

# World Military Expenditures

a compilation of data and facts related to military spending, education and health



**Coordination Office for the Decade to Overcome Violence**

World Council of Churches

Geneva, Switzerland

2005



## Foreword

Some 25 years ago, in the seventies and eighties, the world seemed acutely aware of the threat hanging over humanity like a Damocles' sword. Nuclear armament and militarism during the cold war had reached a level that was alarming in such a way that most everybody called for ending this "balance of horror".

In the 70s, German theologian and activist for justice and peace grounded in spirituality, Dorothee Soelle, wrote a book entitled "Militarism Kills without war". That holds true to this day, yet churches and the peace movement are paying less attention to the issue of militarism. Have we become complacent? Have we accepted the militaristic reality as an unchangeable fact? Or is it simply that we don't know how serious the situation is? That there is a growing risk of nuclear disaster caused by terrorist attacks is bad enough. Yet a silent deadly disaster takes place every day in the starvation of 24,000 people, many of whom could be saved if the world had not gotten its budget priorities so utterly wrong.

The Decade to Overcome Violence claims to be "challenging the growing militarization of our world, especially the proliferation of small arms and light weapons." It also calls on churches and Christians "to relinquish any theological justification of violence". Are we doing this boldly and clearly enough? If we are not, then perhaps it is because we have not realized the gravity of the situation.

For the second half of the Decade, the DOV Reference Group meeting in Chiang Mai, Thailand, in April 2005 recommended to make militarism an emphasis. There are several hopeful signs that things might become more acutely clear in people's minds and hearts. Through the tragedies of both the Tsunami in Asia and Katrina in the US it became more clear that governments are ill equipped, in spite - or because? - of incredible military expenditures, to respond adequately and afford real solutions to current disasters and prevention of future ones.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) are becoming more prominent, yet too often the issue of militarism is not even mentioned in the context of shifting means in order to attend to human need. Furthermore, an international and interfaith "Global Priorities Campaign" ([www.globalpriorities.org](http://www.globalpriorities.org)), launched in October 2005, is precisely aiming at that issue: One half percent of the world's military spending would save 6 Million children from death each year. The World Game ([www.worldgame.org](http://www.worldgame.org)) has calculated that one third of the world's military spending would satisfy budgetary needs for addressing any and all global problems, from deforestation to HIV & AIDS, from clean water to illiteracy.

At the WCC DOV Office we felt the need to update some of the facts on World Military and Social Expenditures, last edited by Ruth Leger Sivard ten years ago, in 1996. It is a modest attempt to update a useful tool for keeping us alert. Our thanks go to Abigail Pound, who has worked hard and diligently over a 2-month-internship to research, compile and interpret the relevant data. May it inspire us to work for change.

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## Introduction

The purpose of this report is to examine government expenditures on militarism throughout the world. Militarism has countless costs, from lives lost in armed conflict, to environmental degradation, to damage to the physical mental and emotional health of those involved in military action and those who witness armed violence. This report will focus on the economic costs, and particularly on the relationship being military spending, social spending and human well being.

**“Militarism must be recognized as an idolatry. The way in which it is looked at shows that it is more than a system and even an ideology.”** *WCC Report of the Consultation on Militarism and Disarmament (1989)*

**“One of the most difficult and complex problems in political science and economics is to try to calculate the costs of modern war.”** *Joseph C. Farah<sup>1</sup>*

The data on government expenditures and arms transfers presented in this report come from several primary sources such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the International Monetary Fund, and the US Department of State. Viewing data, it is important to remember that there are many ways to present the same information to support different conclusions. Different valid data sources can also seem to contradict each other because of slightly different categorical definitions, timeframes, or methods. Additionally, ambiguity is inherent because precise and comparable numbers may simply not be available in some categories.

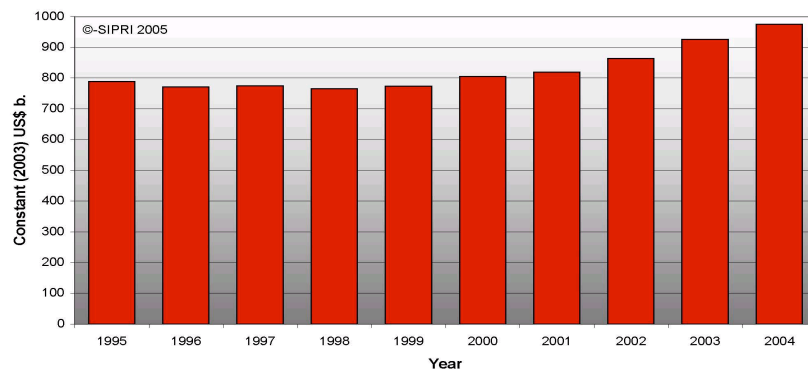
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<sup>1</sup>*The Economic Costs of Modern War*, Veterans for Peace, paper presented 8 August 2005. Available at [http://www.veteransforpeace.org/The\\_cost\\_of\\_war\\_082703.htm](http://www.veteransforpeace.org/The_cost_of_war_082703.htm)

## World Military Expenditures – Summary and Recent Trends

In 2004, world military expenditures reached \$1 trillion - an average of \$162 per person.<sup>2</sup> The United States accounted for nearly half, 47%, of the total. There was a reduction in military spending at the end of the Cold War and the total downward trend culminated in 1998. Since then, there has been an increasing trend; from 2002 to 2004 there was an annual average increase of about 6% in real terms (adjusted for inflation).<sup>3</sup>

**World Military Expenditure, 1995–2004**



While there was a significant reduction in world military expenditures at the end of the Cold War, a large part of that decline came from the sharp drop in spending by the former Warsaw Pact nations. The reduction in other developed countries was less notable – only 10% less in 1993 than in 1987.<sup>4</sup> The recent increase is undoing the progress made - the world military expenditures in 2004 were only 6% lower in real terms than at the peak of the Cold War. The biggest factor in the subsequent upward trend has been spending in the United States. Particularly, there has been a rapid increase since 2002 due mainly to the military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>5</sup>



**In 2004, world military expenditures reached \$1 trillion**



**Between the end of the Cold War and the late 1990s world military expenditures had been declining.**



**The upward trend in the late 1990s was due primarily to increased spending from the United States.**

The most recent data on military expenditures is from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). SIPRI's definition of military expenditures is based on that used by

<sup>2</sup> Current (2005) US dollars

<sup>3</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Recent Trends in Military Expenditure," SIPRI Military Expenditures and Arms Production Project. Available at [http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex\\_trends.html](http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex_trends.html)

<sup>4</sup> Project on Demilitarization and Democracy, "The Year 2000 Campaign to Redirect World Military Spending to Human Development, Campaign Statement." Presented December 1995. Available at <http://www.prop1.org/2000/pdd3.htm>

<sup>5</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Recent Trends in Military Expenditure,"

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). While uniform information from each country is not always available, the SIPRI military expenditure data generally includes the following spending:

- ➔ the armed forces, including peacekeeping forces;
- ➔ defense ministries and other government agencies engaged in defense projects;
- ➔ paramilitary forces, when judged to be trained and equipped for military operations; and
- ➔ military space activities.

Such expenditures should include:

- ➔ military and civil personnel,
- ➔ including retirement pensions of military personnel and social services for personnel;
- ➔ operations and maintenance;
- ➔ procurement;
- ➔ military research and development; and
- ➔ military aid (in the military expenditure of the donor country).

Civil defense and current expenditures on previous military activities are not included:<sup>6</sup>

- ➔ veterans' benefits
- ➔ demobilization
- ➔ conversion
- ➔ weapon destruction

SIPRI compiles data from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include national budget documents, central banks and national statistical offices, defense white papers, public finance statistics, and government responses to questionnaires about military expenditure sent out by SIPRI, the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Some secondary sources quote official data, for instance, the International Monetary Fund and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the *Europa Yearbook*, and Country Reports of the Economist Intelligence Unit. Other secondary sources are newspapers and specialist journals.<sup>7</sup>



**The United States spent \$455.3 billion – 47% of the global total - in military expenditures in 2004.**

Another source of information on military expenditures is the US State Department's World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers (WMEAT). The most recent information was published in 2003 and covers the time period from 1989 – 1999, the decade following the Cold War. The data includes, by country and region, military expenditures, arms imports, arms exports, and forces per 1,000 population.<sup>8</sup>

For NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) countries, WMEAT uses the NATO definition of military expenditures. For non-NATO, non-communist countries military expenditures are based on the ministry of defence budget, with known costs of internal security excluded. For

<sup>6</sup> This definition differs from that used by the War Resisters League, Friends Committee on National Legislation, and several other sources which tend to include expenses for past military operations

<sup>7</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Sources and Methods for SIPRI Military Expenditure Data,"

<sup>8</sup> US Department of State, "WMEAT 1999-2000." [http://www.state.gov/t/vc/rls/rpt/wmeat/1999\\_2000](http://www.state.gov/t/vc/rls/rpt/wmeat/1999_2000)

communist countries, military expenditures are particularly difficult to gauge. WMEAT uses CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) estimates.<sup>9</sup>

