Will the end of the old East and West military rivalry bring peace to the world's poor? This report looks at how the crisis points in today's world - human and environmental - require non-military solutions. Real security in the future needs a new emphasis on tackling poverty and environmental degradation. It requires a strategic rethink and use of many of the resources currently lost in military activity. Formulating an agenda for real security is the challenge now.

WDM's series of occasional papers set out to broaden the debate on a range of issues affecting the citizens of Europe. The perspective that WDM brings reflects the impact of policies in Britain and Europe on the daily lives of the world's poor. WDM is a membership-based organisation that is campaigning for justice for the world's poor. Without justice for them, there is no hope of security for us.

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WORLD DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT

Real Security

East, West, North and South

by Geoff Tansey

OCCASIONAL PAPER 2

The World Development Movement
The World Development Movement calls for justice for the world's poor. It is a membership organisation that campaigns for British government and EC policies that will benefit the poorest groups in the Third World.

Real Security
East, West, North and South

This report was written by Geoff Tansey, WDM's campaigns consultant on development, disarmament and security issues.

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Real Security

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This booklet is dedicated to the memory of my dad, Bill Tansey, who died while I was working on it, and to the future of Christine, Rachel and all the world's children.

Summary

The poor, and their security, are the measure of human development. Yet their security is being forgotten as Europe changes. Ordinary people are threatened by hunger, repression, poverty and environmental degradation - threats which cannot be overcome by military force. Military spending at today's levels - £625 billion per year or more than the income of half of humanity - threatens human development.

The opposing East-West blocks and the Cold War have helped fuel the 123 wars in the South since 1945. These wars killed 21 million people and devastated the lives of millions more. The South is the main market in the arms trade - spending £22 billion on arms in 1987. The North is the main supplier, with Britain holding fifth place. The USA and UK both have forces earmarked to intervene in the South.

Massive military spending has indirect effects too. It wastes resources that could help promote human development - with 29 countries in the South spending more on the military than on health and education combined. It distorts research and development - a quarter of all R&D spending is military but half in the UK.

The ending of the Cold War provides the opportunity for a complete reorientation of policies and spending to promote real security. But it holds dangers too - of an increased arms drive to the South as markets decline in Europe; of a diversion of attention and aid to the East from the South; of seeking new enemies in the South to justify continued massive military spending.

To seize the opportunity for real security requires action in three areas:

1. Halving military spending, North and South, by 2000AD - an average cut of 4% per year - and reallocating the resources to real security needs. In the North the saving should be split, with two thirds at most going to the North, and one third to the South. Arms cut must be destroyed, exports reduced, and verification measures be agreed. Military R&D should be redirected into sustainable development using environmentally-friendly technologies usable by the poor and into conflict resolution techniques.

2. Putting human development as the key national strategic interest. This requires economic changes from debt cancellation to a recycling economy using fewer resources in the North.

3. Strengthening and democratising international institutions. Real security requires just, enforceable international laws which uphold the standards required for human development. This means more power to the UN and international courts, and a greater UN peacekeeping role.

The move to common security in Europe needs accelerating, with existing alliances reformed into a common security group, with security based on minimum deterrence initially, and redirecting military spending. This should not be just a European process but part of an International Conference on Security and Cooperation providing an umbrella for other regional negotiations.

Real Security

Introduction

The poor, and their security, are the measure of human development. [1] Yet their security is being forgotten as Europe changes. World development has been distorted by over 40 years of hostility between East and West. As the hostility lessens, we can move out of a vicious circle of militarisation to a virtuous circle of sustainable development and disarmament which can deal with the multiple threats to human security, for this and future generations.

Ordinary people, North and South, want security

- from hunger
- from disease
- from repression
- from poverty
- from wars and nuclear annihilation
- from environmental collapse .[2]

The military approach to security has distorted priorities for decades and resulted in current spending of about £625 billion per year - more than the income of half of the world's population - on war and preparing for war.[3] For real security the much broader threats to human security must be tackled using many of the resources presently devoted to the military approach. Governments alone cannot be relied on to change this approach without widespread public pressure.

The security offered by militarism is an illusion. Ideas of sovereignty, social and economic systems will continue to change. The challenge is to develop other means of coping with change and resolving conflicts than preparing for war. The poor suffer most from the military distortion of security - both directly from armed conflicts and indirectly, from the neglect of their needs and diversion of resources.

Part 1 of this report discusses the links between arms, poverty and security. The second part looks at the dangers and opportunities present changes hold. Part III discusses real human security. It outlines an agenda and some actions needed to achieve it.

Throughout this short report rather broad, short-hand terms like East, -West, North and South, have been used.[4] These obviously include very varied regions and countries. They provide a useful handle to deal with current trends and challenges but these need more detailed consideration at regional, country and local level to account for specific circumstances and turn overall objectives and visions into practical changes.

Poverty and underdevelopment in the South have been directly and indirectly linked to growing global militarisation for decades. The various phases of the Cold War have been partly played out in the developing countries of the South. Northern interests, in resources and ideologies, have led to "intensified competition, intervention and conflict" in developing countries as well as an arms race that has spilled over into them and is partly designed to ensure Northern supremacy over the South.[5]

Distorted priorities

Since 1960, the world's governments have spent over £10,000 billion on war and preparation for war - or £2,000 for every man, woman and child on the planet today. This is 70% more than was spent on health and 12% more than on education. Although the poor countries of the South spend a relatively small part of the total in each of these areas, their share of arms spending(14%), is larger than in education (11%) or health (6%). [6]

Worse, whereas military spending doubled in the North, it has grown six-fold in the South since 1960, in real terms. (Table 1)

Table 1. Rising military expenditure in the Third World

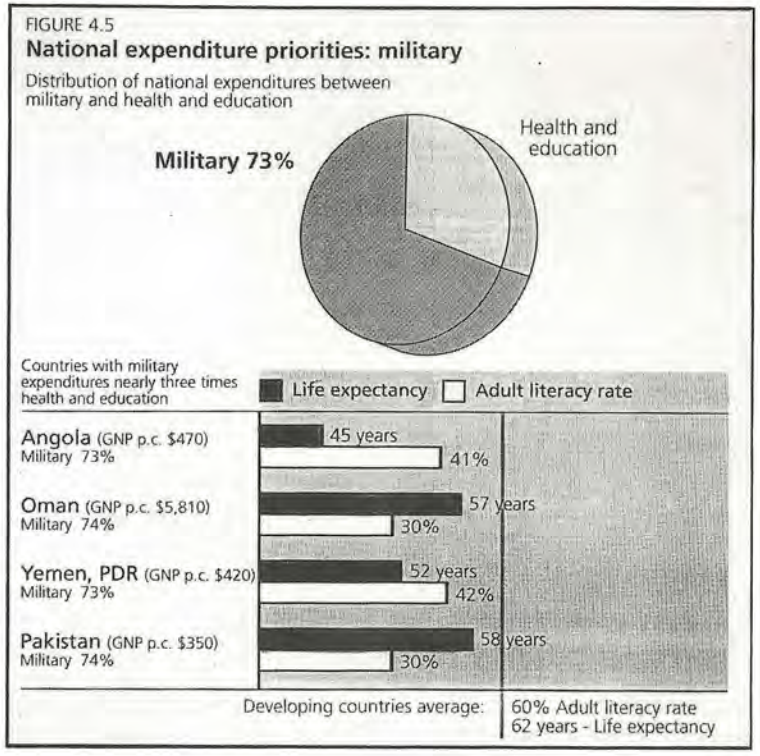
Region	Billions of £ (based on 1984 $)		Percent of GNP		Annual percentage growth
	1960	1986	1960	1986	1960-86
World	203	516	6.0	5.4	3.4
Industrialised countries	201	416	6.3	5.4	2.9
Developing countries	15	99	4.2	5.5	7.5
Least developed countries	0.3	2	2.1	3.8	7.5

Source: UNDP, ref 1, p77

Government priorities clearly matter for the level of human development. In the North, where on traditional GNP per capita measures the USA comes out at number 2, it falls 17 places when judged by UNDP's Human Development Index. The US has maintained the highest levels of military spending and research and development of the rich countries.

Military spending in the South causes greater damage because it involves sacrificing basic necessities. This is why UNDP's *Human Development Report 1990* calls for peace and disarmament in the South as well as in the North. The effects of differing priorities can be seen in Figures 1 and 2. They each show two key human development indicators - life expectancy and adult literacy - in relation to the priority given to military versus health and education spending in four countries - one group favouring high military spending, the other four not.

