

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

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.