The publishers of the WMEAT report note that data on military expenditures is uneven in both accuracy and completeness. For instance, there are some indications that the military expenditures reported from some countries exclude capital expenses such as arms purchases.<sup>10</sup>

|                             | <b>1989</b> | <b>1999</b> |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Developed Countries         | 84.2%       | 71.2%       |
| Developing Countries        | 15.8%       | 28.8%       |
| North America               | 30.0%       | 34.3%       |
| Western Europe              | 16.2%       | 22.1%       |
| East Asia                   | 10.0%       | 21.4%       |
| Eastern Europe              | 34.4%       | 7.3%        |
| Middle East                 | 5.4%        | 6.5%        |
| South America               | 1.3%        | 2.6%        |
| South Asia                  | .8%         | 2.0%        |
| Southern Africa             | .7%         | 1.3%        |
| Oceania                     | .5%         | 0.9%        |
| North Africa                | .4%         | 0.7%        |
| Central Africa              | .2%         | 0.5%        |
| Central Asia & Caucasus     | *           | 0.5%        |
| Central America & Caribbean | .2%         | 0.1%        |

|                             |        |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| Developed Countries         | -0.6%  |
| Developing Countries        | 5.0%   |
| North America               | -1.3%  |
| Western Europe              | 0.5%   |
| East Asia                   | 5.0%   |
| Eastern Europe              | -3.4%  |
| Middle East                 | 0.8%   |
| South America               | 3.9%   |
| South Asia                  | 6.8%   |
| Southern Africa             | 16.2%  |
| Oceania                     | 0.0%   |
| North Africa                | 8.4%   |
| Central Africa              | 18.2%  |
| Central Asia & Caucasus     | 2.9%   |
| Central America & Caribbean | -12.9% |

<sup>9</sup> US Department of State, "WMEAT 1999-2000, Statistical Notes." p. 2 <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/18744.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> US Department of State, "WMEAT 1999-2000, Statistical Notes." p. 2



**The share of the developing countries in world military spending has doubled over the ten years between 1989 and 1999**

*To read more about world military expenditures, see*

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute:

<http://www.sipri.org>

World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers

[http://www.state.gov/t/vc/rls/rpt/wmeat/1999\\_2000/](http://www.state.gov/t/vc/rls/rpt/wmeat/1999_2000/)

International Institute for Strategic Studies

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

World Game Graphic

[http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/theme\\_a/mod02/www.worldgame.org/wwwproject/index.shtml](http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/theme_a/mod02/www.worldgame.org/wwwproject/index.shtml)

## United States Military Spending

**“Of all the enemies of public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes...known instruments for bringing the many under the control of the few... No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.”**

*James Madison, 1795*

**“You cannot simultaneously prevent and prepare for war.” *Albert Einstein***

The United States is the foremost contributor of global military expenditures. The US Government’s WMEAT report found that the US accounted for a third of the world total and outspent the next ranking country by more than threefold in 1999.<sup>11</sup> The Stockholm International Peace Research Institutes estimated the percentage in 2004 as 47% with 455.3 billion US dollars, far and away more than the amount spent by the next largest spender, the UK, at 47.4 billion.<sup>12</sup>



**The government of the United States spends approximately \$ 1 Million every minute on military and war related costs.**

From 2002 – 2004, US military spending increased dramatically. While there has been an increase in regular military spending, the majority of the increase has been for these military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq which are funded through supplemental appropriations.<sup>13</sup> These supplemental appropriations to the Department of Defense between 2003 and 2005 exceeded the military spending of Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia (including China but excluding Japan) combined.<sup>14</sup>

If one looks at the US military expenditures along with other economic and relative indicators it is less exceptional. For instance, in terms of military expenditures as a percentage of gross national product, in 1999 the US was 52<sup>nd</sup> out of the 167 countries in the WMEAT report. In terms of military expenditures as a percentage of central government expenditures the US was 40<sup>th</sup>. However, the US is clearly the leader in terms of military expenditures per member of the armed forces.<sup>15</sup>

Sources vary significantly in describing what percentage of total US government spending per year goes toward the military, primarily because of various definitions of the category military spending which include different expenditures. For instance, the Center for Defense Information (CDI) attributes 51% of federal spending to the military, whereas the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) estimates 42%. One significant difference is that CDI considers only discretionary funding by Congress leaving out “mandatory” spending like interest on the

<sup>11</sup> US Department of State, “WMEAT 1999-2000, Military Burden and Other Relative Indicators” p. 8  
<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/18726.pdf>

<sup>12</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, “World and Regional Military Expenditure Estimates 1995-2004.” SIPRI Military Expenditures and Arms Production Project.  
[http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex\\_wnr\\_table.html](http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex_wnr_table.html)

<sup>13</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, “Recent Trends in Military Expenditure,”

<sup>14</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, “Recent Trends in Military Expenditure,”

<sup>15</sup> US Department of State, “WMEAT 1999-2000, Military Burden and Other Relative Indicators” p. 8



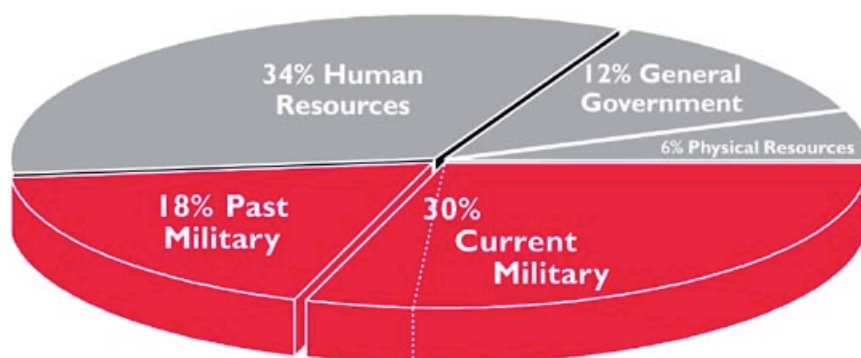
debt, Medicaid, and Food Stamps, while FCNL considers all federal outlays (all of the spending done in a particular year).<sup>16</sup>

Unlike the international sources on military expenditures such as SIPRI, US based groups like the War Resister's League and Friends Committee on National Legislation use a fairly broad definitions of "military" spending, including some or all of expenditures on foreign military aid, space programs, and domestic security programs such as the coast guard.

The pie chart below, created by the War Resister's League for the projected budget for fiscal year 2006, includes the following categories:

- ➔ Current military, including the Dept. of Defense
- ➔ Military portion from other departments
- ➔ Anticipated "supplemental allowance"
- ➔ Unbudgeted estimate of supplemental appropriations
- ➔ Past military, including veterans' benefits plus 80% of the interest on the debt.

This calculation of the budget does not include trust funds — such as Social Security — that are raised and spent separately from income taxes.<sup>17</sup>



Source: War Resister's League website <http://www.warresisters.org/piechart.htm>

The United States first emerged as a military superpower with World War II. The number of men in the armed forces went from 334,000 to 12,123,000. When the war was over, the forces were demobilised, but budget levels never returned to their post war levels. Many see the United States as having acted as a military superpower out of proportion both with its own resources and the potential external threats.<sup>18</sup>

Looking at a more broad category of "security" spending, the US also favours military spending over non-military aspects of security. The National Priorities Project estimates that 91% of security spending goes to the military, while 5% goes to homeland security and 3% to

<sup>16</sup> War Resisters League, "Where your Income Tax Money Really Goes" <http://www.warresisters.org/piechart.htm>

<sup>17</sup> When comparing total military spending estimates as well as military spending as percentages of total government spending that goes to the military, several factors may explain variations: whether total spending or only discretionary spending is being considered, whether it is including budget authority or budget outlays, how "military" is being defined (for instance, in terms of function or the agency/ department that is spending the money, and whether the time period is a fiscal, a calendar year, or an average

<sup>18</sup> Sivard, Ruth Leger, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1996*, World Priorities Inc., Washington, D.C., 1996, p. 41

preventative measures.<sup>19</sup> Seven times as much money is allocated to the military as on homeland security and all non-military programs for security combined. When the present military operations are included, that proportion becomes nine to one. There are indications that in the United States the military spending has tightened spending on social services such as education, health care, and environmental protection.<sup>20</sup>

There are also indications that the American public is supportive of reduction of the total defence budget; in a recent survey, 65% support the federal government transferring tax money from areas that do not have anything to do with the war on terrorism, such as nuclear weapons, destroyers, and bombers.<sup>21</sup>

***To read more about US military spending, see:***

Friends Committee on National Legislation:

[http://www.fcnl.org/issues/issue.php?issue\\_id=19](http://www.fcnl.org/issues/issue.php?issue_id=19)

War Resisters League:

<http://www.warresisters.org>

Center for Defense Information

<http://www.cdi.org>

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<sup>19</sup> National Priorities Project, “*Where do your tax dollars go? – United States, 2005.*” p. 2  
<http://www.nationalpriorities.org/TaxDay2005/pdf/us.pdf>

<sup>20</sup> Corbin, Marcus and Miriam Pemberton, “*A Unified Security Budget for the United States, 2006*” Foreign Policy in Focus, May 2005. Available at <http://www.fpif.org/papers/0505usb.html>

<sup>21</sup> Korb, Lawrence. “*Americans: Cut Pentagon Spending.*” *The San Diego Union-Tribune.* 18 March 2005.  
Available at <http://www.cdi.org/program/issue/document.cfm?DocumentID=2935&IssueID=34&StartRow=1&ListRows=10&appendURL=&Orderby=DateLastUpdated&ProgramID=15&issueID=34>

## Comparisons Between Global Military and Social Spending

**“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children... This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.”**

*Dwight D. Eisenhower, Former U.S. President, April 16, 1953*

**“I never intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I never intend to adjust myself to the madness of militarism...”** *MLK Jr. January 1968*

Whether high levels of military spending detracts from citizens' quality of life by limiting spending on development or social programs is a major concern, particularly for developing countries. There is an inherent “opportunity cost” with all government spending – money that is spent in one area cannot be spent on another. The choice between government spending on social issues and the military is sometimes referred to as one of “guns or butter.”