Figure 1.



Source: UNDP, ref 1.

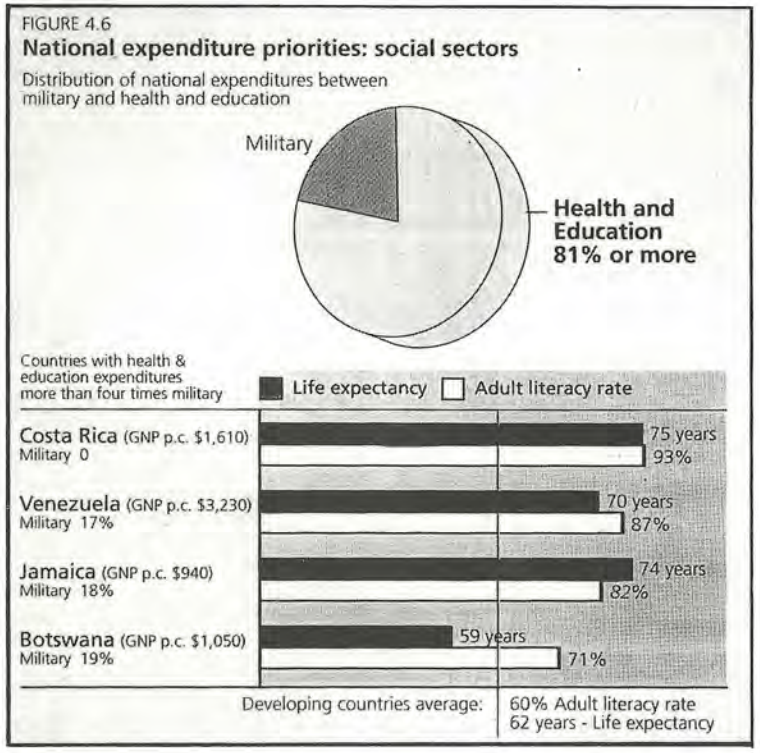
The contrasts stand out if we look at two near-by countries in Central America - Costa Rica, which does not have a standing army, and El Salvador, which has a repressive military regime. Table 2 shows the very different levels of human development, with Costa Rica generally well ahead of El Salvador, where both ordinary people and the environment have been devastated.[7]

While there are internal reasons for conflicts within many countries, these have been exacerbated by a strategic view of the world in which the North has seen the South as part of the battleground on which to play out its own conflicts.

Cold War in the North

After the Second World War the victorious allies formalised their conflicting ideologies in the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances. They became locked in an arms race. The losers, Germany and Japan, were not allowed to engage in military build-ups but were helped back on their economic feet. The Japanese, in particular, kept military spending below 1% of GNP until very recently and, unlike West Germany, did not develop a significant arms industry. The Japanese freedom from

Figure 2.



Source: UNDP, ref 1.

massive military spending is arguably partly responsible for their economic success whereas military spending has greatly exacerbated the Soviet Union's economic difficulties.

The NATO and Warsaw pact alliances account for about 83% of world military expenditures since 1960. In 1989, when total world military spending was around £625 billion, East and West spent about £500 billion. About three-quarters of this was for Europe - almost £440 per head, compared with £250 per head in the Middle East.[8]

This enormous military spending, and the massive overkill of nuclear weapons, has arguably helped maintain Northern economic superiority and control over the South. The message of the North has been that military power is what counts. In the one agreement that links actions by the South to those in the North - the Non-Proliferation Treaty - the Northern countries have done the opposite of their treaty obligations and continued and developed the arms race, especially nuclear, not reduced it.[9] A reduced nuclear arms race was supposed to be a quid pro quo for other countries not acquiring nuclear arms. If the only way to be treated as equals is to have weapons of mass destruction then these weapons will spread.

Table 2. Military and Social Indicators, 1986, in El Salvador and Cost Rica.

Indicator	El Salvador	Costa Rica
Population (million)	4.8	2.7
GNP/capita (US$)	821	1458
Military		
Armed forces(000)	43	-
Percentage of GNP spent on military	3.7	0.6
Public expenditure on military/capita (US$)	30.8	8.8
Education:		
Public expenditure/capita (US $)	19	69
Female literacy rate (%)	69	93
Water & sanitation		
Population with safe water (%)	40	91
Population with sanitation (%)	62	95
Health		
Public expenditure/capita (US$)	8	79
Population per Physician	2830	1043
DPT immunisation (%)	53	91
Life expectancy (years)	61	74
Under 5 mortality (rate/1000 live births)	87	23
Maternal mortality(rate/100,000 live births)	72	26

Source: Sivard, ref 6

The arms trade

The developing countries were recruited in the Cold War battles of the North. In the 1950s and 1960s, they were given arms and military training by one or other Northern power. As Northern economies faltered after the oil price rise in the 1970s, arms had to be paid for. But the oil states were rich and other states encouraged to borrow petro-dollars to fund all kinds of major projects, including buying weapons. This helped force governments to export to earn hard currencies to pay for the weapons and projects. It contributed to a pattern of development in which the poor suffered. Social unrest was often repressed, which required yet more weapons imports. [10]

Developing countries are the major market in the arms trade. They spent nearly £22 billion in total on arms in 1987, according to UNDP. Exports are dominated by the superpowers with Britain holding fifth place in exports to the Third World from 1984-88. (Table 3). The British government has a special export promotion department for arms, the Defence Exports Sales Organisation.

Table 3. The leading exporters of major weapons, 1984-88.

	Millions of current £ (based on constant 1985 US$)
USSR	28,666
USA	14,674
France	9,210
China	4,831
UK	4,101
FR Germany	2,256
Italy	1,521
Brazil	1,109
Israel	773
Spain	701
Netherlands	662
Egypt	592
Czechoslovakia	561
Sweden	476
North Korea	241
Others	1,826
Total	**71,949**

Source: SIPRI, ref 11

Now money is tight and debt high the developing countries' share in the arms trade is falling. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) estimates that their share of *major* weapons system sales fell from over 67% in 1984 to about 61% in 1988 - or over £13 billion to the South that year. [11]

Arms production in the South is increasing.(Figure 3) Some developing countries have built up their own arms industries - notably Brazil, India and China - and see arms as a new cash crop. Others now insist on sellers including some local production in contracts and helping develop local industries as in Indonesia and Turkey. There are also reports of some developing countries seeking to link arms contracts to aid deals, for example, between Britain and Malaysia. [12]

At least a quarter of all Third World debt is estimated to have been incurred to buy arms - a product that does not help develop the economy or society of a country. Northern exporters are keen to export arms. [13] Arms dealers play on their products bringing a solution to the many internal and regional conflicts countries face. The implication is that arms provide security for a country. However, possession of high-tech weapons by one state encourages their neighbours to want them and regional arms races start up.

In many countries people are not aware of the link between their poverty and military expenditure. They may also lack the means of expressing disapproval and getting the policy changed.

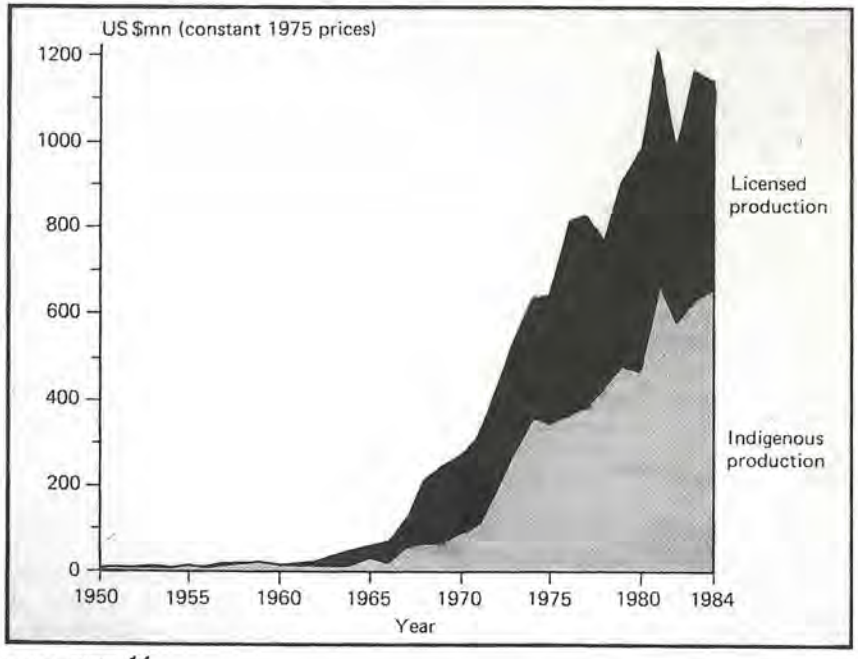
Wars in the South

During the Cold War, both sides sought to manipulate the South for their own interests. As new nations emerged, their governments were supported or undermined by either East or West as part of the global superpower struggle. Egypt was first feted by the USSR then the USA. In Ethiopia and Somalia the superpowers also changed sides to gain access to Red Sea shipping lanes.

