



MILITARY SPENDING

and

DEVELOPMENT AID

OR

THE STORY OF

“THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM”

ADVOCACY PACKAGE

By Jana Panáková

Pax Christi International intern

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“A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defence than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.”

Martin Luther King, Jr.¹

¹ M. L. King, Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?, 1967, MLK online, <http://www.mlkonline.net/quotes.html>



INTRODUCTION

‘The Elephant in the Room’ is an English idiom for an obvious truth that is being ignored or goes unaddressed. It is based on the idea that an elephant in a room would be impossible to overlook; and the people who pretend the elephant is not there, by concerning themselves with relatively small and even irrelevant matters, compared to the looming big one. It refers to a question, problem, solution, or controversial issue that is – in spite of being obvious – ignored by a group of people, generally out of embarrassment or taboo. The idiom can imply a judgment that the issue ought to be discussed openly, or it can simply be an acknowledgment that the issue is there and not going to go away by itself.²

In 2000, the United Nations decided to tackle the world's most burning development challenges and set a number of goals to be achieved by 2015, including: eradicating hunger and poverty, achieving universal primary education, combating malaria and HIV/AIDS and others. Though a progress has been made, it is clear today that these goals will not be achieved, at least not within the set time frame, partly due to lack of resources. Efforts have been made, conferences have taken place, organisations have been set up, and policy papers have been written, all with an aim to find new innovative sources to finance development. However, the largest and most obvious source of financial resources –the elephant in the room³ –continues to be ignored: military spending.

Pax Christi International offers this advocacy package, consisting of six chapters and two annexes. The first chapter gives a short overview about the world we live in. The numbers

² Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elephant_in_the_room

³ The inspiration for ‘the elephant in the room’ came from a paper by N. Winter, Military Spending and Finance for Development, International Peace Bureau, 2008, available online: http://www.ipb.org/i/pdf-files/Mil_Spend-and-Fin_ForDevlpt-Nicola.pdf



here may be discouraging, but they help to understand why the United Nations adopted in 2000 the Millennium Declaration and set the Millennium Development Goals. This declaration and the development goals are the subject of chapter two, together with estimates of their costs and how they are proposed to be financed. Official development assistance, 0.7% target, Monterrey consensus and innovative sources for development are defined here and put into a context. Chapter three focuses on military expenditure. The following chapter brings the themes of development and military spending together and thus revives the concept of 'the elephant in the room'. Next to the surprising numbers you will find here examples of the UN involvement in the issue of disarmament and development and some interesting initiatives of non-governmental organisations. The answer on the most crucial question 'What you can do to make the elephant in the room more visible' is answered in chapter five that offers some concrete tips for campaigning and advocacy. A list of interesting website follows, together with two annexes.



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1. WHAT WORLD DO WE LIVE IN?

We live in a world where **1.02 billion people suffer from hunger.**


That means 1 in nearly 6 people do not get enough food to be healthy and lead an active life. Hunger and malnutrition are, in fact, the number one risk to the health worldwide — greater than AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis combined. For the past fifteen years, the number of chronically hungry people in developing countries has been rising at a rate of almost four million per year. All this is happening in spite of the fact that there is enough food in the world for everyone to have the nourishment necessary for a healthy and productive life.⁴

We live in a world where **9.2 million children died before age 5 in 2007.**

That means more than 25,000 children died each and every day, almost entirely due to preventable causes. Africa and Asia together accounted for 92% of these deaths. Half of these deaths occurred in Africa, which continues to have the lowest survival rate below the age of five.⁵

⁴ United Nations World Food Programme, available online: <http://www.wfp.org/hunger>

⁵ The State of the World's Children 2009 – Maternal and Newborn Health, UNICEF, 2009, available online: <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/docs/SOWC09-FullReport-EN.pdf>



We live in a world where about **776 million** adults **lack basic literacy skills**.

This counts for 16% of the world's adult population. Two-thirds of this are women.⁶

We live in a world where around **seventy five million children** were **out of school** in 2006.

Almost half of these children live in sub-Saharan Africa. According to the current trends, millions of children will still be out of school in 2015.⁷

We live in a world where almost **1 million people** **die every year** of **malaria disease**.

3.3 billion people – half of the world's population - are at risk of malaria. Every year, this leads to about 250 million malaria cases and nearly one million deaths. A child dies of malaria every 30 seconds. All of this in spite of the fact that this disease is preventable and curable.⁸

⁶ Overcoming inequality: why governance matters (Summary), Education for All Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, 2009, available online:


<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001776/177609e.pdf>

⁷ Overcoming inequality: why governance matters (Summary), Education for All Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, 2009, available online:

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001776/177609e.pdf>

⁸ 10 facts on malaria, World Health Organisation, 2009, available online:

<http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/malaria/en/index.html>



We live in a world where **1.1 billion people** has no access to safe drinking water and about **2.6 billion people** – half the developing world – lack even a simple latrine.

As a result 1.6 million people die every year from diarrhoeal diseases (including cholera). 90% of these are children under the age of five.⁹ In some parts of Africa, women and children spend eight hours a day just collecting drinking water as the source of clean water may be kilometres away from their home.¹⁰

We live in a world where more than **900 million people** live in slums.

That means 1 of every 3 people living in cities and towns and 1 of every 6 people worldwide live in slums. Most of these people live under life- and health-threatening conditions, lacking access to clean water, sanitation facilities and sufficient living space.¹¹ This number is likely to double in the next twenty years – to about 20 billion in 2030.¹²

⁹ Health through safe drinking water and basic sanitation, World Health organisation, 2009, available online: http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/mdg1/en/index.html


¹⁰ Women and Water Resources, UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, available online: <http://www.fao.org/FOCUS/E/Women/Water-e.htm>

¹¹ UN Millennium Development Project, Task Force on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers, report *A home in the city*, 2005, available online:

<http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/Slumdweller-complete.pdf>

¹² Slum Dwellers to double by 2030: Millennium Development Goal Could Fall Short, UN Habitat, 2007, available online:

http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/4631_46759_GC%2021%20Slum%20dwellers%20to%20double.pdf



We live in a world where the **developing world paid \$13 in debt repayment for every \$1 it received** in grants in 1998

Where **for every \$1 in aid a developing country receives, over \$25 is spent on debt repayment** in 2007.

Total debt of the world's poorest countries has risen from \$25 billion in 1970 to \$523 billion in 2002. Over the past thirty years, these countries have paid back \$550 billion (paying back the total loan of \$540 billion) sacrificing both the health and the education of their people, and yet there is still a \$523 billion debt burden, due to the interest rate.

We live in a world where about **thirty three million people were living with HIV** in 2007.

That same year, some 2.7 million people became newly infected – that counts for almost 7,400 people per day – and 2.0 million died of AIDS, including 270,000 children. Only about one third of the infected people receive the antiretroviral treatment^{13,14} HIV/AIDS has already caused the death of more than 32 million people worldwide. As of 2003, approximately 15 million children had lost one or both parents due to HIV/AIDS. By 2010, this number is expected to increase to 25 million.¹⁵

¹³ **Antiretroviral treatment** consists of drugs that have to be taken every day for the rest of a person's life. The aim of such treatment is to keep the amount of HIV in the body at a low level. This stops any weakening of the immune system and allows it to recover from any damage that HIV might have caused already.

AVERT, Introduction to HIV and AIDS treatment, available online: <http://www.avert.org/treatment.htm>

¹⁴ Global facts and Figures, *Report on the global AIDS epidemic 2008*, UNAIDS, 2008, available online: http://data.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2008/20080715_fs_global_en.pdf

¹⁵ HIV/AIDS Frequently Asked Questions, USAID, available online: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_health/aids/News/aidsfaq.html



We live in a world where... NOW ADD SOMETHING
THAT WORRIES YOU IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY, IN
YOUR CITY OR QUARTER.



CHAPTER 1:

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION & DISCUSSION

Were you familiar with these numbers before?

Do these numbers surprise you?

How do you think it is possible that more than one billion people suffer from hunger while there is enough food in the world for everyone?

What do you think about the section which discusses the debt of the developing countries?

Are any of these statements relevant to you, your city and/or your country?



2. MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

2.1 WHAT ARE THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS?

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight goals to be achieved by 2015 that respond to the world's main development challenges. The MDGs are drawn from the actions and targets contained in the **Millennium Declaration** that was adopted by 189 nations and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the **UN Millennium Summit** in September 2000.

The 8 MDGs break down into 21 targets that are measured by 60 indicators.

TABLE 1: MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS¹⁶

GOALS		TARGETS
GOAL 1	Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.	TARGET 1: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day.
		TARGET 2: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.
GOAL 2	Achieve universal primary education.	TARGET 3: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.
GOAL 3	Promote gender equality and empower women.	TARGET 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.
GOAL 4	Reduce child mortality.	TARGET 5: Reduce by 2/3, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate.
GOAL 5	Improve maternal health.	TARGET 6: Reduce by 3/4 the maternal mortality ratio.
GOAL 6	Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.	TARGET 7: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS.
		TARGET 8: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases.