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) has compiled data regarding individual government expenditures on the military, health, and education as percentages of the country's gross domestic product from 1998 to 2001.<sup>22</sup>

There are many choices involved in compiling data such as this. For instance, because the purpose of comparing military spending with social spending is to assess government priorities in the allocation, only public funding is included in the SIPRI data, even though national spending is comprised of both public and private spending. Also, because “social spending” is so broad and can include a variety of different things in different countries, the sub-categories of health and education were used. The author notes also that countries use their own definitions within national budgets, so the data is best used for comparisons between military and social burdens, rather than cross country comparisons of military quality, etc.<sup>23</sup>

The SIPRI table presents the spending as percentage of GDP. A GDP is one way of describing a country's economy. It is the total of the spending of individuals, business, the government, the value of exported products, minus the products imported.<sup>24</sup>

In industrialised countries and developing countries, total government expenditure makes up a significantly different percentage of the GDP. In industrialised countries, total government expenditures account for about 40% of the GDP on average, while in developing countries it rarely exceeds more than 25%. Consequently, industrialised countries almost always spend more

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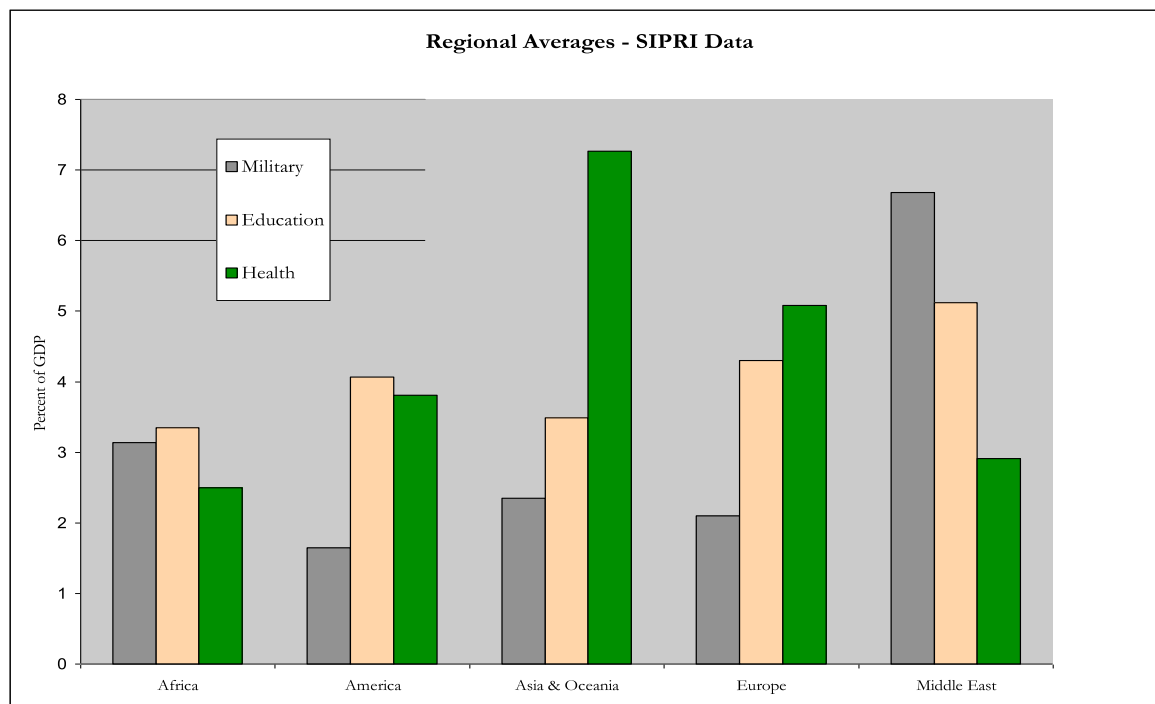
<sup>22</sup> Perdoma, Catalina. “*Methodology for International Comparison of Government Priorities.*” SIPRI Military Expenditures and Arms Production Project. Available at: [http://web.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/bgpapers/mex\\_priorities\\_methods.pdf](http://web.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/bgpapers/mex_priorities_methods.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> Perdoma, p. 2

<sup>24</sup> National Priorities Project, “*Federal Spending.*” Federal Budget Pages. <http://www.nationalpriorities.org/budget/budgetpages/spending.html>

than 4.5 % of their GDP on education, but only a small percentage of developing countries spend that much.<sup>25</sup>

It is important to note that amount of spending does not always correlate with results or outcomes. It simply reflects the economic resources put towards the military, not necessarily a country's military capabilities or its military output.<sup>26</sup>



*Percentage of gross domestic product on public expenditures by country - SIPRI data*

|               | Military | Education | Health |               |      |     |
|---------------|----------|-----------|--------|---------------|------|-----|
| <b>Africa</b> |          |           |        | Eritrea       | 24.4 | 2.7 |
| Algeria       | 3.5      | *         | 3.1    | Ethiopia      | 6.9  | *   |
| Angola        | 3.2      | 2.8       | 2.8    | Gabon         | *    | *   |
| Benin         | *        | 3.3       | 2.1    | Gambia        | 1.9  | *   |
| Bostwana      | 3.5      | *         | 4.4    | Ghana         | 0.6  | *   |
| Burkina Faso  | 1.6      | *         | 1.8    | Guinea        | 2.9  | *   |
| Burundi       | 8        | 3.6       | 2.1    | Guinea-Bissau | 3.1  | *   |
| Cameroon      | 1.3      | 5.4       | 1.2    | Kenya         | 1.9  | *   |
| Cape Verde    | 0.8      | *         | 3.8    | Lesotho       | 3    | *   |
| Centr Afr Rep | *        | *         | 2.3    | Liberia       | 7.7  | *   |
| Chad          | 1.5      | *         | 2      | Libya         | 2.9  | *   |
| Congo, Rep.   | *        | 3.2       | 1.3    | Madagascar    | 1.4  | 2.5 |
| Congo, DRC    | *        | *         | 1.6    | Malawi        | 0.9  | *   |
| Cote d'Ivoire | *        | *         | 1      | Mali          | 1.8  | *   |
| Djibouti      | *        | *         | 4.1    | Mauritania    | 1.8  | *   |
| Equat. Guinea | *        | 0.5       | 1.2    | Mauritius     | 0.2  | 3.3 |
|               |          |           |        | Morocco       | 4.1  | 5.1 |

<sup>25</sup> Mehrotra, Santosh and Enrique Delamonico, "Public Spending for Children: An Empirical Note." *Journal of International Development* 14, 1105- 1116 (2002) p. 1108 Available at: <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/jhome/5102>

<sup>26</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Project Description." The SIPRI Project on Military Expenditure and Arms Production. Available at: [http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex\\_about.html](http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex_about.html)

|              |     |     |     |                |     |     |     |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Mozambique   | 2.4 | *   | 4   | Korea, South   | 2.8 | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| Namibia      | 2.8 | *   | 4.7 | Kyrgyzstan     | 1.4 | 3.1 | 1.9 |
| Niger        | *   | 2.3 | 1.4 | Laos           | 2.1 | 3.2 | 1.7 |
| Nigeria      | 1.1 | *   | 0.8 | Malaysia       | 2.2 | 7.9 | 2   |
| Rwanda       | 3.9 | *   | 3.1 | Mongolia       | 2.5 | *   | 4.6 |
| Senegal      | 1.5 | *   | 2.8 | Myanmar        | *   | *   | 0.4 |
| Seychelles   | 1.8 | *   | 4.1 | Nepal          | 1.1 | 3.4 | 1.5 |
| Sierra Leone | 2.2 | *   | 2.6 | Pakistan       | 4.6 | *   | 1   |
| Somalia      | *   | *   | 1.2 | Papua N Guinea | *   | *   | 3.9 |
| South Africa | 1.6 | *   | 3.6 | Philippines    | 1   | 3.2 | 1.5 |
| Sudan        | *   | *   | 0.7 | Singapore      | 5.1 | *   | 1.3 |
| Swaziland    | 1.8 | 5.5 | 2.3 | Sri Lanka      | 3.9 | 1.3 | 1.8 |
| Tanzania     | 1.4 | *   | 2.1 | Taiwan         | 2.6 | *   | *   |
| Togo         | *   | *   | 1.4 | Tajikistan     | 1.2 | 2.4 | 1   |
| Tunisia      | 1.6 | *   | 4.8 | Thailand       | 1.4 | 5   | 2.1 |
| Uganda       | 2.1 | *   | 3.4 | Turkmenistan   | *   | *   | 3   |
| Zambia       | *   | *   | 3   | Uzbekistan     | 0.8 | *   | 2.7 |
| Zimbabwe     | 3.2 | *   | 2.8 | Viet Nam       | *   | *   | 1.5 |

**Americas** Military Education Health

|             |     |     |     |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Argentina   | 1.4 | *   | 5.1 |
| Belize      | *   | *   | 2.3 |
| Bolivia     | 1.6 | 6   | 3.5 |
| Brazil      | 1.4 | 4   | 3.2 |
| Canada      | 1.2 | *   | 6.7 |
| Chile       | 3.7 | *   | 3.1 |
| Columbia    | 3.8 | 4.4 | 3.6 |
| Costa Rica  | 0   | 4.7 | 4.9 |
| Ecuador     | 2.2 | 1   | 2.3 |
| El Salvador | 0.8 | 2.5 | 3.7 |
| Guatemala   | 0.7 | *   | 2.3 |
| Guyana      | *   | *   | 4.2 |
| Honduras    | 0.7 | *   | 3.2 |
| Mexico      | 0.5 | 5.1 | 2.7 |
| Nicaragua   | 1.1 | *   | 3.8 |
| Panama      | *   | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| Paraguay    | 1   | 4.7 | 3.1 |
| Peru        | 1.7 | *   | 2.6 |
| Uruguay     | 1.8 | 2.5 | 5   |
| USA         | 3.1 | 5.6 | 6.2 |
| Venezuela   | 1.7 | *   | 3.7 |