In the first phase of the Cold War, East and West clashed in Iran in the 1940s, then in the Philippines, Malaysia, Korea, Vietnam and Guatemala. Next came "the US drive for a new margin of military superiority over the USSR" says Fred Halliday, Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics. [5] But as part of this some US strategists believed they needed nuclear superiority to win in diplomatic and military crises in the South. Another East-West battleground was the wave of revolutions in the South from 1974-80.

The main US response to changes in the South has been military: "greater aid to its Third World allies; preparation for Third World intervention; the building of new bases, and increased arms sales", says Prof Halliday. These have been accompanied by "support for counter-revolutions, as in Nicaragua, economic sabotage, psychological warfare and international press campaigns" and support for proxy wars fought by allies, for example in "South Africa's attacks on its neighbours, and Israel's invasion of Lebanon".[5]

Figure 3. Value of production of major weapons in the Third World, 1950-84



Source: SIPRI [14]

Both military and economic assistance were, and still are, used to further Northern strategic interests. The 'domino theory' was used to justify hostility to any country that attempted non-capitalist approaches to development. Vietnam, Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador are just a few countries in which ordinary people have suffered from armed conflict supported by the North.

Since World War Two, there have been 127 wars - using Ruth Sivard's definition of over 1000 killed/year. Only four have been in Europe, compared with 88 in the 40 years before it. These 127 wars killed 21 million people, 70% in Asia, and devastated the lives of many millions more.

War and 'less formal' armed conflicts are not fought just by soldiers. Whole societies wage war, with civilians, especially the poor and defenceless, suffering ever greater direct casualties. (Box 1) In the early 1950s, civilians were half the war dead but in the late 1980s about three-quarters of the total, notes Sivard.

Modern weapons and military strategies do not, often cannot, discriminate between civilian and military targets. As well as nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical and biological weapons, are similarly indiscriminate. Conventional weapons are becoming more so, in design and use. Some, for example cluster bombs and other 'area-impact munitions', have the effect of a tactical nuclear weapon and can destroy an area the size of a small town centre. [9] Chinese-made mines take the legs off women and children tending the fields in Kampuchea. American defoliants like Agent Orange still leave the Vietnamese environment devastated, and children born deformed.

Direct intervention in the South

A significant part of East-West arms spending is aimed at the rest of the world. The United States has organised its forces so it can operate and intervene worldwide. Nuclear weapons account for about 10% of the US Defence budget whereas conventional forces for use in the South take up about 25%. [5]

The US Southern Command covers Central and South America and has many troops in Panama. Pacific Command stretches from the US West Coast to almost the Indian Ocean with large bases in Japan, Korea and the Philippines. The Central Command has its HQ in the USA but its logistics base on the Island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean - from which the islanders were evicted by the British to live in poverty on Mauritius. [15] Central Command can call on about 400,000 troops, covers an area from Kenya to Pakistan via the Gulf, and is geared to protecting US oil supplies. [16]

Britain also wants to be able to intervene well beyond her borders. As the 1990 Defence Estimates note, "A country with the United Kingdom's historic responsibilities and world-wide interests must moreover consider security, and the provision it needs, on a wider basis than the European context alone". [17]

The UK's rapid deployment force for use in the South - the Joint Force Headquarters (JFHQ) - was set up in the 1980s. The JFHQ has a skeleton staff command centre which can call on 500 planners and support staff and 10,000 troops. They can be deployed at "very, very short notice" according to Lt. Col. Sir

BOX 1

Women and Children under attack

"Children are the principle victims of modern warfare. More than 80 per cent of the direct and indirect victims of military action are children and women".

Richard Jolly, deputy director, UNICEF.

Twenty-five children die every hour from the effects of war in Southern Africa. By 1988, more Angolan and Mozambican children under the age of five had died from war and destabilisation than everyone killed by atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In Angola and Mozambique, one out of three children die before the age of five. They tie with Afghanistan for the highest infant mortality rates in the world.

Overall, in the nine Front-line states in Southern Africa - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - which have a total population of 70 million, one in five child deaths before five are due to the effects of armed conflict. Some are killed directly. Most die from the breakdown of food supplies or the loss of health and other services like clean water.

The wars in Southern Africa have cost these nine countries a staggering £37 billion between 1980-88. That is equivalent to two years production in the region, or £500 for every man, woman and child. The average Mozambican income is less than £125/yr.

In Mozambique by 1987, 20% of health facilities were destroyed, 36% of primary schools and about 30% of pupils forced out of school. Up to 10% of children are deeply traumatised. According to UNICEF,

> "Most of these children have seen relatives and friends butchered as well as homes destroyed. Many have been injured themselves. Some of these children have been press-ganged by insurgents, forced to undergo military training and obliged to wound or kill."[18]

The level of conflict has lessened to some degree in recent years, but, says UNICEF, "as security improves the need for immediate assistance and rehabilitation support **increases**". In Namibia, UNICEF has proposed a programme for rehabilitation and development which may cost about $100 million/year.

If aid offers to newly independent Namibia are any guide, not enough assistance is being offered. Here, where life expectance for blacks is about 40, and for whites, 69, the US Secretary of State offered $500,000 aid in its first year of Independence. In neighbouring Angola, the US provides secretly an estimated $40 million a year to Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas, adding to the continued death and destruction.[19]

Geoffrey Howlett, its former commander. The units involved have been given tours of duty outside the NATO area, which is restricted to Europe, for example in Belize. They have also taken part in overseas exercises, notably the £4.3 million 'Swift Sword' joint exercise in Iraqi-allied Oman in 1986.[20]

Apart from the moral arguments against desire to intervene worldwide, this Northern view of a 'right to intervene' influences developing countries to continue or increase their military spending.

The continued development and refinement of nuclear weapons, and the opposition to a total test ban treaty, are evidence of the North's one-sidedness in approaching arms reductions. Neither can it expect to be listened to in calling for reduced military spending in the South when it continues to greatly overspend and be a willing supplier of arms.[21]

Indirect effects of militarism

About 6% of world GNP is spent on the military but this average hides huge variations and does not reflect the impact of this spending. Major effects include:

- *On resource use:* Military spending takes many material resources and skilled people away from work in scientific, social and economic development and uses them for unproductive, potentially destructive purposes. It is wasteful. The diversion of skills is of concern in the UK as it faces labour shortages as well as in developing countries with their limited number of skilled people.

  About a million people work in the military and related industries and "include much skilled labour and engineering expertise which is in short supply in other parts of manufacturing industry" notes the April 1990 issue of *Lloyds Bank Economic Bulletin*. It goes on: "the defence industries are using production capacity which could otherwise be used to manufacture either sophisicated consumer goods, thus avoiding the need to import them, or capital goods which would add to the UK's productive capacity".

  Developing countries generally spend a greater proportion of their GNP and public expenditure on the military - an average of 20% but over 50% in a few countries with active conflicts - and have smaller resources to meet their people's needs. The World Bank concluded that the balance of evidence suggests that high military spending adversely affects a country's economic development.[22]

  As then US President Eisenhower said in 1953 "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired represents, in the final analysis, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, who are cold and are not clothed"

- *On research and development:* Worldwide, over half a million scientists and half the physicists and engineers in research globally, work military research and development(R&D). They get higher salaries and more resources for such research.[23]

  World military R&D cost around £50 billion in 1985 - about one quarter of all R&D funds. In the UK the government spends almost £2.5 billion on military R&D, which is about the same as public spending on *all* other civilian

R&D.[24] Only the USA and the USSR spend a greater proportion of public R&D on the military, at 60% and 70% respectively. India spends 19%, West Germany and Australia 13%, and Switzerland, Norway and Japan less than 5% of R&D funds on the military.[25]

Military contracts have often been on a cost-plus basis which has lead to ways of producing equipment expensively, according to Prof Seymour Melman. He argues that in countries with high military R&D spending it has reduced the capacity of industry to compete. [26] Military production takes much more R&D effort than civilian production - about 20 times in some estimates - and the spin-offs are relatively small.[27]

The militarisation of R&D diverts scientists from work on areas that increase human security like the environment, agriculture, and health.