¹⁶ Goals, targets and indicators, UN Millennium Development Project, available online: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/gti.htm#goal1>



<p>GOAL 7</p>	<p>Ensure environmental sustainability.</p>	<p>TARGET 9: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources.</p>
		<p>TARGET 10: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.</p>
		<p>TARGET 11: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.</p>
<p>GOAL 8</p>	<p>Develop a Global Partnership for Development.</p>	<p>TARGET 12: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system.</p>
		<p>TARGET 13: Address the special needs of the Least Developed Countries.</p>
		<p>TARGET 14: Address the special needs of landlocked developing countries and small island developing states.</p>
		<p>TARGET 15: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term.</p>
		<p>TARGET 16: In cooperation with developing countries,</p>



	<p>Develop a Global Partnership for Development.</p>	<p>develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth.</p>
		<p>TARGET 17: In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries.</p>
		<p>TARGET 18: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications technology.</p>



2.2 HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS BY 2015?

Overall costs

In 2002, the World Bank estimated that reaching the MDGs by 2015 would require between **\$40 and 60 billion** of additional foreign aid **a year**.¹⁷

The UN Millennium Project in its 2005 report *Investing in Development: a practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* projected that the cost of meeting the goals in all countries will amount to **\$189 billion** in 2015.¹⁸

Costs of each goal

To break this number into the cost of the respective goals, various experts offer following estimations:

GOAL 1: ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY AND HUNGER

World Bank (2002): To halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day would cost \$39-54 billion of additional aid per year, depending on whether the developing countries without sufficient policies and institution necessary to benefit from additional aid will improve this obstacle.¹⁹

¹⁷ S. Devarajan, M. J. Miller, E. V. Swanson: Goals for Development, History, Prospects and Costs, World Bank, 2002, available online: <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/mdgassessment.pdf>

¹⁸ Investing in Development: a practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals, UN Millennium Project, 2005, available online: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/overviewEngLowRes.pdf>

¹⁹ S. Devarajan, M. J. Miller, E. V. Swanson: Goals for Development, History, Prospects and Costs, World Bank, 2002, available online: <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/mdgassessment.pdf>



GOAL 2: ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

World Bank (2002): The **annual** cost of achieving a universal primary education would be **\$10-30 billion**.²⁰

GOAL 4: REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY

GOAL 5: IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH

GOAL 6: COMBAT HIV/AIDS, MALARIA AND OTHER DISEASES

World Bank (2002): To achieve all health related goals would cost **\$20-25 billion per year**.²¹

World Bank (2009): To end malaria deaths worldwide would cost **\$3 billion per year**.²²

Nothing But Nets Campaign: Purchasing, delivering and explaining the use of one mosquito net – the simplest malaria prevention – to one family (4 persons can sleep under such net) cost **\$10**.²³

GOAL 7: ENSURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

World Bank (2002): Cost of reaching the environmental goals is **\$5-21 billion**.²⁴

²⁰ S. Devarajan, M. J. Miller, E. V. Swanson: Goals for Development, History, Prospects and Costs, World Bank, 2002, available online: <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/mdgassessment.pdf>

²¹ Ibid.

²² Malaria Prevention Program in Nigeria Aims at Universal Bed Net Coverage, World Bank, 2009, available online:

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/NIGERIAEXTN/0,,contentMDK:22178832~menuPK:368902~pagePK:2865066~piPK:2865079~theSitePK:368896,00.html>

²³ Nets save lives, available online: <http://www.nothingbutnets.net/nets-save-lives/>

²⁴ S. Devarajan, M. J. Miller, E. V. Swanson: Goals for Development, History, Prospects and Costs, World Bank, 2002, available online: <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/mdgassessment.pdf>



TARGET 10:

World Health Organisation (2004) estimates that:

To halve the proportion of people without access to safe water resources by 2015 would cost **\$1.78 billion** per year.

If we add access to sanitation facilities, it would rise to **\$11.3 billion** per year, since the sanitation improvements are considerably more expensive than water improvements.

To reach the entire unserved population with water supply and sanitation, **\$22.6 billion** would need to be invested annually.²⁵

Report Asia Water Watch (2005): **\$8 billion** per year would be enough to halve the proportion of people in Asia Pacific without sustainable access to clean water and improved sanitation. To offer such facilities to the whole Asian and Pacific region, **\$16 billion** would need to be spent annually.²⁶

TARGET 11:

UN Millennium Development Project – Task Force report *Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers* (2005): Upgrading slums and providing alternatives to the formation of new slums would require about **\$293.5 billion** over the period 2005–2020. An investment of just **\$440 per person** could markedly improve the lives of 670 million current and potential future slum dwellers.²⁷

²⁵ G. Hutton, L. Haller: Evaluation of the Costs and Benefits of Water and Sanitation Improvements at the Global Level, World Health Organisation, 2004, available online: http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/wsh0404.pdf

²⁶ Asia Water Watch 2015: Are countries in Asia on track to meet Target 10 of the Millennium Development Goals?, Chapter 4, available online: <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Books/Asia-Water-Watch/chap04.pdf>

²⁷ UN Millennium Development Project, Task Force on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers, report *A home in the city*, 2005, available online: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/Slumdwellers-complete.pdf>



So, if put in one table:

TABLE 2: COSTS OF ACHIEVING MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

GOALS / TARGETS	PRICE
Halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day.	\$ 39 – 54 billion / year
Achieve universal primary education.	\$ 10 – 30 billion / year
Reduce child mortality. Improve maternal health. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.	\$ 20 – 25 billion / year
End malaria deaths worldwide.	\$ 3 billion / year
Mosquito net for one family	\$ 10
Halve the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.	\$ 11.3 billion / year
To achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020.	\$ 293.5 billion



2.3 HOW TO FIND MONEY TO FINANCE THESE GOALS?

2.3.1 OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

What is it?

Official Development Assistance (ODA) is defined in OECD glossary of statistical terms²⁸ as: *Those flows to developing countries and multilateral institutions provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, where each transaction meets the following criteria:*

It is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective; AND

It is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 per cent.

In other words, ODA is basically an **aid** that fulfils following **criteria**:

It is from the governments of the wealthy nations, but does not include private contributions or private capital flows and investments.

Its main objective is to promote development.

If it has a form of a loan, the grant element has to be minimum 25%.

²⁸ Available online: <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6043>



The definition of ODA has however been **widened** to include debt reduction, financing the education of foreign students and some expenses incurred in hosting refugees.²⁹

ODA & Millennium Development Goals

After the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, it was clear and on several occasions broadly recognised that without a substantial increase in ODA, the Millennium Development Goals will not be achieved.

Aid flows climbed steadily from 1997, reaching a peak of **\$107 billion** in **2005**³⁰, boosted by exceptional debt relief in that year. In the same year on two occasions – at UN World Summit³¹ and at the G8 summit at Gleneagles in Scotland³² – participating countries made a strong and unambiguous **commitment to increase ODA** to all developing countries by an extra **\$50 billion per year by 2010** (thus increasing aid from \$80 billion in 2004 to \$130 billion in 2010). This commitment was reaffirmed during the G8 summits in Heiligendamm in 2007 and Hokkaido in 2008³³.

However, **after 2005** ODA to the developing countries **dropped** by 4.7% in 2006 and further by 8.4% in 2007³⁴. With debt relief grants unlikely to return to 2005 level, *MDG 2008 report*³⁵ warns that ODA will need to increase rapidly over the next years if developed countries are to meet their commitments for 2010.

²⁹ Official Development Assistance should increase and be better spent, CIDSE, available online: http://www.cidse.org/Area_of_work/Aid/?id=311

³⁰ The Millennium Development Goals Report 2008, United Nations, available online: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/The%20Millennium%20Development%20Goals%20Report%202008.pdf>

³¹ UN World Summit 2005 – Fact sheet, available online: http://www.un.org/summit2005/presskit/fact_sheet.pdf

³² Where are the gaps? Delivering on the Global Partnership for Achieving the Millennium Development Goals, report of the MDG Gap task Force, 2008, available online: http://www.un.org/esa/policy/mdggap/mdggap_factsheet%20.pdf

³³ MDG Gap Task Force Report 2008, United Nations, available online: http://www.un.org/esa/policy/mdggap/mdg8report_engw.pdf

³⁴ The Millennium Development Goals Report 2008, United Nations, available online: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/The%20Millennium%20Development%20Goals%20Report%202008.pdf>

³⁵ Ibid.



The *MDG Gap Task Force* estimates that the **gap** was **\$31.4 billion** in 2007 and recommends the donor countries to increase their aid flows by \$18 billion each year between 2008 and 2010 in order to reach their 2005 commitment by 2010.³⁶

The 2005 commitments to increase aid flows to the developing world are however relatively recent ones, at least compared to the so called **0.7% target** – by 2015 this target will reach 45 years.

2.3.2 0.7 % TARGET

What is it?

'0.7% target' refers to the repeated commitment of the world's governments to commit 0.7% of developed countries Gross National Income (GNI³⁷) to the Official Development Assistance (ODA).

³⁶ Where are the gaps? Delivering on the Global Partnership for Achieving the Millennium Development Goals, report of the MDG Gap task Force, 2008, available online:

http://www.un.org/esa/policy/mdggap/mdggap_factsheet%20.pdf

³⁷ **Gross National Product/Gross National Income (GNP/GNI)** = value of all goods and services produced in a country in one year, plus income earned by its citizens abroad, minus income earned by foreigners in the country

Differs from: **Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** = value of all final goods and services produced in a country in one year

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Measures_of_national_income_and_output



In which documents can you find it?