**Asia & Oceania** Military Education Health

|              |     |     |     |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Afghanistan  | *   | *   | 2.7 |
| Australia    | 1.9 | 4.6 | 6.2 |
| Bangladesh   | 1.3 | 2.3 | 1.5 |
| Brunei       | 7.6 | *   | 2.5 |
| Cambodia     | 3   | 2   | 1.8 |
| China, PR    | 2.2 | *   | 2   |
| Fiji         | 2.2 | 5.5 | 2.7 |
| India        | 2.3 | *   | 0.9 |
| Indonesia    | 1.1 | 1.3 | 0.6 |
| Japan        | 1   | 3.6 | 6.2 |
| Kazakhstan   | 1   | *   | 1.9 |
| Korea, North | *   | *   | 1.8 |

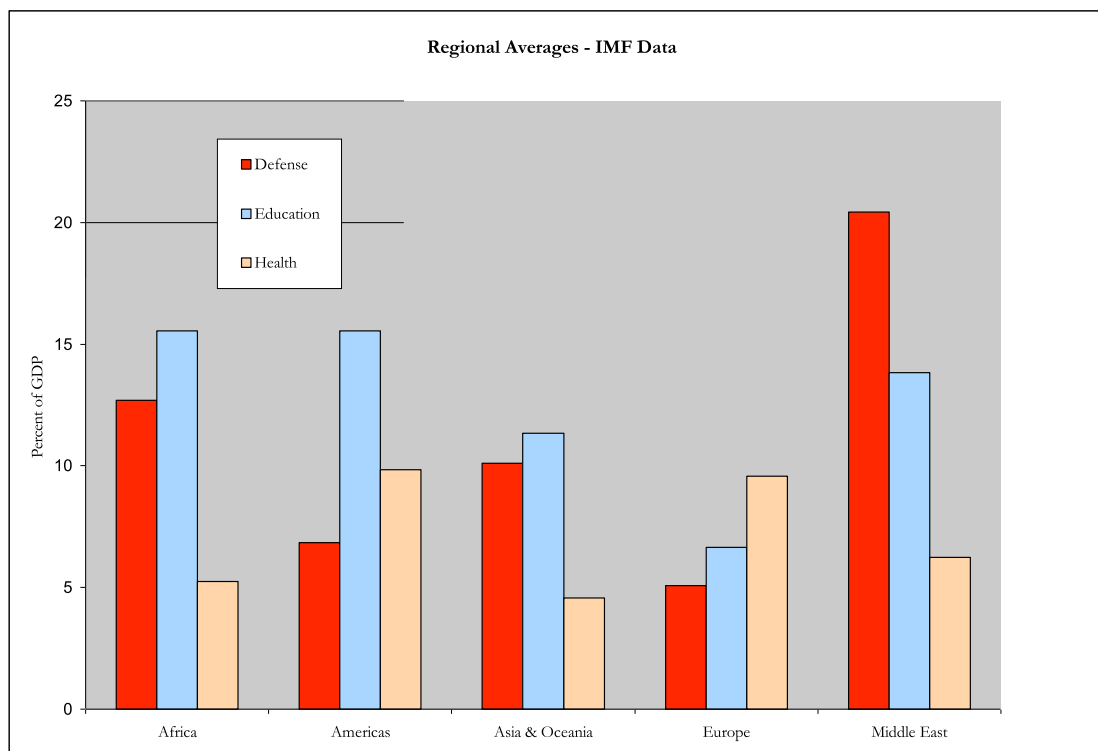
**Europe** Military Education Health

|                 |     |     |     |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Albania         | 1.3 | *   | 2.4 |
| Armenia         | 3.1 | 3.2 | 3.2 |
| Austria         | 0.8 | *   | 5.5 |
| Azerbaijan      | 2   | 3.5 | 1.9 |
| Belarus         | 1.4 | *   | 4.9 |
| Belgium         | 1.3 | *   | 6.4 |
| Bosnia & H.     | *   | *   | 2.8 |
| Bulgaria        | 2.7 | *   | 3.9 |
| Croatia         | 2.7 | *   | 7.4 |
| Cyprus          | 2.4 | *   | 3.9 |
| Czech Republic  | 2.1 | 4.4 | 6.8 |
| Denmark         | 1.6 | *   | 6.9 |
| Estonia         | 1.7 | *   | 4.3 |
| Finland         | 1.2 | *   | 5.3 |
| France          | 2.5 | *   | 7.3 |
| Georgia         | 0.7 | 2.5 | 1.4 |
| Germany         | 1.5 | 4.6 | 8.1 |
| Greece          | 4.6 | *   | 5.3 |
| Hungary         | 1.8 | 5.1 | 5.1 |
| Ireland         | 0.7 | *   | 4.9 |
| Italy           | 2   | *   | 6.3 |
| Latvia          | 1.1 | *   | 3.4 |
| Lithuania       | 1.8 | *   | 4.2 |
| Luxembourg      | 0.8 | *   | 5.4 |
| Macedonia FYR   | 6.6 | *   | 5.8 |
| Malta           | 0.7 | *   | 6   |
| Moldova         | 0.4 | *   | 2.8 |
| Netherlands     | 1.6 | *   | 5.6 |
| Norway          | 1.7 | *   | 6.8 |
| Poland          | 1.9 | 5.4 | 4.4 |
| Portugal        | 2.1 | *   | 6.3 |
| Romania         | 2.5 | *   | 5.1 |
| Russia          | 4   | 3.1 | 3.7 |
| Slovak Republic | 1.9 | 4.1 | 5.1 |
| Slovenia        | 1.4 | *   | 6.3 |

|                        |                 |                  |               |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Spain                  | 1.2             | 4.4              | 5.4           |
| Sweden                 | 1.9             | 7.6              | 7.4           |
| Switzerland            | 1.1             | *                | 6.3           |
| Turkey                 | 5               | 3.7              | 3.6           |
| UK                     | 2.5             | *                | 6.2           |
| Ukraine                | 2.9             | *                | 2.9           |
| Yugoslavia             | 4.9             | *                | 6.5           |
| <b>Middle East</b>     | <b>Military</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Health</b> |
| Bahrain                | 4.2             | *                | 2.8           |
| Egypt                  | 2.6             | *                | 1.9           |
| Iran                   | 4.3             | 5                | 2.7           |
| Iraq                   | *               | *                | 1             |
| Israel                 | 7.7             | *                | 6             |
| Jordan                 | 8.6             | 4.6              | 4.5           |
| Kuwait                 | 9               | *                | 3.1           |
| Lebanon                | 5.5             | 2.9              | 3.4           |
| Oman                   | 12.2            | 4.2              | 2.4           |
| Saudi Arabia           | 11.5            | *                | 3.4           |
| Syria                  | 6.4             | 4                | 2.4           |
| UAE                    | 3.6             | *                | 2.7           |
| Yemen                  | 5.5             | 10               | 1.5           |
| <b>Regional Avrgs.</b> | <b>Military</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Health</b> |
| Africa                 | 3.14            | 3.35             | 2.5           |
| America                | 1.65            | 4.07             | 3.81          |
| Asia & Oceania         | 2.35            | 3.49             | 7.27          |
| Europe                 | 2.1             | 4.3              | 5.08          |
| Middle East            | 6.68            | 5.12             | 2.91          |

Another source that allows comparison between military expenditures and social spending throughout the world is the IMF data on percentage of central government expenditure on defence, education, and health. Unlike the data from SIPRI, which was for the year 2001, this data is an average from the year 1992 until 2004.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This data can be found through the UNICEF "Information by Country" website at <http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/index.html>. The International Monetary Fund is the source of the information.



*Percentage of gross domestic product on public expenditures by country - IMF data*

| <b>Africa</b>    | Defense | Education | Health |                 |         |           |
|------------------|---------|-----------|--------|-----------------|---------|-----------|
| Algeria          | 17      | 24        | 4      | Mauritius       | *       | *         |
| Angola           | 34      | 15        | 6      | Morocco         | 13      | 18        |
| Benin            | 17      | 31        | 6      | Mozambique      | 35      | 10        |
| Bostwana         | 8       | 26        | 5      | Namibia         | 7       | 22        |
| Burkina Faso     | 14      | 17        | 7      | Niger           | *       | *         |
| Burundi          | 23      | 15        | 2      | Nigeria         | 3       | 3         |
| Cameroon         | 10      | 12        | 3      | Rwanda          | *       | 26        |
| Cape Verde       | *       | *         | *      | Senegal         | 7       | 14        |
| Centr. Afr. Rep. | *       | *         | *      | Seychelles      | 3       | 7         |
| Chad             | *       | 8         | 8      | Sierra Leone    | 10      | 13        |
| Congo, Republic  | *       | *         | *      | Somalia         | 38      | 2         |
| Congo, DRC       | 18      | 0         | 0      | South Africa    | *       | *         |
| Cote d'Ivoire    | 4       | 21        | 4      | Sudan           | 28      | 8         |
| Djibouti         | *       | *         | *      | Swaziland       | 8       | 20        |
| Equator. Guinea  | *       | *         | *      | Tanzania        | 16      | 8         |
| Eritrea          | *       | *         | *      | Togo            | 11      | 20        |
| Ethiopia         | 9       | 16        | 6      | Tunisia         | 5       | 20        |
| Gabon            | *       | *         | *      | Zambia          | 4       | 14        |
| Gambia           | 4       | 12        | 7      | Zimbabwe        | 7       | 24        |
| Ghana            | 5       | 22        | 7      |                 |         |           |
| Guinea           | 29      | 11        | 3      | <b>Americas</b> | Defense | Education |
| Guinea-Bissau    | 4       | 3         | 1      | Argentina       | 4       | 6         |
| Kenya            | 6       | 26        | 7      | Belize          | 5       | 20        |
| Lesotho          | 7       | 27        | 9      | Bolivia         | 6       | 24        |
| Liberia          | 9       | 11        | 5      | Brazil          | 3       | 6         |
| Libya            | *       | *         | *      | Canada          | 6       | 2         |
| Madagascar       | 5       | 21        | 8      | Chile           | 8       | 19        |
| Malawi           | 5       | 12        | 7      | Columbia        | 13      | 20        |
| Mali             | 8       | 9         | 2      | Costa Rica      | 0       | 20        |
| Mauritania       | *       | 23        | 4      | Ecuador         | 13      | 18        |