- *On human relations:* Air Commodore Alastair Mackie, former director of Air Staff Briefing in the Ministry of Defence, characterises the military mind as ruled by discipline, uniformity, conformity and hierarchy. These shared characteristics pose a major barrier to change, have an inward looking culture, and squash dissent.[28]

Militarism also requires an emphasis on fear and "the enemy". From President Reagan's view of the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire' to the Iranians similar view of America there is a need to project all that is bad onto an enemy. [29]

"At times of international crisis it is always the enemy that is warmongering, bloodthirsty, threatening nuclear aggression etc., and it is always oneself who is a righteous defender of the truth", says Anton Obholzer, chairman of the Tavistock clinic. To counter this tendency to stereotype "it is essential to meet with and have ongoing dialogue with 'the other side'. It is only by such contact that we come to the realisation that they are very much like 'us', and that the perception of 'them' as being different, threatening, etc., is a consequence of our denying these qualities in ourselves and perceiving them only in the other side."

- *On freedom:* A growing vested interest develops between military, industrial and political groups. They often identify their interests with those of the nation.

The concept of national security is used to justify secrecy, censorship, restriction of freedoms, lies, and sanctioned killing. It can lead to a stifling of dissent, fear of change, restricted information, and reduced exchanges between different countries and citizens.[30]

A more subtle effect of the control and power-based approach of militarism is on the way people perceive how to solve problems. Armed conflict rather than cooperation and the rule of law is reinforced.

-*On health:* The development and testing of nuclear weapons has had detrimental effects on the health and welfare of those around the testing grounds - from the South Sea Islanders who have been relocated to make way for tests, to the British Servicemen who witnessed UK tests in Australia dying from cancer to Soviet citizens living around the test sites.

The post-war division of Europe is disappearing and along with it the rationale for the whole East-West military confrontation. The iron curtain has shattered. Eastern Europeans want democratic governments and improved social and economic conditions. Major arms cuts are being negotiated. Security is being redefined. [31] NATO has formally declared that the threat from the East is not credible.

The North is becoming a progressively smaller proportion of humanity yet its demands on resources are greater than ever. New military and economic powers are growing up, like Brazil, China, India, Iraq, and S. Korea. But there is a clear danger that "changes in East-West relations are likely to reinforce the North-South cleavage that has expanded so dramatically during the 1980s" according to Hudson Research International.

The rich, mainly white, countries of West and East, will account for about 20% of the world population at the end of the 1990s, compared to 40% at the end of World War Two. Though "sheer numbers do not translate into political power" as Jessica Tuchman Mathews of the World Resources Institute says "the demographic shift will thrust the welfare of developing nations further towards the centre of international affairs". [32]

The prospect of economic apartheid - in which the rich north and elites in the South consume most of the resources - is not an acceptable or sustainable future for the world. Yet present trends are moving nearer to it, rather than away, with Latin America and Africa, in particular, in danger of being marginalised from economic development.[32] Economic refugees, due to neglect of development in the South, could lead to serious conflicts.

Susan George argues that in the 1980s, the need for the North to fuel wars to maintain its strategic interests has diminished as the debt crisis can serve the same purpose as war. [33] Debt achieves the classic goal of warfare - "it forces the adversary to do our will". Northern countries can get raw materials on the cheapest possible terms as countries desperately in need of foreign exchange compete to produce export crops for hard cash and drive prices down. It also allows access to other people's infrastructure on very cheap terms, as in debt for equity swaps.

The debt crisis prevents the South from having much say in the way the system is run to the, at least short-term, benefit of the North - which has received a net transfer of resources from the South of about £180 billion since 1982. [34] That is the equivalent of about four Marshall plans. By dealing with debt problems on a case by case basis the North can put pressure on different countries for different ends. For example, America put financial pressure on Costa Rica, which has £2.8 billion debts, to discourage President Arias' peace plan initiative for Central America. It is, says George, "financial low intensity conflict".

Arms cuts

Both superpowers are engaged in arms reduction talks, and the Soviet Union has announced some unilateral cuts. It has also proposed ways to strengthen the rule of international law and develop peace-keeping.[34] Present talks though still lack an overall vision and are technically tied down rather than goal directed.

For one side to substantially disarm it must get positive responses from the other. Without these, the momentum will be lost and the militarist wings of both sides will be strengthened. Even if present talks succeed (Box 2) huge quantities of .pa weapons will remain. The process must continue through the 1990s, progressively reducing weapons worldwide.

There is a growing public expectation in the North of a 'peace dividend' - a release of resources from the military following changes in Europe. However, there is considerable resistance from the military and military industries to the idea. A long-term potential saving of £250 billion per year could be made by halving the vastly overblown East-West military budgets by the end of the decade. To allocate these resources in ways that promote real security requires they be divided, perhaps as Willy Brandt has suggested, with two-thirds for East-West needs, and one third for the South.[35]

Countries in the South also need to cut spending, especially since that is where spending has been growing fastest and where the resources released would be of immediate benefit to the poor. It would also help in getting public opinion in the North to accept reallocating part of their cuts to the South.

Some people pushing for the peace dividend want it spent only in the North, repairing infrastructure, promoting welfare and dealing with pollution but such a narrow vision misses the key point about real security - that it must deal with poverty and injustice everywhere otherwise it is not dealing with the underlying causes of many threats to human security. It also ignores the suffering in the South caused by the Cold War.

Diversion of aid to the East

The most immediate concern about the changes in Europe is that they are diverting attention away from the needs of the poor in the South and will reduce the amount of development assistance and loan finance available to the South. Poverty in Eastern Europe is far less than in most developing countries. But Eastern Europe seems to be a more attractive place for investors and governments.

Aid officials from Brussels to Washington, UN agencies and multilateral lenders like the World Bank are all concerned, at least privately, about cuts in aid and funds available to the South. The Dutch Minister for Economic Cooperation already sees pressures in Europe to move aid money to the East[36] and the Italians are reported to have done so. Although officially denied, various sources suggest this is happening more widely.

In the UK, the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Nicholas Ridley, has called for aid to be switched from the South to Eastern Europe. However, the

BOX 2.

Talks and Treaties

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) - includes all European countries except Albania, plus the USA and Canada, and is discussing a second round of Confidence and Security Building Measures after the inspections and information exchanges agreed in 1986.

Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) - part of the CSCE process, these separate talks aim at reducing force levels in Europe - from the Atlantic to the Urals. Both sides tabled draft treaties in December 1989. Urgent agreement is needed on this first treaty which should be followed by a second treaty with deeper cuts.[37]

US-Soviet Nuclear and Space Talks - aim to prevent an arms race in space, terminate it on earth, limit and reduce nuclear arms, and strengthen strategic stability. After the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty eliminating ground-based missiles with a range of 500-5500km plus an extensive verification system, was agreed two groups of talks are left:

Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) - between the USA and USSR aimed at reducing nuclear weapons, with cuts of up to 50% on the cards. That would still leave about 12,000 warheads on each side. A credible minimum deterrent would be a few hundred on either side.

Defence and space talks - aim at control of military use of outer space but stalled over the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) and both sides far apart.

Conference on Disarmament - 40 nations - 5 nuclear weapons states, 7 Western, 7 East European and Socialist, and 21 neutral and non-aligned states. It is the only permanent forum for multilateral negotiations. It reports to the UN General Assembly and meets in Geneva for six months each year. Aims for a global ban on chemical weapons, which the UK supports.[38]

Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference - The NPT was drafted in 1968, aiming to stop nuclear weapons spreading. It has 141 signatories, 5-year review conferences - the fourth in 1990 - and comes up for renewal in 1995. Three nuclear weapons states have signed - the UK, USA and USSR - but not France or China.