It was first pledged almost forty years ago in **Resolution 2626** of the **United Nations General Assembly**:

“In recognition of the special importance of the role which can be fulfilled only by official development assistance, a major part of financial resource transfers to the developing countries should be provided in the form of official development assistance. Each economically advanced country will progressively increase its official development assistance to the developing countries and will exert its best efforts to reach a minimum net amount of 0.7 percent of its gross national product at market prices by the middle of the decade.”³⁸

The deadline for reaching this target was thus mid-1970s and it has yet to be reached.

This commitment has been reaffirmed in a number of international agreements over the years. More recent ones include, the **Monterrey Consensus** of 2002 UN International Conference on Financing for Development taking place in Monterrey, Mexico³⁹ and the **Doha Declaration** of 2008 Monterrey follow-up conference taking place in Doha, Qatar⁴⁰

³⁸ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2626, adopted on 24 October 1970, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/348/91/IMG/NR034891.pdf?OpenElement>

³⁹ Paragraph 42: “We urge developed countries that have not done so to make concrete efforts towards the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product (GNP) as ODA to developing countries”, http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/Monterrey_Consensus.htm

⁴⁰ Paragraph 43: “The fulfillment of all ODA commitments is crucial, including the commitments by many developed countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA to developing countries by 2015 and to reach the level of at least 0.5 per cent of GNP for ODA by 2010 [...] we urge those developed countries that have not yet done so to make additional concrete efforts towards the target of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA to developing countries.”, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/LTD/N08/630/55/PDF/N0863055.pdf?OpenElement>



European Union

In 2002, the so called '**Barcelona commitments**' member states of the European Union agreed to increase the average Official Development Assistance (ODA) from the EU from 0.33% in 2002 to **0.39% by 2006** as a step towards the 0.7% target.⁴¹

In 2005, during the **G8 summit** in Gleneagles, Scotland, all G8 members from the EU committed themselves to a collective foreign aid target of **0.56% by 2010**, and **0.7% by 2015**⁴². The very same year EU member states agreed on the following timetable for achieving the 0.7 % target:⁴³

TABLE 3: EU timetable for achieving 0.7% target

	by 2010	by 2015
EU 15 (EU member states by 2002)	0.51%	0.7%
EU 10 (member states who joined after 2002)	0.17%	0.33%
EU 25	0.56%	

0.7% target & Millennium Development Goals

According to the 2001 report of the **United Nations High-Level Panel on Financing for Development**, with the current level of the Official Development Assistance (ODA)⁴⁴ the international community could fail to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by

⁴¹ Translating the Monterrey Consensus into practice, Summaries of EU legislation, 2008, available online: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/development/general_development_framework/r12527_en.htm

⁴² 31st G8 summit, Wikipedia, available online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/31st_G8_summit

⁴³ Accelerating progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals, Council of the European Union, External Relations Council, 2005, available online:

<http://www.eu2005.lu/en/actualites/conseil/2005/05/23cagre/milldego.pdf>

⁴⁴ The panel took into consideration the level of ODA in 1999.



2015 as a result of **annual shortage of \$50 billion**⁴⁵. However if the donor countries⁴⁶ actually delivered ODA according to the 0.7% target, aid would increase by about US\$100 billion per year. With this amount available for international development cooperation, it would be possible to pay for global public goods, to provide sufficient humanitarian relief, and to achieve the MDGs.⁴⁷

Five years later, the UN Millennium Project's analysis from 2006 re-affirmed that **0.7% of the rich world GNI could provide enough resources to meet MDGs**, but developed countries must stick to their commitments and begin increasing ODA volumes immediately. If every developed country set and followed a timetable to reach 0.7% by 2015, the world could make dramatic progress in the fight against poverty and start on a path to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and end extreme poverty within a generation.⁴⁸

What is the reality?

In spite of the reaffirmed commitments on the paper, by **2008 only 5 countries in the world have met or surpassed the 0.7% target:**

Sweden (0.98%)
Luxembourg (0.92%)
Norway (0.88%)
Denmark (0.82%)
Netherlands (0.80%).⁴⁹

The **average** ODA percent of the twenty-two most developed countries is only **0.47%** of their gross national income (GNI) and **0.28 %** of their combined national income (in 2007)⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ Finances for Development Panel calls for better economic governance, United national Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 2001, available online:

<http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/documents/text/roundup/78ffdpanel.htm>

⁴⁶ In this case 'donor countries' refers to so called '**DAC members**' - countries that are members of the Developments Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

⁴⁷ Report of the High-Level Panel on Financing for Development – Recommendations, 2001, available online:

<http://www.un.org/reports/financing/recommendations.htm#development>

⁴⁸ The 0.7% target: An in-depth look, UN Millennium Project, available online:

<http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/press/07.htm>

⁴⁹ OECD statistical data, available online: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/42/42472714.pdf>



Comparing countries' generosity

To show the amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA) as a percentage of the GNI is also helpful when **comparing countries' generosity regarding development aid**. Following two graphs help us to understand that looking exclusively on the amount of the granted aid can be misleading. According to the first graph (TABLE 4), the **five countries with the highest ODA** are:

United States

Germany

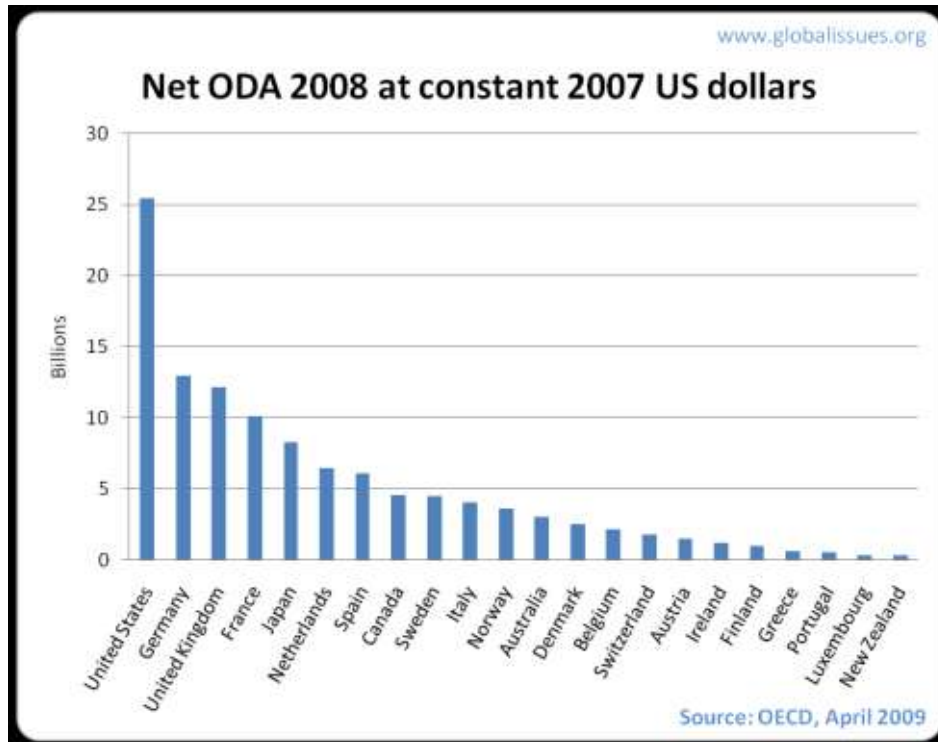
United Kingdom

France

Japan

⁵⁰ The Millennium Development Goals Report 2008, United Nations, available online:
<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/The%20Millennium%20Development%20Goals%20Report%202008.pdf>

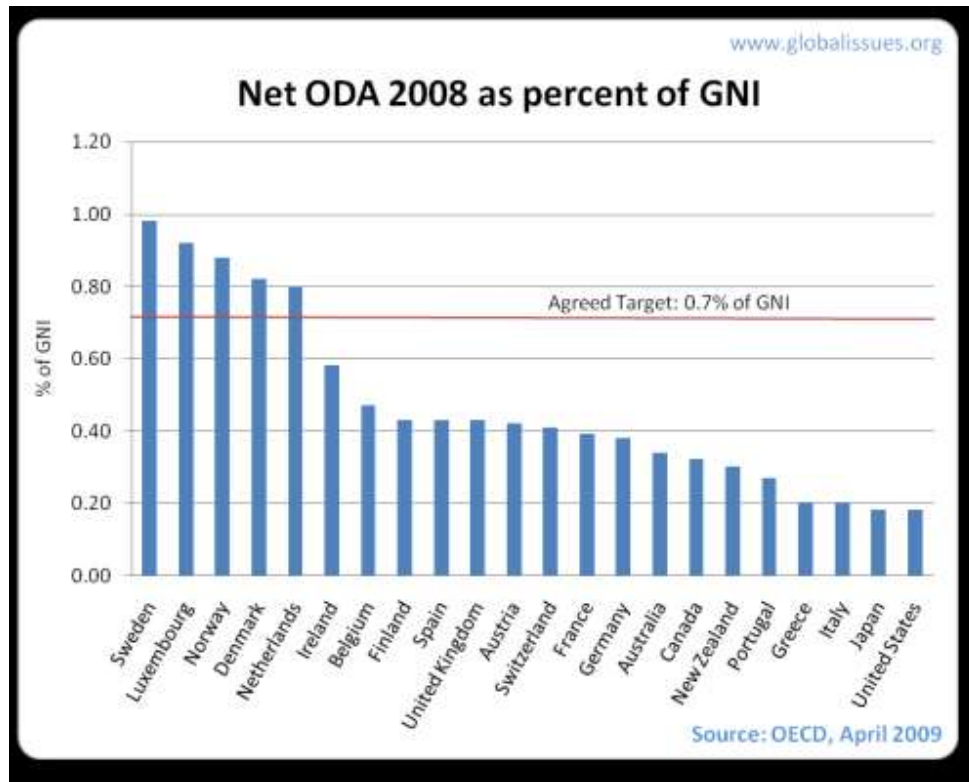
TABLE 4: ODA in 2008⁵¹



The second graph (TABLE 5) however indicates that **none of these countries** have actually **reached the 0.7% target**. Their ODA as a percentage of their GNI varies between 0.43% (United Kingdom) and 0.18% (United States).