|                           |                |                  |               |                      |                |                  |               |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|
| El Salvador               | 7              | 24               | 5             | Czech Republic       | 5              | 9                | 16            |
| Guatemala                 | 11             | 17               | 11            | Denmark              | 5              | 13               | 1             |
| Guyana                    | *              | *                | *             | Estonia              | 5              | 7                | 16            |
| Honduras                  | 7              | 19               | 10            | Finland              | 4              | 10               | 3             |
| Mexico                    | 3              | 25               | 5             | France               | 6              | 7                | 16            |
| Nicaragua                 | 6              | 15               | 13            | Georgia              | 5              | 5                | 5             |
| Panama                    | 4              | 16               | 18            | Germany              | 5              | 0                | 19            |
| Paraguay                  | 11             | 22               | 7             | Greece               | 8              | 11               | 7             |
| Peru                      | 8              | 7                | 6             | Hungary              | 3              | 5                | 6             |
| Uruguay                   | 4              | 8                | 7             | Ireland              | 3              | 14               | 6             |
| USA                       | 16             | 2                | 22            | Italy                | 4              | 8                | 11            |
| Venezuela                 | 6              | 21               | 6             | Latvia               | 4              | 6                | 11            |
|                           |                |                  |               | Lithuania            | 6              | 7                | 13            |
| <b>Asia &amp; Oceania</b> | <b>Defense</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Health</b> | Luxembourg           | 1              | 10               | 13            |
| Afghanistan               | *              | *                | *             | Macedonia, FYR       | *              | *                | *             |
| Australia                 | 6              | 9                | 14            | Malta                | *              | *                | *             |
| Bangladesh                | 10             | 11               | 5             | Moldova              | 2              | 5                | 4             |
| Brunei                    | *              | *                | *             | Netherlands          | 4              | 2                | 10            |
| Cambodia                  | *              | *                | *             | Norway               | 6              | 7                | 5             |
| China, PR                 | 12             | 2                | 0             | Poland               | 4              | 5                | 2             |
| Fiji                      | 6              | 18               | 9             | Portugal             | 6              | 11               | 9             |
| India                     | 15             | 2                | 2             | Romania              | 5              | 6                | 15            |
| Indonesia                 | 3              | 4                | 1             | Russia               | 12             | 3                | 1             |
| Japan                     | 4              | 6                | 2             | Slovak Republic      | 4              | 9                | 17            |
| Kazakhstan                | 6              | 3                | 2             | Slovenia             | 3              | 12               | 15            |
| Korea, North              | *              | *                | *             | Spain                | 4              | 2                | 15            |
| Korea, South              | 13             | 18               | 0             | Sweden               | 6              | 7                | 7             |
| Kyrgyzstan                | 10             | 20               | 11            | Switzerland          | 6              | 3                | 6             |
| Laos                      | *              | *                | *             | Turkey               | 8              | 10               | 3             |
| Malaysia                  | 11             | 23               | 6             | UK                   | 7              | 4                | 15            |
| Mongolia                  | 9              | 9                | 6             | Ukraine              | 5              | 7                | 3             |
| Myanmar                   | 29             | 8                | 3             | Yugoslavia           | *              | *                | *             |
| Nepal                     | 8              | 18               | 5             |                      |                |                  |               |
| Pakistan                  | 18             | 1                | 1             | <b>Middle East</b>   | <b>Defense</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Health</b> |
| Papua N Guinea            | 4              | 22               | 7             | Bahrain              | 14             | 13               | 7             |
| Philippines               | 5              | 19               | 2             | Egypt                | 9              | 15               | 3             |
| Singapore                 | *              | *                | *             | Iran                 | 12             | 7                | 6             |
| Sri Lanka                 | 18             | 10               | 6             | Iraq                 | *              | *                | *             |
| Taiwan                    | *              | *                | *             | Israel               | 20             | 15               | 13            |
| Tajikistan                | 9              | 4                | 2             | Syria                | 24             | 9                | 2             |
| Thailand                  | 6              | 17               | 8             | UAE                  | 31             | 18               | 8             |
| Uzbekistan                | *              | *                | *             | Yemen                | 19             | 22               | 4             |
| Viet Nam                  | *              | 14               | 4             |                      |                |                  |               |
|                           |                |                  |               | <b>Totals/Region</b> | <b>Defense</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Health</b> |
| <b>Europe</b>             | <b>Defense</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Health</b> | Africa               | 12.69          | 15.54            | 5.25          |
| Albania                   | 4              | 2                | 4             | Americas             | 6.85           | 15.55            | 9.85          |
| Armenia                   | *              | *                | *             | Asia & Oceania       | 10.1           | 11.33            | 4.57          |
| Austria                   | 2              | 10               | 13            | Europe               | 5.08           | 6.64             | 9.58          |
| Azerbaijan                | 11             | 3                | 11            | Middle East          | 20.42          | 13.83            | 6.25          |
| Belarus                   | 5              | 4                | 4             |                      |                |                  |               |
| Belgium                   | 3              | 2                | 14            |                      |                |                  |               |
| Bosnia i H                | *              | *                | *             |                      |                |                  |               |
| Bulgaria                  | 7              | 5                | 11            |                      |                |                  |               |
| Croatia                   | 5              | 8                | 16            |                      |                |                  |               |
| Cyprus                    | *              | *                | *             |                      |                |                  |               |



## Militarism or Basic Social Services?

Another interesting comparison is to look at the amount that developing countries spend on their militaries and on the provision of basic social services. Basic social services – primary education, basic health, and access to safe water – have been examined in several UNICEF studies because they have a particularly big impact on children in poor countries.<sup>28</sup>

One study looked in particular at countries that are relatively “high achieving” in terms of social development as compared with other countries of comparable income levels. For example, Sri Lanka has universal primary school enrolment, high levels of literacy, and infant mortality rates comparable to those in some industrialised countries.<sup>29</sup> The study showed that, among other things, the high achieving countries:

- ➔ the state played an important role in providing basic social services,
- ➔ the social services were funded irrespective of economic growth or stagnation,
- ➔ efforts were made to offset the bias towards urban population regarding health care and emphasis was put on primary health care,
- ➔ economic and social development were addressed simultaneously<sup>30</sup>

One reason it is important to single out spending on basic social services is that general social spending is often not evenly distributed among income levels – higher income segments of the population will often benefit more from social spending than the lowest income segments. For instance, in many countries that seem to spend a considerable share of the budget on health and education, more of that money is spent on highly specialised hospitals than on basic health clinics.<sup>31</sup> A UNICEF working paper calls this the “Matthew effect”, a reference to Matthew 13:12 “For whoever has, to him shall be given and he shall have abundance, but whoever has not, from him shall be taken away even that he has.”<sup>32</sup>

Why are basic social services important?

- ➔ Nearly nine million children die each year in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia of easily preventable diseases.
- ➔ In South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, pregnancy and childbirth cause the deaths of nearly 500,000 mothers each year.
- ➔ The under five mortality rate in sub-Saharan Africa is about 25 times higher than the rate in industrialised countries.
- ➔ Almost 1 billion people are illiterate.
- ➔ In the developing world, one third of children do not complete four years of school.
- ➔ Half of the children in South Asia are undernourished.

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<sup>28</sup>Mehrotra, “*Public Spending for Children: An Empirical Note.*”

<sup>29</sup> Mehrotra, Santosh Jan Vandermoortele and Enrique Delamonica (2000), “*Basic Services for All? Public Spending and the Social Dimensions of Poverty*”. Innocenti Publications. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre. page 12

<sup>30</sup> Mehrotra, “*Public Spending for Children: An Empirical Note.*” Page 1107

<sup>31</sup> Mehrotra, “*Basic Services for All?*” p 13

<sup>32</sup>Mehrotra, “*Basic Services for All?*” p. 19

- ➔ Half of the world's population lack access to adequate sanitation.
- ➔ 1.7 billion people don't have safe water.