Missile Technology Control Regime - established in 1987 by France, Italy, Canada, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany, the UK and USA, to control by similar national legislation the transfer of technology to the South that can be used in nuclear capable ballistic missiles.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty - essential to stop nuclear arms race. Six non-aligned governments tabled an amendment in 1988 to extend the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty to underground tests thus making a CTBT. The three depository governments - the UK, USA, USSR - must convene a conference on the amendment but the UK and USA plan to veto it.[39]

Minister for Overseas Development, Lynda Chalker, who, unlike Mr Ridley, is not a cabinet minister, has said that any aid for the East must not come from the aid budget.[40]

In Sweden there are proposals to take money from the aid budget to send to Poland although the director of the Swedish International Development Authority argues that the government should increase its overall aid spending for the East and South, if necessary by cutting arms spending. Norwegian aid officials are also worried and suggest arms cuts to provide sufficient resources to aid the East and South.[41]

In the USA, where aid has always had a strongly political and strategic bias, aid to Africa is falling - down from $667 million in economic assistance in 1984, or 14% of the total, to about $575 million or 11% of the total now. "It's always had a great deal of sympathy, but when it came to dividing up the pie, Africa always suffered from higher national security interests elsewhere" says Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African Affairs.[42] These interests have been in Israel, Central America and S. E. Asia, and now seem to include Eastern Europe.

New Enemies for the North?

The military and associated industries have a strong interest in continued arms races and high levels of military spending. NATO and strategic planners are finding new enemies. Some talk of the Third World or the Japanese threat.[43] The development of ballistic missiles in some developing countries was used to justify continued research into Star Wars by Lt-Gen George Monahan, director of the SDI research programme.[44] President Bush requested £560 million for SDI research in his budget proposals for Fiscal Year 1991, an increase over 1990.

Other threats are being discussed by Northern strategists and may be used to justify continued high spending on the military.[45] The danger is the South will be put in the front line whether the new threat is drugs, religious fundamentalism, terrorism or migrants - especially as growing populations face degraded environments in the South. Yet these threats cannot be solved militarily.

Conflicts could arise over energy, resources and the effects of climatic change could. Without new ways and a willingness to smooth these out, they could lead to wars of all kinds. To avoid possible international conflicts new kinds of stand-by plans and teams are needed, to serve the same insurance function as the military supposedly do.

A complete rethink of what the North's strategic interests are is called for. Morally, as well as in self interest, this should be away from continued military and economic supremacy to a relationship of equal sharers in the world's resources. This is perhaps the most challenging objective for the 1990s.

Arms conversion or exports?

Before the prospect of arms cuts, it was clear that far too much industry is devoted to weapons production in Europe. Trade union estimates suggested a 40% overcapacity in the mid 1980s. Even the UK government wants some rationalisation to take place and a more competitive framework for military contracting.[46] Companies themselves recognise the European market is likely to decline. Some large companies have been trying to sell off their defence industry sections. Others have been merging and developing joint ventures and diversifying their product mix.

Another response is to seek new markets and build up export sales. These would almost certainly be to developing countries, which account for most of the export market in arms. Instead, reductions in arms production and military R&D need to be planned. Both management and labour in these industries should be involved in planning changes, with retraining and relocation assistance provided for those affected.

Some companies, like Deutsche Aerospace which was formed by the merger of aircraft manufacturer MBB and Daimler-Benz, have set up units to monitor conversion or diversification of activities. The Deutsche Aerospace unit has 200 staff to seek alternative to arms production.[47]

In the USA there is over 25 years experience in helping communities adjust to the impact of military base and weapons makers closures in the Office of Economic Adjustment in the Pentagon. Their experience suggests that a cooperative, planned and community involving approach is needed.[48]

However, as Canada's former ambassador for disarmament, Douglas Roche, says "The true purpose of conversion must be kept in mind. If military spending was motivated in the first place by security needs and if the definition of security has now changed to embrace the economic and social reasons for regional conflicts, then money diverted from defence ought to be channelled to the development needs of the world."[49]

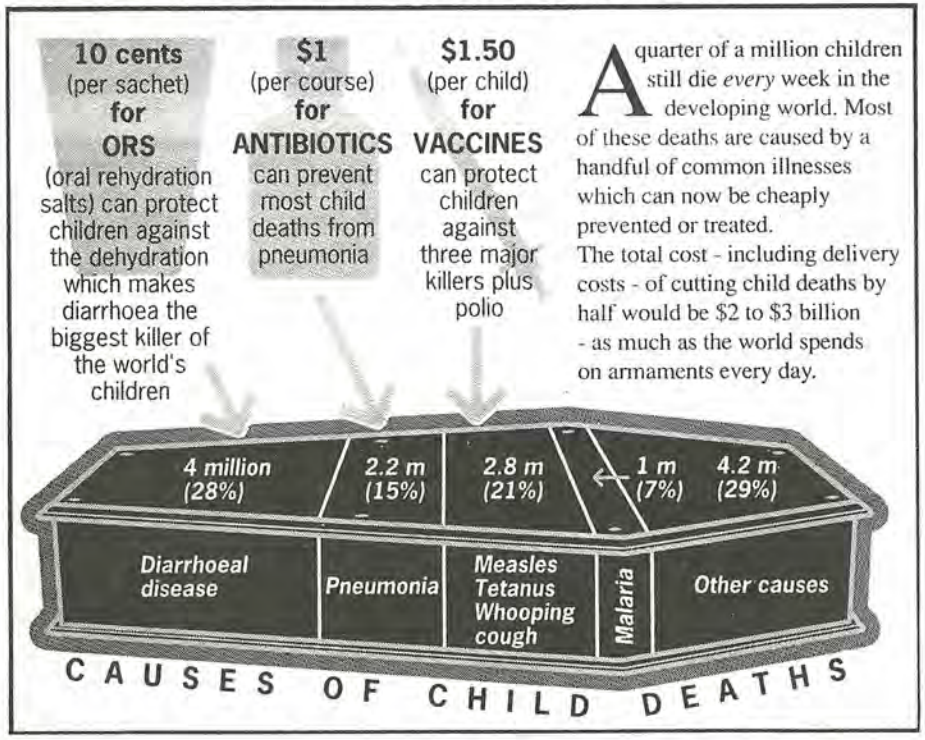
Conversion, although initially required on a large scale in the North, is also needed in the South. But such a response from the South is extremely unlikely unless Northern arms cuts are great and improved international security arrangements are developed.

Southern fears

There is no single view from the South anymore than there is from the North. Southern elites fear that East-West changes may mean neglect of development in the South. There is great uncertainty about the political consequences of reduced East-West rivalry. Some fear Northern superpowers banding together against the south or one becoming dominant. This can be used to drum up popular support for military spending. Smaller states fear the ambitions of growing regional powers, such as India, may go unchecked if they cannot recruit the countervailing support of one of the superpowers. Others fear that Northern powers may exacerbate local conflicts to provide a market for their weapons.

Northern peace movements, especially anti-nuclear ones, and concerns with security can seem irrelevant to ordinary people in the South. They are likely to remain so until they support those struggling for land, forest, water and human rights in the South - which are the most pressing requirement for real security for the poorest. [50]

Figure 4. Causes of child deaths and cost of prevention



Source: UNICEF

This decade will see born the largest generation in the history of the world - 1.5 billion[51]. Real security for them requires longer-term thinking than politicians usually aspire to. Yet thinking about children is a good focus for making the idea of real security clearer. What are the security requirements of children?

First, those that meet their basic needs - for food, clean water, shelter, clothing, education and health. On present trends over 100 million children will die in the South in the 1990s, half from three common and easily preventable or treatable diseases. (Figure 4) Many millions more grow up malnourished, unhealthy and illiterate.

Secondly, children need to be able to develop mentally and emotionally. This may be prevented by lack of physical goods - like food - but also by physical or sexual abuse or by exploitation, indoctrination and militarisation of childhood. In many places - Southern Africa, Central America, Kampuchea - children are drawn into war from their earliest years.

Thirdly, children need protection against intimidation and terror, both as individuals and as members of a society. They need to grow up in the knowledge that conflicts in life can be resolved through the rule of just law, and that they will be able to participate in shaping their society's decision-making and in making a living.

Adults can be moved to cease fighting by thinking of their children. In several war-torn countries, including El Salvador, UNICEF has helped organise war free days devoted to immunise children against the six major killer diseases. Other positive signs are the agreement on a children's charter in 1989 and the 1990 summit of world leaders to focus on the needs of children.

If governments are serious about sustainable development for this and future generations, they must seize the opportunity provided by East-West changes to end the military hi-jack of security and develop a framework for real security. The central requirement is to progressively reallocate military spending to real security needs. A better understanding of the way people and societies tend to project their fears onto others and create enemies is also needed. Such understanding is necessary for people to be able to reject manipulation. [52]

The chances will be greater if massive popular support - of the kind that helped topple the regimes in the East - pushes for change. A whole range of organisations, which have tended to deal with single issues in development, environment and peace, must reinforce each other in promoting key items on a real security agenda. It requires action by local, national, regional and global institutions.