⁵¹ OECD statistical data, available online: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/42/42472714.pdf>

TABLE 5: ODA in 2008 as a percentage of GNI⁵²



It is also interesting to note that – as further indicated in Chapter 3 – **each of these 5 charitable countries also falls in the group of 7 countries with the world’s highest military expenditure**. For comparison of how much of their GNI these countries spend on development and how much on military please consult TABLE 9 in chapter four.

As the developed countries’ long-term failure to fulfil their commitments towards the developing world has seriously endangered the possibility of achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, the idea to look for new sources to finance development has arisen.

⁵² OECD statistical data, available online: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/42/42472714.pdf>



2.3.3 INNOVATIVE SOURCES FOR FINANCING DEVELOPMENT

What is it?

The **Innovative Development Financing Mechanism (IDFM)** is a mechanism for raising funds for financing development, complementary to the Official Development Assistance (ODA). It is said that IDFMs are stable, predictable and sustainable, unlike the ODA which – as subject to the inevitable changes due to domestic political and fiscal constraints – is extremely unpredictable. More than **\$1.7 billion** have already been raised through existing IDFMs (see TABLE 6).

Already in 2000, the **UN** General Assembly adopted a **resolution** in which the world countries committed themselves to: *‘Promote, through international action, the mobilization of new and additional resources for social development, inter alia, by [...] conducting a rigorous analysis of advantages, disadvantages and other implications of proposals for developing new and innovative sources of funding, both public and private, for dedication to social development and poverty eradication programmes.’⁵³*

In other words, the UN authorised a study into innovative sources for development. Such study has been carried out by the *UN University – World Institute for Development and Economic Research* and its result published in 2004. TABLE 6 below offers a summary of its findings.

⁵³ 142 g), Resolution adopted by General Assembly: Further Initiatives for Social Development, 2000, available online: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/665/16/PDF/N0066516.pdf?OpenElement>

TABLE 6: INNOVATIVE SOURCES OF DEVELOPMENT FINANCING ⁵⁴

Innovative source of development funding	What is it about?	How much could be raised? Additional positive effects?	What are the problems?
Global environmental taxes (for example Carbon Tax)	Tax on consumption of goods that damage the environment, for example carbon dioxide (CO ₂). Carbon Tax would charge businesses & individuals for the consumption of the fossil fuels at rates that reflect the contributions of these fuels to CO ₂ emissions. 'Make polluters pay' principle.	Tax on high-income countries alone could raise \$50 billion per year. Positive effects on environment.	It requires an agreement of high-income countries on the uniform rate. Considerable administrative costs.
Airline ticket tax EXISTS ALREADY	Launched in 2006. The tax is applied to all flights departing from countries that impose it (supported currently by 29 countries) and is paid by passengers when purchasing their tickets, normally as an addition to existing airport taxes. Funds go to UNITAID for projects on HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis treatment.	\$300 million per year.	
Currency Transaction Tax	Tax on foreign currency transactions. Originally proposed to limit speculations with foreign currency.	\$15 - \$28 billion a year. Reduces	It requires worldwide agreement on the uniform rate.

⁵⁴ Information in this table are from the following sources:

A. B. Atkinson, *New Sources of Development Finance*, Oxford University Press, 2004, available online: http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/policy-briefs/en_GB/pb10/
 Leading Group on Innovative Financing for Development, <http://www.leadinggroup.org/rubrique20.html>
 International Finance Facility for Immunisation, <http://www.iff-immunisation.org/>
 UNITAID, <http://www.unitaid.eu/en/>
 Advance Market Commitments for vaccines: <http://www.vaccineamc.org/>



(so called Tobin tax)		currency speculations.	Considerable administrative costs.
Special Drawing Rights for development (SDR)	The SDR is an international reserve asset, created by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1969 to supplement the existing official reserves of member countries. Its value is based on a basket of key international currencies. Donor countries would make their SDR allocation available to fund development.	Allocation of \$25 - \$30 billion could make a significant contribution.	Has to be ratified by 100 IMF members with 85% voting power. Its impact on the world economy is not clear.
International Finance Facility (IFF)	2003 initiative of the United Kingdom. Bonds would be issued on global capital markets, against the security of government guarantees to maintain future aid flows, which would be used to buy back the bonds over a longer period (after 2015). This would allow a large amount of aid to flow soon – to make a fast progress on meeting MDGs by 2015 – at the expense of less aid in the future.	Up to \$50 billion a year between 2010 and 2015. Ensures predictable and stable flow of aid.	The poorest countries might not be able to efficiently spend such large amounts of aid (whilst avoiding corruption) and their economies may not be able to cope with such rapid change either.



<p>EXISTS ALREADY</p>	<p>The first try of IFF is IFF for Immunisation (IFFIM) launched in 2006 and joined by France, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden and South Africa.</p>	<p>IFFIM guarantees that close to €4 billion will be raised over 20 years to undertake immunisation projects.</p>	
<p>Advanced Market Commitments</p> <p>EXISTS ALREADY</p>	<p>Partnership between donors and pharmaceutical companies. Aims to ensure research on neglected diseases and once research is completed the distribution of medicines on the market at affordable prices for recipient countries.</p>		
	<p>The AMC pilot project is targeted against pneumococcal disease.</p>	<p>\$1.5 billion have been put up under the projects on pneumococcal vaccines.</p>	
<p>Increased private donations</p>	<p>Measures to encourage private funding: tax incentives, global funds, corporate giving, internet giving.</p>	<p>Present flows are relatively small when compared with the total amount of funds needed.</p>	<p>Individual action, though possibly stimulated by a national government by income tax deduction.</p>



<p>Increased remittances from emigrants</p>	<p><i>Remittance</i> is a transfer of money by a foreign worker to his home country.</p> <p>Very important financial flows for developing countries, sometimes even exceeding the amount of official development assistance.</p> <p>To increase its scale the costs of sending money should be reduced, bank services should be simplified and tailored to these sorts of operations.</p>	<p>\$283 billion in 2008.</p>	<p>Link to the development is uncertain.</p> <p>May run into money laundering.</p>
<p>Global lottery</p>	<p>Global lottery game, part of the net proceeds being transferred into a global lottery fund to be run by the UN or another agency.</p>	<p>Hard to estimate, about \$6 billion a year.</p>	<p>Competition with national lotteries, difficult due to reduction of the size of the prizes.</p>

As the authors of the *World Institute for Development and Economic Research* study acknowledge, the list of the innovative sources for development is far from being exhaustive. As other ‘candidates’ for sources for development funding they mention brain drain tax, taxation of ocean fishing, internet tax, taxation of arms exports etc.⁵⁵ Yet what they do not mention is that **there is another innovative source** whose annual potential is about:

30 times bigger than the potential of the global environmental tax,

70 times more than the potential of the Tobin tax

244 times more than the potential of the global lottery

This source is the world’s **military spending**.

⁵⁵ A. B. Atkinson, *New Sources of Development Finance*, Oxford University Press, 2004, available online: http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/policy-briefs/en_GB/pb10/



CHAPTER 2:

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION & DISCUSSION

Have you heard about the Millennium Development Goals before?

Do you believe these goals really address the most urgent problems in the world or something has been left out?

Which of these goals is relevant to you, your city and country you live in?

Do you think these goals are realistic?

Does your country provide or receive development aid?

If your country provides the development aid, do you know how much is it and to which countries it goes? Has your country reached the 0.7% target?

If your country received development aid, do you know how much is it and from which countries it comes? Are there any conditions bound to this aid? Do you know for what exactly is this aid used?

Why do you think, only few countries have reached the 0.7% target?

If your country is one of the G8 countries, has it fulfilled the commitments given in 2005?

What do you think about the innovative sources for financing development?

What can you do concerning this issue?