The UNICEF research indicates that most developing countries spend only 12 to 14 percent of the national budgets on basic social services.<sup>33</sup> The World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers (WMEAT) summary reports that in 1999, on average developing countries spent 14.5% of central government expenditures on the military. In South Asia, the average percentage of military spending as a percentage of central government expenditures was 16.1%, and in Southern Africa it was 17.1%.<sup>34</sup>



Research indicates that developing countries under-invest in basic social services, spending only an average of 14% of the national budget. In 1999 developing countries spent an average of 14.5% of central government expenditures on the military. In Southern Africa it was an average of 17.1% and in Southern Asia, 16.1%

The information from the UNICEF study is only available for selected countries for selected years, and only covers expenditures for basic social services (basic education, basic health, water and sanitation, and nutrition) as percentages of total government expenditures. The information on military expenditures are from WMEAT and from corresponding years.

|                    | UNICEF Study<br>Basic Social Services | WMEAT<br>Military Expenditure |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Bangladesh         | (93-94) 9.1%                          | (1994) 9.7%                   |
| Nepal              | (1997) 13.6%                          | (1997) 5.1%                   |
| Philippines        | (1992) 7.7%                           | (1997) 10.2%                  |
| Sri Lanka          | (1996) 12.7%                          | (1996) 17.8%                  |
| Benin              | (1997) 9.5%                           | (1997) 6.8%                   |
| Burkina Faso       | (1997) 19.5%                          | (1997) 7.1%                   |
| Cameroon           | (96-97) 4.0%                          | (1997) 7.2%E                  |
| Cote d'Ivoire      | (94-96) 11.4%                         | (1995) 3.8%E                  |
| Mali               | (1996) 15.9%                          | (1996) 8.1%                   |
| Kenya              | (1995) 12.6%                          | (1995) 6.7%E                  |
| Namibia            | (96-97) 19.1%                         | (1997) 7.3%                   |
| Niger              | (1992) 20.4%                          | (1992) 7.9%E                  |
| South Africa       | (96-97) 14.0%                         | (1997) 5.5%                   |
| Uganda             | (94-95) 21.0%                         | (1995) 9.6%                   |
| Zambia             | (1997) 6.7%                           | (1997) 6.3%                   |
| Morocco            | (97-98) 16.6%                         | (1998) 12.9                   |
| Belize             | (1996) 20.3%                          | (1996) NA                     |
| Bolivia            | (1997) 16.7%                          | (1997) 8.8%                   |
| Brazil             | (1995) 8.9%                           | (1995) 3.9%E                  |
| Chile              | (1996) 10.6%                          | (1996) 15.9%                  |
| Columbia           | (1997) 16.8%                          | (1997) 19.9%                  |
| Costa Rica         | (1996) 13.1%                          | (1996) 1.8%                   |
| Dominican Republic | (1997) 8.7%                           | (1997) 6.7%E                  |

<sup>33</sup> Mehrotra, "Basic Services for All?" p. 16

<sup>34</sup> US Department of State, "WMEAT 1999-2000, Military Burden and Other Relative Indicators" p. 5

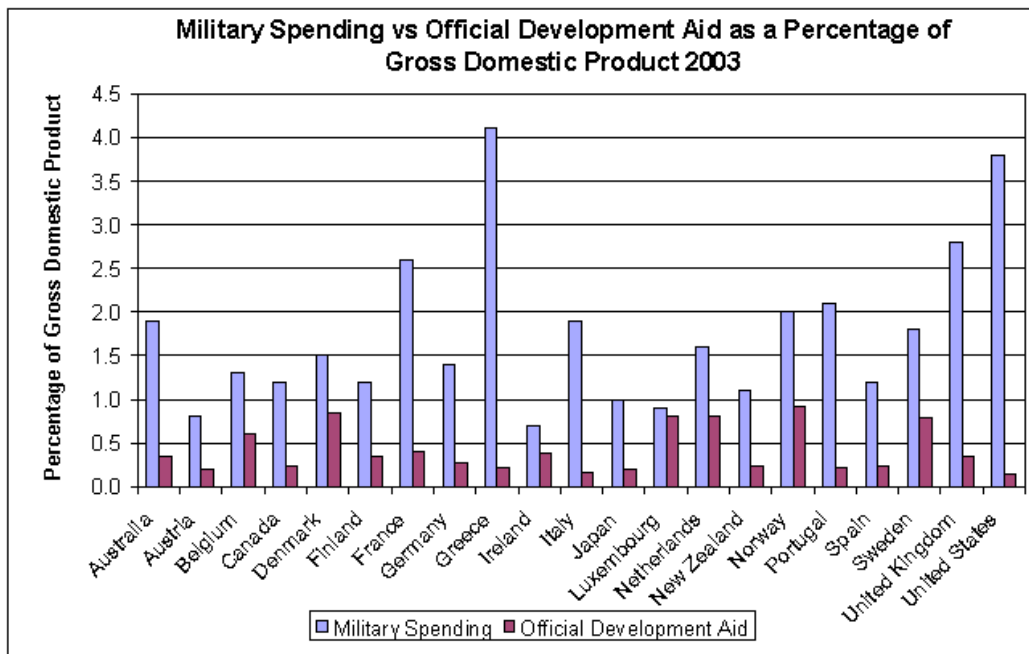
|             |        |       |        |       |
|-------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| El Salvador | (1996) | 13.0% | (1996) | 7.9E  |
| Honduras    | (1992) | 12.5% | (1992) | 5.5%  |
| Jamaica     | (1996) | 10.2% | (1996) | 1.8%  |
| Nicaragua   | (1996) | 9.2%  | (1996) | 4.7%  |
| Peru        | (1997) | 19.3% | (1997) | 12.9% |

(E – estimated based on partial or uncertain data)

## Aid to Developing Countries

Another issue highly related to world military expenditures is foreign aid. Aid, normally from wealthy countries to developing countries, comes in various forms – humanitarian, development, military, etc. Aid amounts are substantial, and there has been an increase in total Official Development Aid in the early 2000s.<sup>35</sup>

However, by many standards wealthy countries give relatively modestly, and much aid is heavily tied to the foreign policy objectives of the donor country rather than to the needs of the recipient country. Assessment of aid depends heavily on whether one looks at the aid in terms of amount given or in terms of percentage of donor countries’ GDP. For instance, according to statistics from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in 2004 the United States was the biggest donor in terms of amount Official Development Aid given, but 20 countries gave a larger percentage of their GDP.<sup>36</sup>



Source – Global Policy Forum <http://www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/develop/oda/tables/milvsaid.htm>  
 Data from SIPRI and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

<sup>35</sup> Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, “Official Development Assistance increases further but 2006 targets still a challenge.” OECD website – Aid Statistics, “What’s New” [http://www.oecd.org/department/0,2688,en\\_2649\\_34447\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/department/0,2688,en_2649_34447_1_1_1_1_1,1,00.html)

<sup>36</sup> Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, “Table: Net Official Development Assistance in 2004 – Preliminary Data.” Aid Statistics – Tables and Graphs <http://www.oecd/dataoecd/59/51/34700392.pdf>

Some things to consider about aid to developing countries:

- ➔ Almost all developed countries have consistently failed to meet the UN goal of 0.7% GDP.
- ➔ Reality of Aid, an international non-governmental initiative focused on aid related lobbying and analysis, estimates that one quarter of what the USA, UK, France, Germany, and Japan spend annually on arms would be enough funding for aid to do its part in meeting the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015.<sup>37</sup>
- ➔ According to UNICEF, as of 2000 the world could have met basic human needs for everyone on earth if \$70 to \$80 billion- 10% of the world's military spending - were redirected towards that purpose.<sup>38</sup>
- ➔ Oxfam estimates that to insure that every child could go to school, it would take an additional \$5.4 billion in aid – this is about two days global military spending, and less than \$1 dollar for each child under 18 in the developing world. Each year, G7 and other rich countries and multilateral donors give a total of only \$1.7 billion.<sup>39</sup>
- ➔ A growing concern is the “securitization” of aid, in which combating terrorism and combating poverty are treated as the same thing. Anti-terrorism activities are being funded out of over-stretched aid and development budgets instead of by national security budgets.<sup>40</sup>

***To read more about social spending and international aid, see:***

Institute for Food and Development Policy

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

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

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

Global Policy Forum

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/visitctr/about.htm>

Christian Aid

<http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/506liberalisation/index.htm>

Eldis <http://www.eldis.org/index.htm>

UNICEF State of the World's Children Report

<http://www.unicef.org/sowc05/english/index.html>

UNESCO Global Education Digest

[http://www.uis.unesco.org/ev\\_en.php?ID=6100\\_201&ID2=DO\\_TOPIC](http://www.uis.unesco.org/ev_en.php?ID=6100_201&ID2=DO_TOPIC)

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<sup>37</sup> Randel, Judith, Tony German, and Deborah Ewing, *Reality of Aid 2004: Focus on Governance and Human Rights*. IBON books, Phillipines, Zed Books and Zed Books, London 2004. p. 5.

<sup>38</sup>Kohen, Arnold, Peter Prove and Lawrence J. Korb, “Arms Spending Instead of Basic Aid.” *International Herald Tribune*, 22 Aug. 2002.

<sup>39</sup>Oxfam, “New report: G7 countries languish at bottom of class on education funding.” Global Campaign for Education Press Release. 17 April 2005. [http://www.oxfam.org.uk/press/releases/gce\\_missing170405.htm](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/press/releases/gce_missing170405.htm)

<sup>40</sup> Randel, p. 193.

## The Global Arms Trade






**“...the excessive accumulation and illicit trade of small arms is threatening international peace and security, dashing hopes for social and economic development, and jeopardising prospects for democracy and human rights.”** *UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan 2002*

**“We cannot have it both ways. We can’t be both the world’s leading champion of peace and the world’s leading supplier of arms.”** *Jimmy Carter, former US President*

The arms trade is a major part of militarism and world military expenditures. In most cases cost of purchasing and maintaining weapons make up a significant percentage of the cost of a military.<sup>41</sup> Weapons sales and manufacturing is big business throughout the world. It is important to consider the full costs of arms transfers, particularly in areas where the basic needs of many citizens are not met.

In 2003, the value of all international arms deliveries was US\$28.7 billion; this was a decrease of about 31% from 2002. According to a United States Congressional Research Service report, there was a general reduction in arms transfers between 2000 and 2003. In 2003, the United States ranked first for arms transfer agreements, Russia second and Germany third. For deliveries, the United Kingdom was behind the US, and Russia ranked third.<sup>42</sup>

“In 2002, arms deliveries to Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa constituted 66.7 per cent of the value of all arms deliveries worldwide, with a monetary value of nearly US\$17bn; the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council accounted for 90 percent of those deliveries. Meanwhile, across these regions:

-  more than a billion people struggled to survive on less than a dollar a day;
-  one child in five did not complete primary school;
-  more than 14 million children lost one or both parents to AIDS in 2001
-  nearly 800 million people suffered from chronic hunger;
-  half a million women died in pregnancy or childbirth.”

