geneva-based International Peace Bureau services a network of over 250 peace organisations around the world. Founded in 1891, it won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1910.**



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