3. MILITARY SPENDING

3.1 HOW TO DEFINE 'MILITARY SPENDING'?

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI⁵⁶) defines military expenditure as⁵⁷:

All the expenditure on:

- armed forces, including peace keeping forces
- defence ministries and other government agencies engaged in defence projects
- paramilitary forces when judged to be trained, equipped and available for military operations
- military space activities

Such expenditures should include⁵⁸:

- personnel (current personnel, military and civil, retirement pensions of military personnel, social services for personnel and their families)
- operations and maintenance
- procurement⁵⁹


⁵⁶ SIPRI is an independent research institute focusing on international security, arms control, and disarmament, established in 1966. In 1967 it has initiated a **Military Expenditure Project** with a purpose to monitor, describe and analyse trends and developments in military expenditure worldwide. Its military expenditure database covers 173 countries and includes data since 1988.

⁵⁷ The SIPRI definition of military expenditure, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute available online: http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/resultoutput/sources_methods/definitions

⁵⁸ What is however **excluded from military expenditure** is:

civil defence
current expenditure for previous military activities
veterans benefits
demobilization
conversion of arms production facilities
destruction of weapons

⁵⁹ **Procurement** can be defined as the complete action or process of acquiring or obtaining personnel, materiel, services, or property from outside a military service [...] More specifically, the action or process of acquiring or obtaining materiel, property, or services at the operational level, for example, purchasing, contracting, and negotiating directly with the source of supply. <http://www.answers.com/topic/procurement>

- 
- military research and development
 - military construction
 - military aid

3.2 HOW MUCH MONEY GOES ON THE MILITARY?

World total

World military expenditure is estimated to have been **\$1464 billion** in 2008. That is 4% higher than in the previous year and it has risen by 45% since 1999. \$1464 billion corresponds to 2.4% of world gross domestic product (GDP⁶⁰) and **\$217 for every person in the world** (compared to \$202 in 2007).⁶¹

Fifteen major spender countries

The fifteen countries with the highest military spending are listed in the TABLE 7 below. The five major spender countries are the **USA, China, France, UK and Russia**. They account for **60%** of the world military spending, while the **top fifteen** spenders together account for **81%**.

United States

The **United States** alone, with \$607 billion spent on military purposes in 2008, accounts for **41.5 %** of the world military budget.⁶² It is seven times more than China and ten times more

⁶⁰ For the definition of Gross Domestic Product, please see reference n. 25.

⁶¹ SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Chapter 5: Military Expenditure, available online: <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2009/files/SIPRIYB0905.pdf>

⁶² SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Chapter 5: Military Expenditure, available online: <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2009/files/SIPRIYB0905.pdf>

than Russia. It is more than combined budgets of the next fourteen ranking countries. Every US citizen pays 29% of their income tax purely for the military.⁶³

TABLE 7: 15 COUNTRIES WITH HIGHEST MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN 2008⁶⁴

The 15 major spender countries in 2008

The 15 countries with the highest military expenditure in 2008

Spending figures are in US\$, at current prices and market exchange rates.

Rank	Country	Spending (\$ b.)	World share (%)	Spending per capita (\$)	Share of GDP, 2007 (%) ^a	Change, 1999–2008 (%)
1	USA	607	41.5	1967	4.0	66.5
2	China	[84.9]	[5.8]	[63]	[2.0]	194
3	France	65.7	4.5	1061	2.3	3.5
4	UK	65.3	4.5	1070	2.4	20.7
5	Russia	[58.6]	[4.0]	[413]	[3.5]	173
Sub-total top 5		882	60			
6	Germany	46.8	3.2	568	1.3	-11.0
7	Japan	46.3	3.2	361	0.9	-1.7
8	Italy	40.6	2.8	689	1.8	0.4
9	Saudi Arabia ^b	38.2	2.6	1511	9.3	81.5
10	India	30.0	2.1	25	2.5	44.1
Sub-total top 10		1 084	74			
11	South Korea	24.2	1.7	501	2.7	51.5
12	Brazil	23.3	1.6	120	1.5	29.9
13	Canada	19.3	1.3	581	1.2	37.4
14	Spain	19.2	1.3	430	1.2	37.7
15	Australia	18.4	1.3	876	1.9	38.6
Sub-total top 15		1 188	81			
World		1 464	100	217	2.4	44.7

[] = estimated figure; GDP = gross domestic product.

^a The figures for national military expenditure as a share of GDP are for 2007, the most recent year for which GDP data is available.

^b The figures for Saudi Arabia include expenditure for public order and safety and might be slight overestimates.

Source: *Military expenditure: SIPRI Yearbook 2008: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2008), Appendix 5A.

⁶³ Income Tax Chart – 2009, national Priorities Project, available online: <http://www.nationalpriorities.org/taxchart2009/100>

⁶⁴ SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Chapter 5: Military Expenditure, available online: <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2009/files/SIPRIYB0905.pdf>



During the eight-year presidency of George W. Bush, US military expenditure increased to the highest level in real terms since World War II, mainly due to rapidly rising budgets for the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, under the heading of the ‘global war on terrorism’. The ‘**global war on terrorism**’ resulted in total spending of an estimated **\$797 billion** during the period 2001–2008. The operations in **Iraq** were by far the most costly activity, accounting for **\$603 billion**, while the cost of the operations in **Afghanistan** and other countries amounted to **\$160 billion**.⁶⁵

Nuclear Weapons

In 1998, the Brookings Institute carried out an ‘atomic audit’ of the **US nuclear weapons programme from 1940 to 1996**. The estimated total costs are **\$5.5 trillion**, which still ‘*remains only a conservative estimate, a floor rather than a ceiling*’.⁶⁶ One can calculate from the Brookings Institute figures that the overall costs of 2005 amount to about **\$7 trillion**⁶⁷ as the United States – despite a diminishing ‘cold war need’ for nuclear deterrence – keep spending about **\$35 billion a year** to operate and maintain their nuclear forces.⁶⁸

Similar studies about the nuclear spending of the rest of the world are unfortunately lacking, but the International Peace Bureau estimates the **global annual total** is around **\$90 billion**.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ U.S. Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project, Brookings Institute, 1998, available online: <http://www.brookings.edu/projects/archive/nucweapons/weapons.aspx>

⁶⁷ Warfare or Welfare? Disarmament for Development in the 21st Century, International Peace Bureau, 2006

⁶⁸ U.S. Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project, Brookings Institute, 1998, available online: <http://www.brookings.edu/projects/archive/nucweapons/weapons.aspx>

⁶⁹ Press communiqué: International launch of new IPB publication: Nuclear Weapons: At What Cost?, International Peace Bureau, 2009, available online at www.ipb.org



3.3 HIDDEN MILITARY SPENDING

It is interesting to note, that the above mentioned numbers are in fact a **low estimate** and, according to SIPRI, the true level of military spending is certainly higher as some countries with significant military forces (such as North Korea or Qatar) are excluded from the total due to a complete absence of available data.⁷⁰

What's more, in many cases military activities are portrayed as 'peace operations' or 'public security' activities and military expenses are thus **hidden within a non-defence budget**. A good example could be the US nuclear programme costs of which can be largely found under the budget of the Department for Environment.⁷¹

3.4 UN MILITARY BUDGET TRANSPARENCY MECHANISM

What is it?

In **1980**, the UN introduced a system of standardized reporting of military expenditures – it means that all countries report in the same way about how much they spend on the military. The biggest disadvantage of this system is that it is purely **voluntary**, so it is on the state's good will whether it reports its military spending to the UN or not.

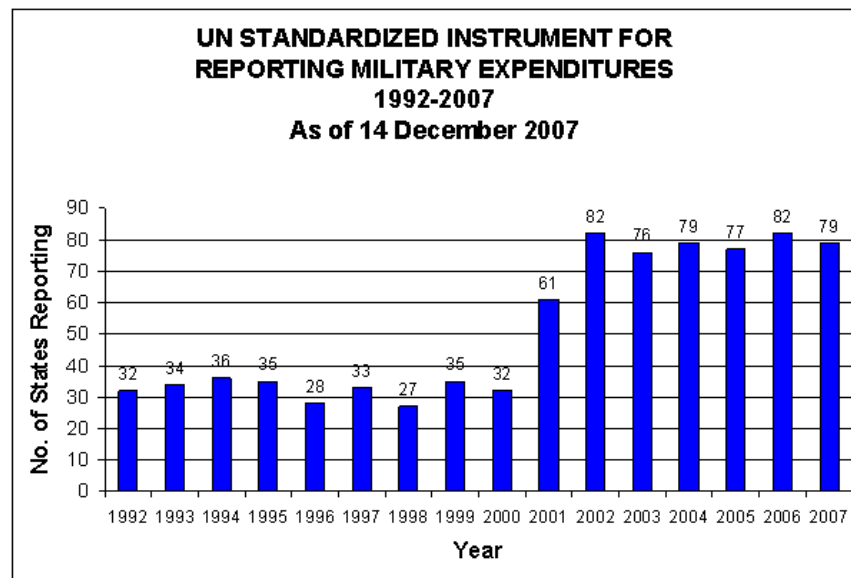
⁷⁰ SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Chapter 5: Military Expenditure, available online:
<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2009/files/SIPRIYB0905.pdf>

⁷¹ Warfare or Welfare? Disarmament for Development in the 21st Century, International Peace Bureau, 2006

How many countries report?

The number of countries participating has increased significantly in recent years: the highest number recorded so far was **eighty two** in 2002 and again in 2006, while the average level of participation during the 1980s and 1990s was fewer than thirty.