*From Guns or Growth, Control Arms Campaign, June 2004*

Looking specifically at arms transfers to developing nations, there was also a decrease between 2000 and 2003. Arms transfer agreements to developing nations totalled \$17.4 billion in 2002 and \$13.7 in 2003. This was the lowest yearly total in real terms for the period between 1996 and 2003. Arms deliveries also hit an 8 year low in 2003. The five permanent members of

<sup>41</sup> Control Arms Campaign, “*Guns or Growth.*” June, 2004. Available at: [http://www.controlarms.org/documents/guns\\_or\\_growth.pdf](http://www.controlarms.org/documents/guns_or_growth.pdf)

<sup>42</sup> The Congressional Research Service report “*Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations,*” examines arms sales in terms of agreement and deliveries for each year; agreements are to be delivered in the future while deliveries are completed transactions. Other authoritative sources for information on arms transfers include Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the US State Department’s World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers.


the UN Security Council (US, Russia, France, China, and the UK) were also the five leading suppliers of conventional arms, by agreement, to developing countries between 1996 and 2003.<sup>43</sup>

The decrease in conventional weapons transfers is not necessarily the result of less violent conflict, but more likely the result of less money available to spend on weapons. More countries are choosing, for example, to update their current arsenals rather than buy new weapons systems.<sup>44</sup>

According to another leading source on international arms transfers, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the downward trend may be reversing since 2003. SIPRI uses a “trend-indicator value” system and has a more narrow definition of conventional weapons (limited to “major” weapons)<sup>45</sup> so the data is not really comparable that from the Congressional Research Service.

SIPRI reports a downward trend in transfers of major conventional weapons from 1997 to 2000, followed by a two year period of stability and then a slight upward trend since 2003. This increase, though, may only be a matter of annual fluctuation rather than an upward trend.<sup>46</sup>

SIPRI data also indicates that between 2000 and 2004 Russia surpassed the US as the biggest supplier of major conventional weapons. However, this will probably be a short term trend; most sources believe that Russian sales will decline soon because of lagging research and development. The two main recipients of major conventional weapons in 2004 were China and India.

 **The five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the US, Russia, France, China, and the UK, were also the five leading suppliers of conventional arms, by agreement, to developing countries between 1996 and 2003.**

Developed countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom provide weapons that are used in ethnic and regional conflicts in the developing world. There are controls on arms exports from many countries, but they are not always effective in preventing inappropriate arms transfers. The United States, for instance, has relatively restrictive policies regarding arms export recipients. Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act requires that security assistance not be provided to a country that has consistently violated human rights. The Arms Export Control Act mandates that US military equipment and training only for legitimate self defense, internal security, or operations consistent with the UN charter such as peace keeping operations.<sup>47</sup> However, the US deviates significantly from its own principles of good conduct. For instance, in 2003:

<sup>43</sup> British American Security Information Council, “U.S. Congressional Report Shows U.S. and U.K. Dominate Arms Deliveries to the Developing World.” BASIC notes: Occasional Papers on Security Policy. 14 Sept. 2004. <http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Notes/BN040917.htm>

<sup>44</sup> Grimmet, Richard F., “Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 1996 – 2003.” Report for Congress, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress. 26, Aug. 2004. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/RL32547.pdf> Also note that the data on weapons transfers does not take indigenous production into account.

<sup>45</sup> SIPRI data is also entirely based on arms deliveries rather than arms orders.

<sup>46</sup> Sköns, SIPRI 2005 Yearbook Highlights, Chapter 8: Military Expenditures




<sup>47</sup> Hartung, William D. “The Role of US Arms Transfers in Human Rights Violations: Rhetoric Versus Reality.” Testimony before the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, House International Relations Committee. 7 March 2001. Available at: <http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/reports/testimony030701.htm>

- ➔ The United States transferred arms to 18 of the 25 countries engaged in active conflicts.
- ➔ Of the top 25 recipients of U.S. arms transfers in the developing world, 13 were defined as “undemocratic” by the U.S. State Department’s Human Rights Report. The label means that “citizens do not have the right to change their own government” or that right was seriously abridged.<sup>48</sup>

Since September 11, 2001, the United States has been increasingly willing to give or sell weapons to countries that will pledge assistance in the war on terror. In many cases, recipients are weak states or have been accused of human rights abuses. This violates the United States’ own tenants regarding weapons exports<sup>49</sup>

The US is not alone in providing weapons that are used in ways that violate international law and principles of human rights. Despite relatively strict standards for arms exports, Canada has exported military equipment to countries involved in armed conflicts and human rights violations. Additionally, Canada circumvents its own standards by selling a large number of weapons to the United States where they can then be exported without much oversight from the Canadian government. France exports military equipment to countries embargoed by the European Union, such as People’s Republic of China, Sudan, and Myanmar (Burma). Russia continues to sell weapons to states involved in violent conflict and whose forces have committed abuses. In 2000, Russia exported arms to People’s Republic of China, India, Iran, Algeria, Ethiopia, and Uganda.<sup>50</sup>

“Irresponsible arms transfers may:

-  Encourage unaccountable and poorly trained military forces to suppress human rights and democratic development;
-  Facilitate brutal resource exploitation;
-  Contribute to environmental degradation; and to an increase in violence against women.”

From Guns or Growth, Control Arms Campaign, June 2004

Weapons transfers (including both sales and military aid/gifts) can be detrimental to developing nations’ economies. For instance, debt rose seriously in developing countries in the 1970s and 1980s because of rising interest rates on loans taken out to finance arms purchases in the 1970s. Involvement in armed conflict has been a major source of debt in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, El Salvador, and Uganda. In 1994, an estimated one fifth of the debt from the developing world was because of arms imports.<sup>51</sup>

It is important to remember that the presence of weapons does not cause conflict. While it is not possible to know what would have happened if, when a particular conflict broke out, there had not been weapons (or as many weapons) available, “...the availability of weapons encourages

<sup>48</sup> Berrigan, Frida and William D. Hartung, “*US Weapons at War 2005: Promoting freedom or fueling conflict?*” Arms Trade Resource Center. June 2005. Available at: <http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/reports/wawjune2005.html>

<sup>49</sup>Stohl, Rachel, “*US Post September 11 Arms Trade Policy.*” Center for Defense Information – Arms Trade. 19 March 2003. Available at: [http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?DocumentID=1364&StartRow=1&ListRows=10&appendURL=&Orderby=D.DateLastUpdated&ProgramID=73&fr\\_om\\_page=index.cfm](http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?DocumentID=1364&StartRow=1&ListRows=10&appendURL=&Orderby=D.DateLastUpdated&ProgramID=73&fr_om_page=index.cfm)

<sup>50</sup>Control Arms Campaign, “*The G8: Global Arms Exporters.*” 22 June 2005. Available at: [http://www.iansa.org/control\\_arms/g8-arms-exports.htm](http://www.iansa.org/control_arms/g8-arms-exports.htm)

<sup>51</sup>Control Arms Campaign, “*Guns or Growth.*” June, 2004.



some individuals and groups to resort to violence instead of relying on nonviolent means of resolving conflicts or achieving their goals.”<sup>52</sup>

Large expenditures on weapons occupy resources needed for development. One measure of the state of development is the Millennium Development Goals as set in September 2000. All 189 UN member states agreed on the Goals; they include reducing child mortality rates, promoting gender equality and empowering women, and achieving universal primary education.<sup>53</sup> While some progress has been made, meeting the goals in the proposed timeframe seems nearly impossible in some regions.

Many of the countries who give development aid are also major arms suppliers to developing countries. Arms export policies that would prevent weapons from being supplied to warring parties and oppressive regimes would be one way to promote social and economic development. According to the United Nations Development Programme, “All major arms-exporting governments have pledged their commitment to the Millennium Development Goals. Hence rich countries can help shift these expenditures (from military to health and education in developing countries) by reviewing their arms exports... Without reforms by exporters and recipients, commitment to the Goals seems questionable on both sides.”<sup>54</sup>



“The Millennium Development Goals ...will not be achieved if resources are diverted from this vital task by inappropriate arms transfers.”

From Guns or Growth, Control Arms Campaign, June 2004

Within the arms trade, small arms and light weapons are of particular concern as a threat to human safety and security. While there is much talk about preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the majority of violent deaths each year are caused by small arms and light weapons. The Small Arms Survey estimates that between 60% and 90% of direct deaths<sup>55</sup> in violent conflicts are caused by small arms.<sup>56</sup> They are often used in domestic violence, organized crime, and by terrorism groups. There are different definitions of small arms and light weapons; one that is relatively easy to understand is that they can be carried, loaded on a pack animal, or mounted on a vehicle.<sup>57</sup>

Small arms and light weapons are popular tools for violence because they are cheap, readily available, easy to use, durable, portable, and easy to conceal. “As recent conflicts in Angola, Congo, or Sierra Leone have shown, these easy-to-use-weapons have made it much easier to turn children into soldiers and allow untrained individuals to join in the conflicts. Their

<sup>52</sup>Small Arms Survey, “*Small Arms Survey 2005: Weapons at War.*” Introduction. June 2005. Available at: [http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/publications/yb\\_2005.htm](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/publications/yb_2005.htm)

<sup>53</sup> United Nations Development Programme, “*Millennium Development Goals: A compact among nations to end human poverty.*” Human Development Report 2003, Chapter 1. Oxford University Press. 2003. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2003/>

<sup>54</sup> United Nations Development Programme, “*Millennium Development Goals: A compact among nations to end human poverty.*” Human Development Report 2003, Chapter 4

<sup>55</sup> This estimate does not take into account deaths caused indirectly by small arms violence through disease, starvation, and destruction of health infrastructure.