For the poor, the crucial issue is that arms cuts happen in a way that promotes their security. This requires a deliberate attempt to make them do so. Otherwise, they could exacerbate the already growing gap between rich and poor.

Reallocation of military spending

Halving military expenditure by 2000AD is the minimum initial target for the planned reduction of military spending.[53] Only cuts of this size will provide the resources on the scale necessary to tackle threats to real security. In practice halving expenditure only requires an annual decline of about 4%. The size of cuts needed is similar in North and South but the way they are used may be different.

- In the North the savings would release savings of £250 billion per year by 2000AD. The money and resources saved to be committed to real security spending in a *minimum* 2:1 ratio North:South.

  Most military spending, East and West, has been designed to 'secure' each side from the other. Part of the cuts, therefore, can provide assistance to the East - not the aid budgets for the South. In the East, reduced military budgets would also help them develop themselves while in the West they would be used to deal with economic, environmental and other threats.

  The South should get a significant part of this peace dividend as they have suffered directly and indirectly from the Cold War. It is in the North's self-interest to assist as without this, everyone's security will be threatened through increased conflict and environmental degradation.[54]

- In the South the savings would release £60 billion/year by 2000AD. Reduced military budgets in the South would provide the most immediate help for the poor as military spending tends to compete directly with health, education and infrastructure investments in water and sanitation.

  The presidents of the World Bank and IMF have urged developing countries to reduce their military spending, and UNDP and the UK Minister for Overseas Development, Lynda Chalker, have both talked of linking aid levels to military spending levels. However, attempts to press such conditionality may be resisted unless there are substantial reductions in the North, which spends vastly more on the military than the South.

Presently, there is little willingness in the West to make and transfer military cuts into aid to the East, let alone to the South. But the demand for public and private investment and assistance in Eastern Europe is high. Eastern Europe is competing for attention and economic assistance just when much more assistance is urgently needed in the South as some conflicts decline, as in Nicaragua and Namibia, and real efforts are made to reduce others. Countries coming out of war need major assistance. This could also be funded by the World Bank - which incorporates the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.[55]

Targets for cuts and programmes to redirect the resources are essential to provide goals and a measure of achievement. But so too are means to verify that cuts and reallocation is taking place. UNDP, in cooperation with the World Bank and IMF, could monitor the effects of national policies and programmes to reduce military expenditures. This would build upon the work done in the *Human Development Report 1990* in which it urges developing countries to reconsider their levels of military expenditures. Specifically it calls for:

- the ratio of military to social expenditures to be one of the criteria for external assistance;
- ceilings for military debts;
- discouraging arms shipments to developing countries; and
- action by world powers to defuse regional tensions and ensure global security and economic justice.

Arms destruction and transfers

For the poor in the South, arms reduction talks and the changing shape of the arms industries are of vital importance, both to reduce the risk of destruction, and to switch resources to sustainable development. Arms reduction talks are needed, by region in the South as well as in Europe.

At present, the talks concern Europe and the Superpowers. Whatever weapons are cut, they must be destroyed not exported to developing countries. The temptation to move weapons out of the area covered by the CFE talks and sell them off may be high so clear means of verification are needed. Such sales would fuel conflicts in the South.

In the long-term an independent, international verification agency is needed but in the meantime future agreements must include national reporting on what happens to the arms and means for verification. An international arms trade register for all transactions and technology transfers is also needed. It could be based at SIPRI and funded by CSCE members.

In some regions, especially Southern Africa, it may be impossible to redeploy military spending to more productive uses or reduce military imports until the basic causes of conflict are solved. This requires much greater effort and resources put into peacekeeping and conflict resolution .

R&D redirection

Real security requires R&D, which should be financed from military cuts. These need to be monitored. Large arms cuts and reductions in ground forces will not increase security unless development of more accurate and destructive weapons is also stopped and the scientific talent directed to more useful ends.

To halt the technological arms race, military R&D in the big spenders needs cutting to less than 10% of the total by 2000AD. Most urgent is a complete nuclear test ban treaty, ending 'Star Wars' research and an international verification force. Savings could be used to fund R&D into verification techniques and technologies to monitor and evaluate arms cuts agreements and switching resources from military use.

In the UK, where military R&D accounts for about half of all publicly funded R&D, a new R&D strategy for real security is urgently needed. This would identify a range of areas requiring attention and provide funding. Two key areas in need of R&D are peaceful conflict resolution techniques and sustainable development using environmentally-friendly technologies usable by the poor.

Human development - today's strategic interest

In an economically and environmentally interdependent world, sustainable human development is the key strategic national interest. It is necessary to provide real security, and the measure of its attainment is the welfare and progress of the poor. The resources released from the wasteland of military spending can help change in various areas:

Economy

Balanced and sustainable economic development is needed for real security. But global economic development is currently unbalanced and unsustainable. It is unbalanced because the North dominates the South, uses most of the world's resources and receives more money from the South than it gives as a result of the debt crisis. In short, the North is overdeveloped and the South is underdeveloped.

This pattern of development is unsustainable. It causes environmental destruction, as in the tropical rainforests, and hurts the poor and defenceless, with children dying as a result. Debt is forcing an export orientation on countries that cannot meet their people's basic needs and an over-exploitation of natural resources.

But underlying the debt crisis is a trade crisis with the poorest countries locked into a downward spiral where they compete with each other with ever lower prices for unprocessed commodities. To tackle the debt crisis:

- The commercial banks should take responsibility for their misguided lending, recognise the wider issues than simply profit and loss, and cancel debts - all for the poorest countries and at least half for the rest.

- Governments in the North need to reduce interest rates. Interest rate rises have greatly exacerbated the debt crisis. They have risen largely due to US policies. The US became the world's major borrower in the 1980s - partly caused by massive US military spending. Major US arms spending cuts would help the US tackle its fiscal and trade deficits which would reduce interest rates and benefit the South through reduced interest payments.

Part of the resources saved by reducing military spending should go into debt relief; aid for poverty-focussed projects; and a global environment action fund. Another part should go to permit the restructuring of Northern economies needed to cope with a fairer trading system.

The other major area requiring major changes and funding is in tackling the overdevelopment in the North, with its inefficient and inequitable use of most of the world's resources. This requires:

- Serious efforts to move to a recycling-based economy and reduce resource-intensive lifestyles. One of the threats to our survival is seeing the good life solely identified with material products so that well-being becomes "well-having".[56]

- Altering accounting methods to take account of the environmental costs of economic activity.

Dealing with these will diffuse likely conflicts over inequitable resource usage and an unfair trading system.

Environment

If concern about sustainable development and the environment is to be good news for the poor, then the North's traditional perspectives must change. The rich, North and South, often blame the poor - for being ignorant. But for the poor survival now, may demand actions they know prejudice the future, like cutting down trees for fuel.

The North should not try to impose standards on the South it has not had to bear. Instead, it must take the costly measures to control environmental degradation at home and assist in developing and transferring technology to the South to allow environmentally sustainable development. These require:

- Major R&D on more energy efficient, environment-friendly technologies, which will be made freely available to the South.

- A massive environmental research programme to increase understanding of the human impact on the planet. One area is in climatic change, which is likely to affect developing countries more as their small capital reserves, shortage of engineers and scientists and weak central governments will be least able to adapt.[57] It could widen the gap between North and South. Those at the margin - the poor - are likely to be affected first.

Politics

Nations are both too big and too small to provide real security. One of today's challenges is to link global concerns about disarmament, justice, basic needs, and environmental sustainability with community level involvement and participation.

As the centralist, communist approach is waning there is a danger of triumphalist capitalism. Yet capitalism and the global market have failed to help poor countries to climb out of poverty. In the 1980s, wealth is transferred from the poor to the rich. The South now makes net payments to the North - over £32 billion in 1989 - with drastic consequences for the poor.[58]

Ordinary people need the power to participate in decisions about their future and the resources and infrastructure that will enable them to be productive. For this, some form of democratic structure and an open flow of information seems essential. It requires an educated population with access to the information needed to make good decisions. Much more funding for education and communications are needed if this is to be realised.