TABLE 8⁷²




⁷² Participation Graph, Standardized Instrument for Reporting Military Expenditures, 1992-2007, United Nations, available online:

<http://disarmament2.un.org/cab/milex.html#Participation%20Graph>⁷² SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Chapter 5: Military Expenditure, available online:

<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2009/files/SIPRIYB0905.pdf>

⁷² Participation Graph, Standardized Instrument for Reporting Military Expenditures, 1992-2007, United Nations, available online:

<http://disarmament2.un.org/cab/milex.html#Participation%20Graph>



3.5 FINANCIAL CRISIS – any impact on military spending?

Due to the global financial crisis, governments' budgets are generally coming under heavy pressure. But will the crisis have any impact on the military spending? According to SIPRI analyses, the current signs are somehow mixed and the **overall impact has yet to reveal itself**. What is though clear is that its effect is unlikely to be either universal or unambiguous. While some countries have announced military budget cuts, others have continued the increases of previous years.

The global **arms industry**, booming from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and from spending increases by many developing countries, has so far shown few signs of suffering from the crisis. One exception is Russia, where some arms companies have faced a severe cash crisis.⁷³

⁷³ Financial Crisis impact on military expenditure, arms production and arms trade, Background comment, SIPRI, 2009, available online: http://www.sipri.org/media/media/financial_crisis



CHAPTER 3:

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION & DISCUSSION

Did you know that such amounts of money go every year to military?

Does it surprise you?

Do you know how much your government spends on military?

Is this information available?

Do you think it is a lot / reasonable / not enough?

What percentage of your country's budget goes to the military? Search carefully in other parts of the budget as well, military spending may be well hidden!

What percentage of your country's gross national income is this?

In which part of the list of military spenders would your country be? Top 5? Top 15? Somewhere in the middle? Or maybe in the group of more modest countries?

How much does the government spend on schools, health and social programmes?

What is the ratio of these two?

If you should name the most urgent problem of your country, what it would be? How much money is spent on this?



Does your country possess nuclear weapons? If yes, are those weapons of your country or of the United States?

Do you know how much money has been spent on their construction / maintenance?

Is this information available?

Does your country report to the UN Military Budget Transparency Mechanism?

What was the impact the financial crisis had on your country? Has any of the military spending been cut down?



4. THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM

4.1 HUMAN SECURITY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Before putting in a contrast the resources that the world spends on the military with those spent on the development, it is first important to understand the **concept of human security**.

National Security

For centuries, *security* has been interpreted in a sense of a **national security**, thus as a defence of a state from an external aggression or as a protection of national interest in the foreign policy with an ultimate aim: survival of a nation-state. These goals are usually achieved through the use of military, economic and political power. The every day needs and legitimate concerns of ordinary people are subordinated to those of a state.

Human Security

In 1994, the **United Nations Development Programme** produced a **report**⁷⁴ that for the first time mentioned precisely those interests of people that have been so long forgotten. It argued that a security is not only security of a state – **national security** – but also, **human security** and it advocated a shift from security through armaments to security through a sustainable human development.

⁷⁴ Human Development Report, Chapter 2: New Dimensions of Human Security, United Nations Development Programme, 1994, available online:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security#UNDP.27s_1994_definition



‘Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons - it is a concern with human life and dignity.’

Human security **includes:**

- Economic security (basic income for individuals)
- Food security (physical and economic access to a basic food)
- Health security (protection from diseases)
- Environmental security (protection from threats in nature)
- Personal security (protection from physical violence)
- Community security (protection from sectarian and ethnic violence)
- Political security (protection of human rights)

What is **characteristic for human security** is that

- It is easier to be ensured through early **prevention** than later intervention – for example HIV/AIDS or malaria prevention
- It is **people-centred** – unlike national security human security focuses on protection individuals and communities, not state
- Its components are **interdependent** – that means that when the security of people is endangered somewhere in the world it is never an isolated event and in one way or another it will influence the rest of the world as well
- The range of **actors** is much wider – it is not state alone, but civil society, international governmental and non-governmental organisations

However, it is important to note that **human security and national security** are by no mean mutually exclusive. Quite on the contrary, they should be—and often are—**mutually reinforcing**. Without human security, national security cannot be attained and vice-versa.

4.2 MILITARY SPENDING and DEVELOPMENT

4.2.1 MILITARY SPENDING and COST OF MDGs

Chapter 2.2 'How much would it cost to achieve these goals by 2015?' quotes a World Bank report from 2002, where the estimate costs of achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 were counted **\$40 - \$60 billion** of an additional foreign aid **a year**. Compared with the world's yearly military expenditure this numbers seem quite modest. The **annual cost** of achieving the **Millennium Development Goals**:

Could be **easily paid** from the 2008 **military budget of any** of the **5 biggest military spenders**

Equals roughly **10%** of the **US military budget** in 2008 and is about **4%** of the **world military spending** in 2008

4.2.2 MILITARY SPENDING and DEVELOPMENT AID

While the good news is that in 2008 development aid is at its highest level ever - \$119.8 billion, it still represents only 0.30% of members' combined gross national income (GNI)⁷⁵ and it is still twelve times less than what the world spent on military the very same year.

⁷⁵ Development aid at its highest level in 2008, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, available online: http://www.oecd.org/document/35/0,3343,en_2649_34487_42458595_1_1_1_1,00.html



Chapter 2.3.2 about the **0.7% target** states that to look solely at the amount of the aid offered by the countries to the developing world may be misleading as **the most charitable countries** (United States, Germany, United Kingdom, France and Japan), who have not reached the 0.7% target, belong to the world's biggest military spenders

For comparison on **how much these countries actually spend on development compared to how much they spend on weapons**, see TABLE 9 below.

TABLE 9: Official Development Assistance (ODA) and military spending⁷⁶

	amount of ODA in \$ billions in 2008	ODA as GNI %	military expenditure in \$ billions in 2008	
United States	26.01 (1 st highest in the world)	0.18 % (= less than 0.7 %)	607 (1 st highest in the world)	4 %
Germany	13.91 (2 nd highest in the world)	0.38 % (= less than 0.7 %)	46.8 (6 th highest in the world)	1.3 %
United Kingdom	11.41 (3 rd highest in the world)	0.43 % (= less than 0.7 %)	65.3 (4 th highest in the world)	2.4 %
France	10.96 (4 th highest in the world)	0.39 % (= less than 0.7 %)	65.7 (3 rd highest in the world)	2.3 %
Japan	9.36 (5 th highest in the world)	0.18 % (= less than 0.7 %)	46.3 (7 th highest in the world)	0.9 %

⁷⁶ Numbers in this table are from:

SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Chapter 5: Military Expenditure, available online:

<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2009/files/SIPRIYB0905.pdf> AND

OECD statistical data, available online: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/42/42472714.pdf>



4.2.3 ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM?

Seeing these numbers, one can not but wonder why military expenditure has not been mentioned as a potential source for financing development? The data on how much countries spend on weapons every year is available, yet none of the United Nations reports on financing the Millennium Development Goals has ever mentioned the words ‘military spending’. Innovative sources for development are being searched – and found – while everybody seems to be ignoring the presence of the elephant in the room – \$1464 billion that is being spent on armaments rather than on development.

4.3 DOES ANYBODY SEE THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM?

The United Nations (UN) has a long history of drawing attention to the relationship between Disarmament and Development.

4.3.1 UNITED NATIONS

10% Option

In **1973**, the UN **General Assembly** adopted the **Resolution** 3093. It was a breakthrough as the first time resources spent on military and those needed for development were openly put in interconnection.

It acknowledged that reduction in military spending would not only help to limit the arms race, at the same time it would make it possible to use the substantial resources for development.



It recommended that states that are **permanent members** of the **UN Security Council** (USA, Russia, UK, France, and China) should **reduce** their **military budgets by 10%** and use the money to help developing countries.

It encouraged other developed countries to reduce their military budgets.

It went as far as to establish the *Special Committee on the Distribution of the Funds released as a Result of the Reduction of Military Budgets*.⁷⁷

In the following years, this resolution has been followed by a **sequel of similar resolutions**, though none of them has repeated the 10% option. The last resolution on 'relationship between disarmament and development' adopted **last year** only '*Urges the international community to devote part of the resources made available by the implementation of disarmament and arms limitation agreement to economic and social development.*'⁷⁸

This resolution was adopted without a vote. The resolution from **2007** has been adopted by 179 countries, only USA was against, France and Israel abstained. More than thirty years have passed since 1973, twenty-five resolutions urging developed countries to reduce their military budgets have been adopted, yet almost nothing has been done.

International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development

In **1987**, when the Cold War world military spending was at its highest peak (\$1195 billion in 1988⁷⁹), the United Nations organised an **International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development**. It was attended by 150 governments, but not by the USA.

⁷⁷ United nations General Assembly resolutions, available online: <http://www.un.org/documents/resga.htm>

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Military expenditure by region in constant US dollars, 1988–2008, SIPRI, available online: <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/resultoutput/worldreg>



In spite of the fact that agreed Action Programme remained relatively general, the final document openly named the challenges that the magnitude of military spending posed on the worlds' economical situation: *'The world can either continue to pursue the arms race [...] or move [...] towards a more stable and balanced social and economic development [...] it cannot do both.'*⁸⁰

The document also brought up a concept of **non-military threats to security** – the fact that polarisation of wealth and poverty and continuous degradation of environment poses far bigger threats to security than the threats perceived from a military point of view. This approach has been later named 'the human security concept'.