<sup>56</sup> Small Arms Survey, “*Small Arms Survey 2005: Weapons at War.*” Introduction. June 2005. Available at: [http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/publications/yb\\_2005.htm](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/publications/yb_2005.htm)

<sup>57</sup> Stohl, Rachel, “*Fighting the Illicit Trafficking of Small Arms.*” Center for Defense Information – Small Arms and Light Weapons. 13 May 2005. Available at: <http://www.cdi.org/program/issue/index.cfm?ProgramID=23&issueid=95>



ready and widespread availability has greatly increased the risks of those staff delivering humanitarian assistance in war-affected areas.”<sup>58</sup>

***To read more about the international arms trade and small arms, see:***

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

[http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/at\\_data.html#data](http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/at_data.html#data)

World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers

[http://www.state.gov/t/vc/rls/rpt/wmeat/1999\\_2000/](http://www.state.gov/t/vc/rls/rpt/wmeat/1999_2000/)

British American Security Information Council

<http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Notes/BN040917.htm>

Center for Defense Information

<http://www.cdi.org/program/index.cfm?ProgramID=73>

Human Rights Watch Arms Project

<http://www.hrw.org/doc/?t=arms>

Arms Sales Monitoring Project at the Federation of American Scientists

<http://www.fas.org/main/content.jsp?formAction=325&projectId=3>

Council for a Livable World

[http://64.177.207.201/pages/91\\_10.html](http://64.177.207.201/pages/91_10.html)

Control Arms (A project of Amnesty International, Oxfam, and IANSA)

<http://www.controlarms.org>

Small Arms Survey

<http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/index.html>

Saferworld

<http://www.saferworld.org.uk/index.htm>

European Network Against Arms Trade

<http://www.antenna.nfenaat/>

Federation of American Scientists

<http://www.fas.org/main/content.jsp?formAction=325&projectId=3>

International Action Network on Small Arms

<http://www.iansa.org>

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<sup>58</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflicts – Small Arms.” <http://ochaonline.un.org/webpage.asp?ParentID=2050&MenuID=2055&Page=528>

<sup>58</sup> Project on Demilitarization and Democracy, “The Year 2000 Campaign to Redirect World Military Spending to Human Development, Campaign Statement.”

## A Wider View of National Security

**“To tackle the underlying roots of violence and conflict, we need a massive international effort to reduce poverty and injustice, and to promote development, democracy and human rights.”** *Clare Short, UK International Development Secretary*

**“We will resist doctrines and systems of security, based on the use of, and deterrence by, all weapons of mass destruction, and military interventions and occupations.”** *Statement by participant in the WCC World Convention on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation*

There is no doubt that security is important in all countries, regardless of income level. However, militarism overemphasises security based on big armed forces and weapons technologies and excludes many other important aspects of security. A more accurate definition of security would include right to live without human rights abuses, war, poverty, hunger, and disease.<sup>59</sup> High levels of military spending do not necessarily deter armed conflict, keep a country's citizens safe from violence, or generally improve the quality of life in a country.

When people think of war, they usually think of an invasion from a foreign state and a conflict fought out between soldiers. However, recent history has shown that this is increasingly inaccurate. As many as 90% of victims of contemporary warfare are civilians, and most conflicts are within rather than between states. In Africa alone there have been 30 wars since 1970, and most of them have been within states.<sup>60</sup>

Additionally, because most armed conflicts are fought within states, the parties to the conflicts are often militias or other non-state actors and small arms and light weapons are the primary weapons. Armed non-state actors are of particular concern for several reasons. Most are not aware of or do not respect their obligations under international law, are not effectively reached by traditional disarmament and demobilisation programs, and the nature of the conflicts often blur the line between civilian and combatant.<sup>61</sup>

Inter-state conflicts often cause mass displacement, both across borders and internally. Additionally, because the weapons used in these conflicts are often lightweight and relatively easy to use, and because non-state actors in particular are often not selective about their armed forces, children are recruited as soldiers. In the Liberian civil war, for instance, more than 15,000 children were reported to be fighting for various groups.<sup>62</sup>

For industrialised countries, the primary security threat today often comes in the form of international terrorism rather than military action by a foreign state. Many of the aspects of large armed forces, such as very powerful weapons, are not truly effective in fighting against such a threat. “In the new security environment, which focuses on insecurity in the South and greater

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<sup>59</sup> United Nations Children's Fund, “*Undeclared War*” *The State of the World's Children*, UNICEF, New York, 2000, p. 11

<sup>60</sup> Capie, David, “*Armed Groups, Weapons Availability and Misuse: An Overview of the Issues and Options for Action.*” Background Paper for a Meeting Organized by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Bamako, Mali. 25 May 2004. p. 7

<sup>61</sup> Capie, David, “*Armed Groups, Weapons Availability and Misuse: An Overview of the Issues and Options for Action.*” p. 8

<sup>62</sup> Sköns, Elizabeth, Wuyi Omitoogun, Catalina Perdomo and Petter Stålenheim, SIPRI 2005 Yearbook Highlights, Chapter 8: Military Expenditures. Available at: <http://yearbook2005.sipri.org/ch8/ch8>

global security interdependence, there is an increasing awareness of the ineffectiveness of military means for addressing threats and challenges to security and a growing recognition of the need for global action.”<sup>63</sup>

Research on the causes of violent conflicts shows a myriad of factors, but does not indicate that building bigger armies is the key to keeping a county safe from warfare. In fact, funds spent on weapons may drain resources from social, political, and economic development that may address root causes of conflict. The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict has identified some factors that can put a state at risk of violent conflict.<sup>64</sup> They include:

- ➔ “A lack of democratic processes and unequal access to power. The risk is especially high when power stems from ethnic or religious identity, and when leadership is repressive and disposed to the abuse of human rights.
- ➔ Social inequality marked by grossly unequal distribution of, and access to, resources. Conflict is most likely in situations where the economy is in decline, thus exacerbating social inequalities and intensifying competition for resources.
- ➔ Control by a single group of valuable natural resources, such as gems, oil, timber and drugs. In recent decades, struggles to control diamonds in central Africa, timber and gems in Cambodia, and drugs in Afghanistan, Colombia and Myanmar, have played a key role in violent conflicts.
- ➔ Rapid demographic change that outstrips the capacity of the state to provide essential services and job opportunities.
- ➔ The availability of weapons, particularly in postconflict situations where demobilization has not been accompanied by decommissioning of weapons or job creation for former soldiers, is also an important factor.”

Additionally, quality policing and social services may be more effective than a large and powerful military in preventing most violent deaths. Some recent information from the World Health Organisation indicates that the majority of violent deaths each year are caused not by armed conflict, but by suicide and murder.

Some things to consider about violence:

- ➔ More than 1.6 million people lose their life each year to violence.<sup>65</sup>
- ➔ In 2000, around half of the violent deaths were due to individual violence (suicides), about one third to interpersonal violence (homicides), and about one fifth due to collective violence (armed conflict).<sup>66</sup>
- ➔ Most violence is nonfatal, leading to physical injuries, mental health problems, reproductive health problems, STDs, and other consequences.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> World Health Organization, “*World report on violence and health: summary*” World Health Organization, Geneva (2002) p. 23

<sup>64</sup>World Health Organization, “*World report on violence and health: summary*” p. 1

<sup>65</sup> World Health Organization, “*World report on violence and health: summary*” p. 6

<sup>66</sup> World Health Organization, “*World report on violence and health: summary*” p. 8

<sup>67</sup> World Health Organization, “*World report on violence and health: summary*” p. 13

- ➔ In 2000, 520,000 people were killed by interpersonal violence.<sup>68</sup>
- ➔ An estimated 191 million people lost their lives due to violence in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, making it one of the most violent periods in human history.<sup>69</sup>

In its 2002 “World Report on Violence and Health”, the World Health Organization recommends a public health approach to violence prevention. This involves defining and monitoring the problem, identifying causes, formulating and then testing ways of responding to the problem, and then applying the effective measures widely.<sup>70</sup>

The following are ten recommendations from the WHO for action in preventing violence:

- ➔ “Create, implement and monitor a national action plan for violence prevention
- ➔ Enhance capacity for collecting data on violence
- ➔ Define priorities for, and support research on, the causes, consequences, costs, and prevention of violence
- ➔ Promote primary prevention responses
- ➔ Strengthen responses for victims of violence
- ➔ Integrate violence prevention into social and educational policies, and thereby promote gender and social equality
- ➔ Increase collaboration and exchange of information on violence prevention
- ➔ Promote and monitor adherence to international treaties, laws and other mechanisms to protect human rights
- ➔ Seek practical, internationally agreed responses to the global drug trade and the global arms trade”<sup>71</sup>

***To read more about violence, security, and public health, see:***

World Health Organization

[http://www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/violence/en/](http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/en/)

Human Security Network <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org>

Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/>

The Human Security Gateway <http://www.humansecuritygateway.info>

Pax Christi International

[http://www.paxchristi.net/work/html\\_security\\_demilitarisation\\_a.php](http://www.paxchristi.net/work/html_security_demilitarisation_a.php)

Project Ploughshares <http://www.ploughshares.ca/index.html>

British American Security Information Council <http://www.basicint.org>

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<sup>68</sup> World Health Organization, “World report on violence and health: summary” p. 20

<sup>69</sup> World Health Organization, “World report on violence and health: summary” p. 3

<sup>70</sup> World Health Organization, “World report on violence and health: summary” pp. 31-34

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Control Arms Campaign, "*The G8: Global Arms Exporters.*" 22 June 2005. Available at: [http://www.iansa.org/control\\_arms/g8-arms-exports.htm](http://www.iansa.org/control_arms/g8-arms-exports.htm)

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