Women, who have been well represented in the popular peace movement, have almost no part in arms reduction talks - only 5% of those participating in the Vienna talks from 1975-86 were women. And at national decision making levels too, the area of defence has the lowest participation of women - even lower than economic and other issues where it is low anyway. [59]

An international politics of peace

While acceptance of the need for participative, accountable democratic structures is growing within nations, it is far from the case internationally. Real security requires just, enforceable international laws which uphold the standards required for human development. Such an international order, putting individual and collective human security at the centre, challenges the idea of the state monopoly of armed force as a weapon to impose its will. This requires a complete switch to truly defensive-'defence' based on minimal deterrence as a first step. The aim must be to remove the ability of any power to engage in foreign intervention. Any interventions must be limited to a legally-constituted international force.

The almost mythical issue of national sovereignty is often conjured up to dismiss any such talk. At the same time economic sovereignty is becoming increasingly meaningless. Economic sovereignty over large areas of production is passing to transnational global corporations, while the global capital market causes currencies to slide at will, and interest rates to soar. Corporate and financial actions cause governments to change their polices without any thought about their sovereignty being made a nonsense of in the process. Sovereignty has become a useful excuse for unwillingness to change by the powerful.

To achieve this kind of international democratisation requires a much greater ability to resolve conflicts peacefully than humankind has shown in the past. But this approach has never had sufficient resources, nor the legal framework in which it could be achieved. It requires:

- more power to the UN and International Courts, and more democratic accountability amongst international organisations in part through opening them up to scrutiny by non-governmental organisations;
- more specific efforts to reduce tension in the South and speed up arms cuts;
- ending all forms of military aid to repressive regimes and armies with a record of human rights abuses; and
- expansion in peace keeping and conflict resolution personnel.

Implications for Institutions

Promoting real security means drawing together complex political, economic, social and environmental threads into a strategy that promises survival not annihilation. It requires action at various levels. A few of these include:

The United Nations

The UN can effectively assist in peacekeeping if the will for it to do so is there. The important role played by the UN at the end of the 1980s in Namibia and the Iran/Iraq war, suggests that this is possible. The organisation could prevent conflicts but this means giving the Secretary General more power to send fact finding and monitoring teams into areas of conflict before hostilities have broken out. This requires the 15 member Security Council to make changes that would

give some of its authority to the Secretary General. [60]

A UN standing force is probably untenable, would be very costly and is unlikely to be authorised by the major powers. *Ad hoc* forces are probably the answer, but with members trained in peace keeping. The International Peace Academy already provides training for senior military staff engaged in peace keeping operations, and this could be expanded. [61] A significant group in each contributing army could receive such training and be called upon to form UN peace-keeping forces.

The World Bank:

This should take on a specific role in funding reconstruction in countries emerging from armed conflict, especially in Africa, and its aid should have a poverty focus.

The International Monetary Fund:

The IMF should ensure that structural adjustment packages include reductions in military spending and that adjustments benefit the poor.

Regional Organisations

Inadequate provisions exist for regionally-based disarmament negotiations and approaches to developing real security policies. This implies, firstly, developing common security frameworks in different regions of the world where regional disputes and tensions could lead to armed conflict. In Europe, the process is underway with the 35 member CSCE. This grouping should develop a common security approach which includes dismantling the existing blocks, an acceptance of minimum deterrence and new security policies perhaps based on the idea of social defence. [62]

This could provide a framework where the deep ethnic and national divisions could be worked out without the kind of armed conflict that has been Europe's hall mark for centuries and which has dragged the world into two World Wars.

However, this should not simply be a European affair. The CSCE process should become a regional section of a broader International Conference on Security and Cooperation, which provides the umbrella linking regional negotiations. This would report to the UN and might draw on work already underway in other parts of the world, for example, based on the Latin American nuclear free zone.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should:

- Make real security for human development its key strategic goal
- Transform existing East - West alliances into a common security group, initially based on minimum deterrence.
- Promote R&D on real security threats and makes results freely available

- Convert arms industries to peaceful production

- Ban arms exports to all repressive, undemocratic regimes immediately and discourage all arms exports.

European Community:

There are several things the European Community could do:

- Review the impact of changes in Europe on member states' aid plans, with a commitment to maintain and expand aid levels to the South.

- Propose measures for assisting the East from the military budgets of member states.

- Report on restructuring of the European arms industry to meet reduced demand in Europe, prepare conversion assistance requirements and regulations required to ensure there is not an export drive to developing countries.

National organisations

Real security must become part of the agenda of the national political parties. It offers a way of drawing together the environmental, peace, justice and development concerns of different sections of society and provides a target around which debate and policy can focus.

Much of the impetus for this change of vision is coming from the local level - from community groups, churches, unions, local political branches and organisations like WDM - and forcing its way up. Single interest groups - in environment, health, peace and development - will not disappear. But people are recognising their interconnection, and beginning to work together towards real security.

The charter of the United Nations begins "we the peoples", not the governments of the world. Today, people in different countries must press their governments to undertake a review of their real security needs and link measures to meeting those with reducing military spending.

In the UK the following measures are needed:

- The government should take a leading role in promoting real security internationally by promoting the measures discussed above.

- At home, a Royal Commission or similarly wide-ranging review body should broaden the defence review into a real security review crossing all government departments and report within 12 months. It should produce a plan for funds from military and skilled personnel to be redirected at environmental, social, economic and humanitarian development projects tackling real security needs both North and South.

- The UK governments' arms export department (DESO) should be closed but at least as much money spent on an economic adjustment office to assist in the UK with conversion and retraining for those affected by cuts.

- UK arms manufactures should set up conversion/diversification units, drawing on US and European experience and involving the trade unions in making proposals to move out of arms production.

- The government as a whole should make an unequivocal, public pledge, not merely that there will be no current or future aid cuts, or restrictions on aid, to the South due to need for aid to Eastern Europe but that aid will be expanded to the South to reach 1% of GNP by 2000AD. The UK should seek a similar position from other EC countries.

- The government should support a strengthening of international law and the use of the UN for a wider role in peace-keeping, fact finding and mediation along with a wider mandate for the Secretary General to act without waiting for Security Council agreement. There should be provision in the defence budget for supply of forces to UN peacekeeping activity, and training for this.

Agenda for real security

To sum up, there are three principles that lie at the heart of the agenda for real security today.

1. Moving away from military to non-military solutions to human and environmental security by halving military spending by 2000AD.

2. Redirecting resources into promoting real security

3. Working towards global democracy

Now is the time to push for real security policies which put people at the centre of development and make the well-being of the poor the measure of progress. These are the central issues for the human future.

Notes and references

(1)UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990*, OUP, NY, 1990. This introduces a Human Development Index, based on various indicators of human development which more accurately show human progress than purely economic indicators.

(2)Robin Luckman, "Development and Disarmament: Analysing the present, and a better way ahead" in *Disarming Poverty - Disarmament for Development in Asia-Pacific*, edited by Janet Hunt, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Canberra, Australia, 1987, pp3-14.

(3)Throughout this report figures have been expressed in pounds, using £1=$1.60 conversion. Billion is one thousand million.

(4)East and West basically describe the two ideologically opposing camps in the industrialised countries which together make up the North. The South refers to the developing countries or Third World.

(5)Fred Halliday, "Cold War, the Peace Movements and the Third World" in *On the Brink: Nuclear Proliferation and the Third World*", Peter Worsley and Kofi Buenor Hadjar, Third World Communications, London, 1987, p94-104 provides a brief overview of the impact of the Cold War on the South. For more detail see his book *Cold War, Third World: An essay on Soviet-American relations*, Hutchinson Radius, London, 1989.

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(10)The arms trade and UK involvement is well covered in *Death on Delivery - The impact of the Arms Trade on the Third World*, Campaign Against the Arms Trade, London, 1989. CAAT produces a regular newsletter and is the prime group working on the Arms Trade in the UK. CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London, N4 3HQ.

(11)Ian Anthony, "The Trade in major conventional weapons", *SIPRI Yearbook 1989: World Armaments and Disarmament*, OUP, 1989. Major weapons are aircraft, armoured vehicles, missiles and ships.

(12)*The Observer*, 7 May 1989.

(13)The amount varies amongst countries. "Military debt accounts for a third or more of total debt service in several large developing countries" said World Bank President Barber Conable in his speech to the Banks' Board of Governors on 26 September 1989.

(14)Michael Brzoska and Thomas Ohlson, *Arms Production in the Third World*, SIPRI/Taylor & Francis, 1986. The figures do not include China.

(15)John Madeley, *Diego Garcia - A contrast to the Falklands*, Minority Rights Group report no 54, London, 1982.

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(17)*Statement on the Defence Estimates 1990*, Vol 1, p 18, HMSO, 1990.

(18)The quotes and information in this box are taken from *"Children on the Front Line: The impact of apartheid, destabilisation and warfare on children in southern and South Africa*, 3rd ed, UNICEF, 1989. See also *War Wounds: Development Costs of Conflict in Southern Sudan. Sudanese people report on their war*, Panos, London, 1988; and *Cries of Children in Lebanon - As Voiced by their Mothers*, Jennifer W. Bryce, UNICEF Regional Office, Jordan, 1986.

(19)Wall Street Journal, 19 March 1990.

(20)*Janes' Defence Review*, 11 Jan 1986; Lt. Col. A. M. Keeling, "New capability on the cheap", *The Globe and Laurel*, March/April 1985; and *Soldier*, 12 Jan 1987.

(21)For example, UK Chancellor, John Major, said in his speech to the World Bank/IMF Development Committee on 8 May 1990, "There are still too many examples of questionable military purchases" in the South as well as on prestige projects, both of which he called ""wasteful spending on extravagant and unnecessary purchases".

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(23)Frank Barnaby, "Armaments and Security" in *Pathways to International Security*, UNA-UK and Professions for World Disarmament and Development, London, 1989

(24)Cabinet Office, *R&D 1989, Annual Review of Government Funded Research and Development*, HMSO, 1989.

(25)Michael Renner, "Enhancing Global Security" in *State of the World 1989*, by the Worldwatch Institute, Norton & Co, New York, 1989.

(26)Seymour Melman, *The Demilitarised Society: Disarmament and Conversion*, Harvest House, Montreal, 1988.

(27)Even in the UK there is concern about the impact of military expenditures on British Industry "to put it at its lowest there must be serious misgivings about the ratio between research and development on the one hand and production purchasing on the other hand", says Frank Cooper, former under-secretary of defence at the Ministry of Defence from 1976-82. He sees an investment of £1 in research and development leading to purchases of only £2-£3. Frank Cooper, "Economists and Defence: The Views of a UK Practitioner", *Defence Economics*, Vol 1, No 1, 1990.

(28)Alastair Mackie, "Military Pomp and Nuclear Circumstance" in *The Nuclear Mentality: A Psychosocial Analysis of the Arms Race*" Lynn Barnett and Ian Lee, eds, Pluto Press, London, 1990, pp 107-114.

(29)These mental defence mechanisms either in individuals or groups aim to protect from pain and inner conflict. Usually the individual or group disowns the negative aspects of itself and sees them with convincing clarity in the others. The greater the anxiety, the more it happens, and the greater is the pseudo-clarity of insight and the resulting self righteousness.

(30)Morris J Blachman and Kenneth Sharpe, "De-democratising American foreign policy: dismantling the post Vietnam formula", *Third World Quarterly*, October 1986, pp 1271-1308, give a detailed picture of how this has gone on in the USA especially over US involvement in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

(31)Jessica Tuckman Mathews, "Redefining security" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 68 No 2, 1989, pp 162-177. In the UK see the two reports from the Saferworld Foundation: *Security in the New Europe*, May 1990 and *Security after the Cold War: Redirecting Global Resources*, March 1990, 82 Colston St, Bristol BS1 5BB.

(32)Louis Emmerij, director of OECD's Development Centre made this point forcefully at the UK chapter of Society for International Development's AGM in November 1989. See also *One World or Several*, OECD, Paris, 1989.

(33)Susan George, "World Debt and Security", in *Pathways to International Security*, UNA and Professions for World Development and Disarmament, London, 1989.

(34)President Mikhail Gorbachev in speech to the UN General Assembly, December 7, 1988.

(35)Willy Brandt speaking in the Bergen Debates, screened on BBC 1 21-May 1990.

(36)Interviewed by the author in New York, in March 1990.

(37)A point made by Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, *Financial Times* 5 April 1990.

(38) The *UN First Committee* deals mainly with disarmament and international security, and sends recommendations to the General Assembly. It is one of seven main Assembly committees in which all UN members are represented. The UN has held three special sessions disarmament and one International Conference on Development and Disarmament. The UN World Disarmament Campaign was set up by the Second session in 1982 and the Department for Disarmament Affairs produces a range of free materials, including over 70 *Disarmament Facts* booklets, which were used in compiling this box as was "Arms Control & Defence: the Vital Issues", 2nd ed, Foreign & Commonwealth Office/Ministry of Defence, March 1990

(39)Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, *1990: Ban all nuclear tests* a briefing paper, MCANW, 601 Holloway Rd, London N19 4DJ.

(40)*The Independent on Sunday*, 25 March 1990 reported Mr Ridley's views. Mrs Chalker has made a number of Parliamentary statements saying that aid to the East is additional to the aid programme.

(41)Panos features, 15 December 1989

(42) *Wall Street Journal*, 3 March 1990

(43)NATO briefing at SHAPE in December 1989 and various press reports.

(44)*The Times*, 30 January 1990

(45)"Non-military aspects of Strategy",*Survival* November/December 1989, published for The International Institute for Strategic Studies. Their *Strategic Survey, 1989-1990*, reviews the various conflicts around the world. Both are published by Brassey's, London. See also Rajni Kothari, "The new detente: Some reflections from the South", *ifda dossier 74*, November/December 1989, pp39-50.

(46)Twenty-five unions from 10 European countries met in 1987 to discuss these changes. See their report *Arms Jobs Conversion - a TGWU report*, TGWU, Transport House, London, 1988. See also Paul Quigley, *Tanks and Turbines: Jobs in Coventry' defence industry*, Coventry Alternative Employment Research, Unit 15, Arches Industrial Estate, Coventry CV1 3JQ.

(47)Campaign Against the Arms Trade, *Newsletter*, 15 Feb 1990, p 2.

(48)Interview by the author with Robert Raunier, Director of the Office of Economic Adjustment, US Department of Defence. See also Robert Raunier, "Adjusting to the economic uncertainties of defense installation planning", *Defense Management Journal*, Fourth Quarter 1986, and "1961-1986 - 25 Years of Civilian Reuse: Summary of Completed Military Base Economic Adjustment Projects", DOD, Washington, 1986.

(49)Douglas Roche, "From the Wall to the Bridge: The Peace Dividend in the 1990s", paper presented at the North-

South Round-table on "Economics of Peace" in Costa Rica, 4-5 January 1990

(50)Personal communication, Dr Giri Deshingkar, director, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Dehli, India, March 1990.

(51) UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1990*, OUP, 1990

(52)Everyone has mental ways of denying things that they fear. They can be handed over to groups or society at large so that responsibility for the problem areas is left to the group leadership. They become ideologies and schools of thought, beliefs in nationalism etc which act defensively on our behalf, to keep the unspeakable and unthinkable at bay. Anton Obholzer, "The Comfort of Groups, A Psychoanalytic Perspective on Group and Institutional Processes, in *The Nuclear Mentality: A Psychosocial Analysis of the Arms Race*, Lynn Barnett and Ian Lee, eds, Pluto Press, London, 1990, pp31-40

(53)The 50% initiative launched by FOE and Saferworld Foundation takes this as its target.

(54)The relationship between environmental degradation, poverty, violence and so-called western security needs is discussed in the chapter "War of the Worlds", in *Poverty and the Planet* by Ben Jackson, WDM's campaigns officer, published by Penguin in October 1990.

(55)John Stremlau, *Security for Development in a Post-Bipolar World*, Strategic Planning and Review Discussion Paper No. 3, The World Bank, Washington DC, November 1989.

(56)Wolfgang Sacks, "The Gospel of Global Efficiency: on Worldwatch and other reports on the state of the World", *ifda dossier 68*, November/December 1988, pp33-39.

(57)"Global Warming and the Third World - A Report on the Effects of Climatic Change on the World's Poor", WDM briefing paper, 1990.

(58)World Bank, *World Debt Tables 1989-90*, Table 2, p9, Washington, 1989

(59)UN Economic and Social Council, Commission on Status of Women, 34th session, E/CN6/1990/5.

(60)This section is based on discussions with UN officials and others during a visit to the UN in March 1990. See also Robert C. Johansen, "UN peacekeeping: the changing utility of military force", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol12, No 2, April 1990, pp 53-69 and Ronald Higgins, *Plotting Peace: The Owls reply to the Hawks and Doves*, Brassey's (UK), London, 1990.

(61)International Peace Academy, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017-3521, USA.

(62)Ha Poong Kim, "The Green Politics of Peace: The Way to Survival is a Utopian Way, *ifda dossier 75/76*, Jan/April 1990, pp 3-18.

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