Group of Governmental Experts (GEE)

In **2002**, the United Nations established the **Group of Governmental Experts on Disarmament and Development**. Two years later this group produced a report that aimed mainly to update the UN about the development in this area since the 1987 conference.

While stressing the continuous relevance of the key themes highlighted in 1987 and the concept of human security, this report also expressed certain doubts about disarmament necessarily leading to development: *"Disarmament could further reduce a weak state's ability to defend itself and its people against internal or external aggression or [...] high financial costs of disarmament appear to negatively affect short-term prospects for development. It is difficult to envisage a state willing to commit itself to disarmament if it does not feel secure, just as it is difficult to imagine equitable and sustainable development occurring in an insecure environment."*⁸¹

⁸⁰ Report of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, United Nations, available online: <http://disarmament2.un.org/cab/docs/aconf13039.pdf>

⁸¹ The relationship between disarmament and development in the current international context, Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on Disarmament and Development, United nations, 2004, available online: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/402/50/PDF/N0440250.pdf?OpenElement>



In its recommendations, the GEE reminded UN member states to implement their commitments from 1987 and keep their military expenditure at the lowest possible level. It also stressed the central role of the UN in the disarmament-development relationship, as well as, the vital importance of public awareness of this issue.

It is of course encouraging seeing the UN reviving its disarmament-development agenda. However, seeing the number of resolutions being adopted for the past three decades on the UN soil which repeat the empty commitment of member states to reduce their military budgets, while the world's military spending is rising beyond its cold war peak, one may be tempted to doubt whether the UN will truly be the ultimate driver for a change.

4.3.2 NON-GOVERNMENTAL

A number of non-governmental organisations have taken up the subject of military spending and development as a part of their campaigning and advocacy. The following initiatives are only examples of a few actions that show different approaches to this subject, from stand up action to interactive website. This list should not be taken to be exhaustive.

A) STAND UP AGAINST POVERTY

What is it?

STAND UP and TAKE ACTION is the third annual Stand Up mobilization coordinated by the Millennium Campaign and the Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP) to coincide with the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty on October 17.



Why is it interesting?

It is a massive global mobilization and advocacy effort to put pressure on world leaders to take action on poverty and to meet and exceed the Millennium Development Goals. In 2006, 23 million people stood up, in 2007, 47 million people and last year, 116 million people. Every year they aim to beat the world record.

Standing up is literal: people sit/kneel down and in one moment stand up together for one minute against poverty. The Stand Up and Take Action pledge (see Annex 1) may be read during this time.

Next to the Stand Up event, people are encouraged to take action, whether in by sending letters, donating blood or planting trees. The exhaustive list of actions, posters and other event materials is available on their website.

Website: <http://www.standagainstopoverty.org/>

B) JUST A SECOND CAMPAIGN BY ACTION FROM IRELAND (AFRI)

What is it?

AFRI initiated this campaign during the first Gulf War to highlight the immoral wastage of resources on war while millions of people continued to die from hunger and preventable diseases throughout the developing world.

Why is it interesting?

The **name of the campaign 'Just a Second'** reflects two ideas:



The method AFRI used – they calculated what the arms trade cost per second (US \$ 21.000), because the annual expenditure was simply too high for most of the people to imagine or comprehend (US \$ 900 billion).

The goal of the campaign – make people stop for a second, think and reject the madness that had been unleashed in the Gulf Region.

As a part of the campaign, AFRI set an aim to raise the equivalent of one second of military expenditure and to use it to fund small projects providing food, clean water and health care to the people in the developing world, as well as employment opportunities for people in disadvantaged areas in Ireland.⁸²

Website: www.afri.ie

C) NATIONAL PRIORITIES PROJECT (NPP)

What is it?

NPP focuses on the budget of the United States and under the motto '*Bringing the Federal Budget Home*' it analyses, clarifies and interconnects available data, so that people can understand and influence how their tax dollars are spent.

Why is it interesting?

The '**NPP Database**' contains a fair amount of graphs and charts focusing mainly on military expenditure, security, arms trade, military bases, economical aid, etc.

The '**Interactive Tax Chart**' offers US citizens a chance to see precisely how much from their income tax has been spent on concrete budget areas, such as military, health, education etc.

⁸² Whose Priorities? A guide for campaigners on military and social spending; International Peace Bureau; 2007



The '**Trade Off**' gives examples of how the money government put in the military could have been spent differently. By putting these costs in such a sharp and obvious contrast, the NPP succeeds in highlighting the absurd amount of money being wasted on the military. Just choose a state, district or city, programme and alternative trade off. The outcome can be for example:

FOR **\$15.1 BILLION** THAT US GOVERNMENT
INVESTED IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN 2008,
4,454,264 PEOPLE COULD HAVE BEEN PROVIDED
WITH HEALTH CARE FOR ONE YEAR.

The **Cost of War** offers similar trade off possibility, only this time targeting the costs of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. These costs are bluntly exposed in the ever running **Cost of War Counter**.

Besides informing society, the NPP also mobilises US citizens to take action by offering some concrete tips on how to target members of the Congress, other elected officials or directly the US President.

Website: www.nationalpriorities.org

www.costofwar.com

D) DISARMAMENT TO COMBAT POVERTY – 10% OPTION

What is it?

This campaign has been launched in November 2006 by three organisations: *Ekta Parishad* (India), *PILER* (Pakistan) and *Frère des Hommes* (France). A network of over seventy



organisations participate in the campaign (seven in Africa, seven in Latin America, twenty in Europe and thirty-eight in Asia).

Why is it interesting?

The goal of the campaign is to promote **10% option**, which proposes to convert 10% of the military spending to abolish poverty and invest into sustainable development, health, education and shelter for all. Their petition calls all the permanent members of the UN Security Council to endorse the 10% option as an example to other countries, in order to mobilise finances needed to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). But why 10%?

Based on the available numbers, 10% of the world's military spending would be enough to abolish poverty and achieve the MDGs

The 10% option has already been endorsed by the United Nations in 1973 (see Chapter 4.2.1)

10% is a realistic goal.

Website: <http://www.option-10.org/fdh/fr> (only in French)

www.fdh.org (Frère des Hommes – international coordinator of the campaign)

E) PEACE TAX

What is it?

Peace Tax is for the tax system what alternative service is to conscription; i.e. it is the idea that conscientious objectors should be able to redirect the funds that would otherwise have



been directed to the military budget towards a special 'Peace Tax Fund' which would be spent on non-military activities.

Why is it interesting?

There are a number of organizations around the world simultaneously advocating this concept. Just to list a few of them:

National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund –NGO located in Washington, D.C., advocating for the peace tax to be included in US federal legislation.

<http://www.peacetaxfund.org/>

Conscience – Small NGO based in London, UK campaigning since 1978 for the legal right for those who have a conscientious objection to war to have the military part of their taxes spent on peace building initiatives.

<http://www.conscienceonline.org.uk/>

Quaker Council for European Affairs – NGO based in Brussels, Belgium, working to promote values of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in the European context. Promoting a peace tax in the context of Council of Europe is one of their campaigns.

<http://www.quaker.org/qcea/index.html>

Peace Tax 7 - Seven UK citizens who have made a complaint to the European Court of Human Rights to claim their right to conscientious objection against their taxes being used to – what they believe is – a deliberate killing of other human beings and to have the military part of their taxes be diverted to a peace fund.

<http://www.peacetaxseven.com/>



CHAPTER 4:

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION & DISCUSSION

When do you feel secure?

Try to ask people around you. Does their definition of security resemble yours?

Have you heard about the concept of human security before?

What do you think about it?

What do you think about the comparison in chapter 4.2?

Do you think it is reasonable to compare these 2 categories (military spending and development aid)?

Why do you think military spending is treated as 'the elephant in the room'?

What do you think about the role the United Nations has played so far in the Disarmament/Development area?

What do you think about the 10% option mentioned in the UN resolution from 1973?

Is the number too high / reasonable / too low?

Why do you think the 10% option has not been repeated since the 1973 resolution?

How did your country vote about the resolutions in the UN General Assembly?



Have your country fulfilled the commitments made in these resolutions?

Do you believe that the United Nations may be in the future the driver for a change?

Have you heard about a peace tax before?

What do you think about this concept?

Are there any NGOs working in your country on this issue?




5. WHAT YOU CAN DO TO MAKE THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM VISIBLE

5.1 GLOBAL CALL FOR ACTION

Pax Christi International believes that the immoral amount of resources being annually spent on weapons and military should no longer be ‘the elephant in the room’. It should not be ignored, nor overlooked or justified. We believe that in the absence of concrete treaty obligations in this area, the bottom-up approach is the one to be chosen. It is therefore, primarily, at the national level that civil society pressure needs to be applied.

Pax Christi International decided to join the **International Peace Bureau** in their **Global Call for Action on Military and Social Spending**. Together with seventy-six organisations from twenty-four countries, we thus call for the following **five steps** to be adopted as a matter of urgency:

- Each government should revisit its defence doctrines and policies and adopt a more pro-active **human security approach**, one that places less emphasis on military force and more on tackling the threats to everyday security.
- It should examine – through the democratic process – areas of **excessive military spending** that can be reduced over, for example, a five year period.
- It should explore ways for the monies saved to be **re-allocated to** a set of **social and economic programmes** to benefit the poorest communities both at home and abroad.
- It should ensure that a fixed proportion of the resources removed from the military sector be channelled into a **multilateral fund** for the mitigation of, and adaptation to, **global climate change**.

- 
- It should explore more specific proposals such as the **10% Option**, a unilateral and multilateral initiative to convert, on a systematic basis, 10% of military spending into public investment for social development in order to combat poverty.

5.2 FOR THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

5.2.1 STAND UP

When? **16 October** (from 12am GMT relevant local time) – **18 October** 2009 (11.39 pm GMT relevant local time), in 2010 the dates will be most probably the same, for more information please visit the website <http://www.standagainstopoverty.org>.


Who? Millions of people around the world who care about the future of this planet and its inhabitants.

How? Join an existing event in your country⁸³ or gather your friends, colleagues, family or people from your organisation, neighbourhood or church and create your own stand up event. During your event, gather everyone together and ask everyone to sit/kneel down and in one moment stand up together for one minute against poverty. The Stand Up and Take Action pledge (see Annex 1) may be read during this time.

Why?

- To show your support for the Millennium Development Goals

⁸³ To learn about events planned in your country/city, please consult <http://www.standagainstopoverty.org/>

- 
- To remind the political leaders the commitments they have made in 2000 and which they are failing to fulfil
 - To tell to the political leaders that these goals are not only empty promises and that there are no excuses for not achieving, and exceeding them by 2015

More information: <http://www.standagainstpoverity.org/>

5.2.2 TAKE ACTION

While it is predominantly the responsibility of political leaders to stand up to their commitments and to work together to eradicate of hunger and poverty, tackle diseases, guarantee universal primary education and ensure access to safe drinking water. We cannot substitute their role; however we shall not forget ours. It is mainly to:

Remind our political leaders of their commitments (through letters, petitions, manifestations, meetings with the representatives of your government etc.).

Spread the information about the MDGs (through debates, articles in the newspaper, schools etc.).

“Do your little bit of good where you are. It is those little bits of good put together that overwhelm the world.” Desmond Tutu⁸⁴ (through blood donation, planting trees, recycling, free distribution of food etc.)

For the full list of actions as proposed by Stand Up Take Action campaign, please see Appendix 2.

⁸⁴ Available online: http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Desmond_Tutu



5.3 AGAINST EXCESSIVE MILITARY SPENDING

5.3.1 LOOK FOR INFORMATION

Good background knowledge of the subject is a sound basis for any campaign or advocacy action. Use the part *'Questions for reflection & discussion'* as a starting point for your research. Don't be afraid to ask and to demand your right to information! Keep in mind, it is not state's money that is in question, it is always money coming from its citizens.

5.3.2 CAMPAIGN

Write letter and/or petition

Basic advocacy method is always letter writing. You can formulate a letter, individually or with other people and/or NGOs, in which you either request information or remind representatives of your country their international commitments and urge their fulfilment.

Based on the information available, formulate a concrete demand, add a reasoning, create a petition (paper or online), get as many people as possible to sign it and deliver it to your government. Do not forget to inform the media.

Organise a demonstration, march or street theatre

Nothing attracts media attention as a well prepared, visually catching, colourful and original street action. The more people take part, the bigger impact you may have. Always look up requirements your city has for organising a public action. You may have to inform the local authorities well in advance about your plans. Choose a suitable place, preferably with a high



concentration of people, prepare banners, posters, leaflets and slogans that catch attention. Keep it as concrete and locally relevant as possible. Street theatre is an original and innovative way of portraying the issue. The performances need to be highly visible, loud and simple to follow in order to attract a crowd. Don't forget that your aim is not only to attract attention but also to mobilise people – have a petition prepared for them to sign and some tips how they can get further involved!

Ask for a meeting

You can request a meeting with a representative of your government/parliament, either alone, or with representatives of other NGOs. The purpose of such meeting would be to discuss the military spending of your country in contrast with what is being spent on education, health, development aid, etc. Again, good background knowledge of the subject and clear idea of what you aim to achieve by this meeting is absolutely crucial.

Networking

Whatever activity you chose to do, make as many people join as possible. Remember more people equal a bigger impact. Check whether there are any local groups, NGOs or coalitions in your country that you can contact and cooperate with.



5.3.3 SPREAD THE INFORMATION

Spread the information

Spread the information to your friends, family, neighbours, colleagues, classmates. Tell them about the world we live in and the Millennium Development Goals. Tell them how much of their taxes are annually wasted on weapons and military, while the recourses to reduce poverty and prevent malaria are lacking.

Write to the newspaper

You may send so called op-ed to one of the major newspapers. An op-ed is abbreviation from 'opposite the editorial page' and it is a column or essay published in the opinion section of a newspaper. This way you can raise awareness about the problem of military spending and development and about the situation in your country, indirectly address government representatives of your country and at the same time mobilise the readers to support your goal.

Organise a debate

If you want to organize a debate, first you need participants. Ideally, the participants should have different viewpoints on the subject of military spending and development aid. If this is not the case, you can simply shift the focus of the debate to the difficult subject of how to achieve the goal of reducing military budgets and transferring the recourses for development. Once you have participants you need a venue. It can be a church, classroom, lecture hall, community centre or any other suitable place. Do not forget to promote your event: send emails, distribute flyers, include the time, date, and place of your debate.



Organise a lecture in a school

Contact a school in your neighbourhood and offer to lecture on Millennium Development Goals and military spending. It may be a good idea to start the lecture with a game and/or a quiz challenging their knowledge of the subject. It is important to always adapt the lecture to the age of the pupils and make it as interactive and alive as possible.

Mobilise people

Whatever way you choose to spread the information on military spending and development, don't forget that informing people is only the first step. The second is to activate them to join your campaign. Always emphasise the possibility for a change through the bottom-up approach and provide people with concrete tips of how they can get involved. Use the information in this chapter, Annex 2 and your own imagination.



6. INTERESTING WEBSITES

AFRI – Action from Ireland – Just a Second campaign

www.afri.ie

CIDSE - International alliance of Catholic development agencies with a common goal to eradicate poverty and establish global justice, established in 1967. CIDSE's advocacy work covers global governance, resources for development, climate change, trade & food security, EU development policy and business & human rights.

http://www.cidse.org/Area_of_work/Development_finance/?id=55

Disarmament to Combat Poverty – 10% option

<http://www.option-10.org/fdh/fr>

www.fdh.org (Frère des Hommes – international coordinator of the campaign)

End Poverty 2015 – UN Millennium Campaign – offers factsheets and latest news about the way different regions work towards achieving the MDGs

<http://www.endpoverty2015.org/>

International Peace Bureau – Disarmament for Development Campaign

<http://ipb.org/i/index.html>

Leading Group on Innovative Financing for Development - International forum for discussions on innovative development financing mechanisms founded after the Paris Ministerial Conference on Innovative Development Financing Mechanisms in 2006



<http://www.leadinggroup.org/rubrique20.html>

National Priorities Project

www.nationalpriorities.org

www.costofwar.com

Nothing but Nets - Campaign aiming to raise money for prevention of malaria

<http://www.nothingbutnets.net/>

ONE – Advocacy and campaigning organisation fighting against extreme poverty and preventable disease, particularly in Africa

<http://www.one.org/international/>

Stand up Against Poverty

<http://www.standagainstopoverty.org/>

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

www.sipri.org

United Nations Disarmament and Development – United Nations site, General Assembly resolutions, reports of the Secretary General, press releases etc.

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

United Nations World Food Programme – Fighting Hunger Worldwide

<http://www.wfp.org/hunger>



ANNEX 1

STAND UP TAKE ACTION

PLEDGE⁸⁵

“Could I ask you all please to Stand Up Against Poverty - (THEY STAND)”

We are standing now with millions around the world on this symbolic day, the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, to show our commitment to the fight against extreme poverty and inequality.

We are standing because we refuse to accept more excuses in a world where 50,000 people die every day as a result of extreme poverty and the gap between rich and poor is getting wider.

We are standing because we want our leaders to honour their promises to meet the Millennium Development Goals – and we ask them to exceed these goals.

We join in solidarity with people from over 100 countries to say:

To the leaders of the wealthy countries –

We urge you to keep your promises on poverty – debt relief, more and better aid, trade justice and gender equality.

⁸⁵ Available online: <http://www.standagainstopoverty.org/en/node/600>



To the leaders of poorer countries – make it your first responsibility to save the lives of your poorest citizens. We ask you to tackle inequality, to be accountable to your people, to govern fairly and justly, to fight corruption and to fulfil human rights.

Today, and every day, we will stand up and speak out against poverty. We will continue the fight against poverty and inequality and to hold our leaders to their promises.

We are asking not for charity but for justice. We are millions of voices standing in solidarity to say, no more excuse - end poverty now.



ANNEX 2

STAND UP TAKE ACTION

List of actions: