

COALITION FOR CONSTITUTION IMPLEMENTATION
IN CONJUNCTION WITH
GLOBAL CAMPAIGN OF MILITARY SPENDING (GCOMS) – KENYA



“I WOULD PLANT TREES TO COMBAT CLIMATE CHANGE”



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Abstract

Today as the world mark GDAMS 2015, the total global military expenditure stands at USD1.75trn and activists around the globe today are gathering at different places holding different activities and shall be arguing that if a small fraction of the global military spending would be spent differently, then it would go a long way to resolving the real and very grave challenges facing our planet including inequitable distribution of resources and resource related conflicts.

In 2013/2014 Africa, had the largest relative military rise than any other region in the world at 8.3% reaching a spending of USD44.9bn. Algeria for the first time exceeded USD10bn while at the same time Angola overtook South Africa as largest spender in the SADC region. Increases in Algeria and Angola are attributed to high oil revenues.

At the Global arena, there has been a modest fall from the previous years. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) report, the top 10 global spenders in 2013 in that order are, USA (significant decrease since 2012), China (significant increase), Russia (moderate increase), Saudi Arabia (large increase), France (small decrease), UK (small decrease), Germany (No change), Japan (approximately No change), India (approximately No change) and South Korea (small increase).

The GDAMS Nairobi 2015 was preceded by a Survey that included street data collection and literature review. The street data collection was aimed at “*assessing views of members of public on military expenditure and their preferred spending areas*”. Those sampled indicated that there are rampant problems related to environment degradation, pollution, lack of social services at the grassroots and rampant insecurity including terror attacks which for the first time has targeted Kenyans even in rural and slum areas.

Those sampled were unanimous that huge global security sector spending does not translate to safety both globally and locally as there has been an increase of cases of insecurity especially terror related attacks that has led to lose of lives globally. It was felt that bulk of the money goes to purchase of military hardware which does not necessarily

translate to safety. Others felt that huge spending could also be attributed to regional arms race which makes states arming against imaginary enemies.

60% of those sampled indicated that they had not heard of GDAMS/GCOMS while 40% indicated that they had heard of GDAMS/GCOMS majority of them indicating that they heard about GDAMS/GCOMS during past GDAMS in Kenya. All of those sampled indicated that they wanted to know more about GDAMS/GCOMS signaling growing interest of the people on matters of military spending.

This paper presents the background of GDAMS/GCOMS and also present the Survey report that includes report of the street data collection and literature review related military spending. It also analyze the Kenyan military expenditure in comparison to other countries in East Africa and also with other select African states for the period ranging from 2009 to 2013. Data used here have been sourced from SIPRI report which has been compiling military expenditure of several countries in the last 25 years.

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1.0 Background

1.1. Background

Global Day of Action on Military Spending¹ (GDAMS) is a day marked annually around the globe in the month of April by Civil Society Organizations, Faith Based Organizations, Community Based Organizations and Peace Groups to call for reduction of ballooning global military expenditure which in 2013 reached a record high of USD1.75Trillion. GDAMS initiative was co-founded in 2011 by the International Peace Bureau² (IPB) and the Institute for Policy Studies³ (IPS) and is now being coordinated by the Global Campaign on Military Spending⁴ (GCOMS) which a global campaign whose main objective is to ask the world governments to reduce their military expenditures.

The purpose of GCOMS is to raise awareness of the huge and excessive amounts of public money spent on the military system all over the world and to build a community that can have some impact on the budget decisions made, especially at national level.

GDAMS is marked by holding a range of activities including demonstrations, lectures, tree planting and charity activities all aimed at calling for a reduction of military spending. GDAMS has been marked in Kenya since 2011 and in 2014 Kenya was

¹Global Campaign on Military Spending, *GDAMS*. Available from:<<http://demilitarize.org/global-day-action-military-spending/>>. [11 April 2015]

²International Peace Bureau, About IPB. Available from:<<http://www.ipb.org/web/index.php?mostra=content&menu=about%20ipb&submenu=History>>. [11 April 2015].

³Institute for Policy Studies, About ISP. Available from:<<http://www.ips-dc.org/about/>>. [11 April 2015]

⁴Global Campaign on Military Spending, *About GCOMS*. Available from:<<http://demilitarize.org/global-campaign-on-military-spending/>>. [11 April 2015]

admitted to be part of the International Steering Committee (ISC) that coordinates the GDAMS initiative globally.

Questions have been asked regarding the need and necessity of the military budgets. Opinions differ widely on the usefulness of the armed services and indeed if there is a need for them at all. Some feel that peacekeeping operations (under UN mandate) are necessary and important hence staffing and equipping them, there has to be some kind of military system. This is the thinking behind standing force run by the UN. Others who are pacifists, i.e. they do not believe in any military force, say that conflicts must be solved by peaceful means and if necessary by police forces but not by armies and soldiers. However all are agreed that the current annual global military budget of KSh153 Trillion (USD1.75Trillion) is grossly excessive, and in particular is totally opposed to spending on weapons of mass destruction.

Better still others could ask about the non-violent solutions to reduction on military spending and armed conflicts available. Nonviolent alternatives are abundant, morally superior, drastically less costly, far more appealing to the great majority of people in most countries, and thus strategically more effective. They should not be mistaken for inaction or capitulation. They include:

- i. Active pursuit of meaningful diplomacy – engaging other governments and institutions in the region; using more effectively multilateral institutions like the UN and its agencies
- ii. Economic sanctions on terror groups and its supporters and serious efforts to cut off the flow of money
- iii. Arms embargoes
- iv. Support for local civil society, including refugees
- v. Increased humanitarian assistance

Longer-term steps include:

- i. Withdrawal of U.S./western troops/Kenyan troops from Somalia and other conflict areas,

- ii. Ending oil imports from the region affected by terror,
- iii. Tackling economic and social inequalities and injustices,
- iv. Empowering women and the marginalized,
- v. Building democracy from below, rather than trying to enforce it from above.

1.2. GDAMS 2015 Themes

GDAMS 2015 shall be organized around four main themes namely Climate Change and biodiversity loss, Sustainable development and anti-poverty programs, Peace: disarmament, conflict prevention and resolution, human security and Sustainable development and anti-poverty programs focusing on post 2015 development agenda.

1.2.1. Climate Change and Biodiversity Loss

Effects of climate change come with much damage which includes severe weather and health complications arising from high temperatures. Economic models of mitigating emissions deals with trade-offs between the cost of reducing emissions and motivation to reduce emissions in the future. However reducing emissions involves transformation of global energy and transport systems from fossil fuel-based energy system to clean and low carbon technologies as well as investing more in re-afforestation and agriculture.

This is why one of the themes of GDAMS 2015 shall be to “Move the Money” from military to support Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation. GCOMSISTs argue that huge global military expenditure can be reduced and moved to support investments in green and clean energy and agricultural practices that are safe.

With the global debate being how to get funds to support climate change mitigation and adaptation, the GCOMISTs argue that such funds could be got by moving the money from increasing and ballooning military expenditure to climate change mitigation and adaptation.

1.3. Past GDAMS

Since its inception in 2011, Kenya has consistently been marking GDAMS.

1.3.1. GDAMS Nairobi 2011

In 2011, GDAMS was marked by a photo opportunity by a group of students in Eastland Nairobi where they posed with a banner⁵.

1.3.2. GDAMS Nairobi 2012

In 2012 several groups including Bunge la Mwananchi (BLM), Wanjiku Revolution and Baraza la Taifa held a procession and presented a petition to the office of the President along Harambee Avenue asking the then Coalition government to⁶:

- i. Immediately withdraw Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) from Somalia and embark on policing our borders as attacks had continued despite the KDF's presence in Somalia pointing to a failed policy.
- ii. Drastically reduce the amount spent on military hardware and related expenses and channel the funds to provision of basic needs.
- iii. Beef security to ordinary Kenyans who have constantly suffered should there be any attack.
- iv. Come out clean on how the tenders to supply material were awarded to allay fears that the Somalia incursion is used to benefit some unscrupulous businesspeople.

1.3.3. GDAMS Nairobi 2013

In 2013 several organizations under the banner of the BLM and Coalition for Constitution Implementation (CCI) held a procession to the office of the president where they presented a petition asking the government to:⁷

⁵Global Campaign on Military Spending, *Events, Reports & Photos-Africa*. Available from:<<http://demilitarize.org/event-reports-photos-africa/>> [8 April 2015]

⁶Global Campaign on Military Spending, *Events, Reports & Photos-Africa*. Available from:<<http://demilitarize.org/2012-reports-africa/>> [8 April 2015]

⁷Global Campaign on Military Spending, *Events, Reports & Photos-Africa*. Available from:<<http://demilitarize.org/events-reports-photos-2013-africa/>> [8 April 2015]

- i. Follow up on the allocation to the security sector in 2012/2013 budget to find out if the allocations had been used prudently.
- ii. Reduce Kenyan military spending and reallocate the resources to the social welfare sector.
- iii. Speed up the withdrawal of KDF from Somalia
- iv. Increase security surveillance along Kenyan borders to prevent proliferation of arms and other contraband goods, which are likely to aggravate insecurity.
- v. Increase allocations on the food production, education, healthcare, housing and water, employment and social security sectors to reduce the crimes related to access resources

1.3.4. GDAMS Nairobi 2014

In 2014 several organizations including BLM and CCI held a forum at Ufungamano House where a detailed report of Kenyan military expenditures was discussed⁸. There after a march, tree-planting and candle-lighting activities were also held at Freedom Corner in Nairobi⁹.

During the GDAMS Nairobi 2014, several recommendations were given to the African governments as follows:

- i. That the African governments should lift the classification (secrecy act) that locks out interrogation of military expenditure by public and Civil Society Organizations (CSO).
- ii. The anticorruption in Africa agencies should investigate military expenditure in the continent to ascertain whether such classification is for the purposes of widening corruption networks.

⁸ CDOTIENO, *Global Day of Action on Military Spending 2014-Presentation on national, regional and continental military expenditure*. Available from:<<https://cdotieno.wordpress.com/2015/04/08/global-day-of-action-on-military-spending-2014-presentation-on-national-regional-continental-military-expenditure/>> [8 April 2015]

⁹Global Campaign on Military Spending, *Events, Reports & Photos-Africa*. Available from:<<http://demilitarize.org/event-reports-photos-2014-africa/>> [8 April 2015]

- iii. That the African states should invest in peaceful means to resolving problems so as to save the taxpayers from funding conflicts that could hitherto be resolved peacefully.
- iv. That the African states should channel some of the allocations on the military to provision of basic social welfare as most conflicts are due to access of basic needs.

2.0. GDAMS Nairobi 2015

2.1. Introduction

The GDAMS Nairobi 2015 is coming at a time when Kenya is just smarting from Garissa University terror attacks that has left at least 147 students dead and about 100 injured. Since 2014 Kenya has faced several attacks that have left hundreds dead. The GDAMS Nairobi 2015 was preceded by a street survey that was aimed at “*assessing views of members of public on military expenditure and their preferred spending areas*”.

2.1. The Survey

The survey targeted a total of 30 persons randomly sampled in the streets on Nairobi. The survey adopted a qualitative and quantitative approach since the survey had data from questionnaires.

The objectives of the survey were:

- i. To establish the main social and economic problems common in Nairobi
- ii. To establish the view of the respondents on whether the global military spending of KSh153 Trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion annually?) translated to safety in the world
- iii. To establish the view of the respondents on what their spending priorities would be if they were given KSh153 Trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion annually)
- iv. To examine the knowledge of the respondents on GDAMS/GCOMS

2.2. Survey Findings

2.2.1. To establish the main social and economic problems common in Nairobi

This objective sought to establish the social and economic problems the respondents faced in their locality. The following issues emerged as the main social and economic problems facing people in Nairobi:

- i. Pollution and environment degradation
- ii. Lack of business opportunities

- iii. Inadequate recreational facilities
- iv. High crime rate
- v. Lack of food and food insecurity
- vi. High levels of illiteracy
- vii. Lack of basic needs in the slums
- viii. High rent and housing cost
- ix. Lack of information to enhance citizen participation in decision making
- x. Inequality in education and health
- xi. Lack of job opportunities
- xii. Poor sanitation and poor infrastructure
- xiii. High school fees despite free education
- xiv. Lack of land and land grabs affecting food production thereby creating a permanent cycle of poverty
- xv. No adequate healthcare facilities e.g. there is only one government dispensary is in Kangemi¹⁰
- xvi. There is no support for CBOs from government
- xvii. Embezzlement of devolved funds
- xviii. Terrorism and general insecurity
- xix. Drug and alcohol abuse
- xx. High cost of living
- xxi. Poor drainage and sewer system

2.2.2. To establish the view of the respondents on whether the global military spending of KSh153 Trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion annually?) translated to safety in the world

This objective sought to establish the views of the respondents on whether the annual global military spending now at KSh153 trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion) translated to safety and security. The survey established based on this objective that none of the respondents believed that such huge military spending translated to global safety and security.

¹⁰ Geoview.info, *Kangemi Sub-location*. Available from: <http://ke.geoview.info/kangemi_sublocation,194448> [8 April 2015]

All the respondents sampled were perplexed at such huge global military expenditure and were all in agreement that such huge spending did not translate to safety and security. The respondents felt that locally in Kenya there was increased terror attacks and general crime within the states meaning that that such huge spending did not translate to safety. The respondents felt that the huge spending did not translate to safety because:

- i. Most of the conflicts are caused by inequitable distribution of resources
- ii. Such huge spending complicated the peace process as arm and military hardware manufacturers create conflicts to get business.
- iii. The high global military expenditure is due to the fact that major powers are arming themselves against imaginary enemies
- iv. Of possible misappropriation of military spending
- v. There is no citizen participation in matters of security

2.2.3. To establish the view of the respondents on what their spending priorities would be if they were given KSh153 Trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion annually

This objective sought to establish the views of the respondents on what their spending priorities would be if they were to be given KSh153 trillion (USD1.75Trillion) annually spend on military issues. The respondents mentioned stated that if they were given the money used in military expenditure, they would:

- i. Plant trees to increase forest cover and combat Climate Change
- ii. Build and equip one, level one, Hospital in each of the 47 Counties of Kenya
- iii. Tarmac roads, provide electricity and pipe water to neglected regions of Kenya to attract investors
- iv. Irrigate and farm one million acres of land to boost food security in Kenya

- v. Build and equip one, international class school in each of the 47 Counties of Kenya
- vi. Creating favorable environment for business
- vii. Provide public social services to the people
- viii. Foster children matters and care for widows
- ix. Establish and enhance viable democracy and governance structures that will promote equity to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor
- x. Provide affordable housing so as to enable the people to have roofs on their heads
- xi. Improving health services, education and agriculture
- xii. Will endeavor to create peace and coexistence between communities and nations
- xiii. Support irrigation farming and drill bore holes to enhance food production
- xiv. Fund community based projects that can alleviate poverty and create employment to empower youth groups in slums
- xv. Support agriculture to improve on food security and organize extension seminars targeting urban farmers
- xvi. Translate it to sustainable job creation to improve the lives of the poor people

2.2.4. To examine the knowledge of the respondents on GDAMS/GCOMS and whether they wanted to know more about GDAMS/GCOMS

This objective sought to establish the knowledge of the respondents on GCOMS and GDAMS and whether they wanted to know more about GDAMS/GCOMS.

60% of those sampled indicated that they were not aware of GDAMS/GCOMS while 40% indicated that they had heard about GDAMS/GCOMS. Those who indicated that they are aware about GDAMS/GCOMS had heard about it during past GDAMS activities in Nairobi. All those who were sampled indicated that they wanted to know more about GDAMS/GCOMS indicating the growing people’s interest in matters of military spending issues.

Table 1: Shows those sampled and the percentages.

	Number (n)	n/30 X 100
Aware	18	60%
Not Aware	12	40%
Total	30	100%

Figure 1 illustrates the findings in percentages. The figure indicates that 60% of those sampled were not aware about GDAMS/GCOMS while 40% of those sampled were aware about GDAMS/GCOMS.

Figure 1: Respondents knowledge about GDAMS/GCOMS

3.0. Discussion of the Findings

3.1. To establish the main social and economic problems common in Nairobi

The issues that came up during the survey are issues related to public service delivery indicating that the sector has consistently received less budgetary support. The fact that almost all the respondents raised the issue of insecurity and specifically terrorism threats as an issue, indicate that huge military expenditures both locally and internationally do

not necessarily translate to safety and security pointing to a possible misuse and misappropriation of security sector expenditure. Those who mentioned terrorism felt that the government is doing very little to protect Kenyans from terrorism and other forms of insecurity.

3.1.1. Terrorism

The issue of terrorism has for a long time been a distant issue to Kenyans until 1998 bombing of US Embassy in Nairobi. Since then, Kenya has been a target of several terror attacks most recently being the Garissa University attack that left at least 147 students dead from the attack claimed by the Al Shabaab terror group that has claimed responsibility of the attacks.

As GCOMS Kenya calls for reduction of military spending others may ask about fear about terrorism especially from the Al Shabaab locally and the on-going conflicts globally e.g. in Somalia, South Sudan, Ukraine, Syria, and general terror threat around the globe. So do we want to be weakening our defences at this time?

It is the view of GCOMS Kenya that the approach of dealing with terror groups have simply made the problem worse as each bombing run, each drone attack, each occupation of a Muslim country increases the sense of persecution, of a 'crusade' against Muslims, and drives more young people into the arms of the jihadists. We need a very different approach.

GCOMS proposes need to invest in peace processes as there is no substitute for getting all the parties in conflict round the table and hammering out a deal. If ceasefires break down, you have to try again and again...until you can reach a political settlement. An example is the on-going peace process in South Sudan.

3.1.2. Climate Change

The issue of environment degradation and pollution points at the concern of the citizens on issues of climate change that is a result of human activities. That climate change is a major threat to global peace and safety is real hence there is need for the world governments including Kenya to start investing in climate change adaptation and

mitigation instead of military. If anything military incursions and nuclear weapons pose much danger to the environment hence climate change.

3.2. To establish the view of the respondents on whether the global military spending of KSh153 Trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion annually?) translated to safety in the world

The survey established that there was a feeling that most of the conflicts are caused by inequitable distribution of resources hence unless equitable distribution of resources is attained, no amount of military hardware can ensure safety. At the same time others felt that such huge spending complicated the peace process as arm and military hardware manufacturers create conflicts to get the cash and military hardware does not necessarily translate to safety since the war hardware makes the world more inclined to vicious and more destructive wars as opposed to no weapons at all.

The survey also established that the high global military expenditure is due to the fact that major powers are arming themselves against imaginary enemies creating more tensions hence the high global military spending. There were also questions regarding misappropriation of military spending hence for that reason insecurity has continued to exist despite such huge military spending meaning that the monies could be ending into people's pockets hence there should be thorough investigations on how the monies are being used.

Issues of continued terrorist attacks also came up and those sampled wondered why despite such huge spending globally, there were still terror attacks. Cases like Westgate¹¹ terror attack and more recently Garissa University¹² attack were mentioned and people wondered why the attacks still took place. Regional conflicts like the one in Somalia and Syria were also mentioned as pointer to the fact that the huge military spending could be ending up to fuel such conflicts instead of ensuring safety. Inequitable distribution of

¹¹On 21 September 2013, Gunmen stormed Westgate Shopping Mall in Westlands Nairobi killing 67 people

¹²On 2 April 2015, Gunmen stormed Garissa University in Kenya killing at least 148 students

resources was cited as main causes of conflicts and states were urged to ensure equitable distribution and access of resources to all if safety was to be ensured globally and locally. People's participation was also mentioned as one of the ways through which safety could be enhanced as people participation and willingness to cooperate with security apparatus can be used to enhance safety

3.3. To establish the view of the respondents on what their spending priorities would be if they were given KSh153 Trillion (USD 1.75 Trillion annually

The respondents sampled raised several issues they would do if they were given the huge spending. That most people talked about improving healthcare, improving education standards and improving infrastructure, investing in irrigation farming among others shows the wanting status of public service delivery at the grassroots.

Better still that others mentioned that they could plant trees to save the environment shows that the impacts of climate change is impacting on people's lives locally and supports the calls by GDAMISTs and GCOMISTs globally for reduction in military spending and investing in climate change mitigation and adaptation.

The issue of establishment and enhancement of viable democracy and governance structures at all levels that will promote equity to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor underscores the importance of public participation in security matters and also openness and transparency in security sector spending. It also gives credence to calls by local GCOMISTs that "classification" of military spending should be lifted to allow for more public scrutiny of security budgets to check corruption and misappropriation of security sector budget.

Generally the responses got indicate that issues of food security, provision of affordable housing and water to the people in the slums including general public service delivery issues should be given a priority by Kenyan government during budgeting.

3.4. To examine the knowledge of the respondents on GDAMS/GCOMS and whether they wanted to know more about GDAMS/GCOMS

The findings that 60% of those sampled were not aware of GDAMS/GCOMS underscores the huge responsibility bestowed on the local GCOMS structures to educate the citizens more on matters of military spending both locally and internationally and their impact in their lives.

However that there are those who were aware about GDAMS/GCOMS is a pointer to the impact the past GDAMS have had in raising awareness on matters of military spending. The fact that at all those sampled indicated that they were interested in knowing more about GDAMS/GCOMS provides the local GCOMS structure with an opportunity of mobilizing more people into the local GCOMS structures and also is an indicator to growing interest of locals in matters of military spending.

4.0. National, Regional, Continental and Global Military Spending

4.1. Kenya Military Expenditure

In 2013/2014 Kenya allocated a whopping KShs74.4bn on military issues out of the KSh1.6Trillion budget of that year. The military budget was far more than the spending in other critical sectors like Agriculture which received KShs38.1bn, Environment, Water, Irrigation and Housing which received KShs55.4bn, Preventive and Curative Health Services which received KShs34.7bn and Social Protection, Culture and Recreational that received KShs57.2bn¹³.

¹³ADILI, *The National Budget in 2013/2014 at a glance*. Available from: <<http://www.tikenya.org/phocadownload/userupload/adili%20newsletter%20issue%20142.pdf>>. [12 April 2015]

In 2012/2013, Kenya allocated the military sector close to KSh70 billion compared to other sectors like irrigation that was allocated a paltry KSh8 billion, Welfare of orphans, which was allocate KSh4.4 billion and KSh1.1 billion to the elderly persons of the society. Youth Development Fund and Women Development Fund were allocated KSh550 million and KSh450 million respectively

That there have been increased cases of insecurity specifically terror attacks bring into question the issue of prudent use of the resources allocated to the military sector. Compared to what allocations to public service delivery sector like water, irrigation, housing and environment have done, one would expect increased security from such huge allocations.

4.2. Kenyan Military Expenditure in Comparison with other East African States

In 2012, Kenya was ranked top in East Africa in terms of military expenditure importing more weapons than other peers in the East African region over the same period. According to the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) report, the total expenditure of Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi combined still fell below the Kenyan total expenditure in 2012 while in 2013 Kenya’s spending dwarfed the spending of other East African Countries. Table 2 shows the East Africa Countries Comparative Military Expenditure for the period beginning 2009 – 2013 (\$USD Million).

Table 2: East Africa Countries Comparative Military Expenditure 2009 – 2013 (USD Million)

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Rwanda
2009	597	221	292	77
2010	633	253	624	76.5
2011	642	266	578	75.4
2012	798	319	319	79.8
2013	861	380	465	

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

Figure 2 further illustrates the findings showing the trend of military spending by four East African Countries.

Figure 2: East Africa Countries Comparative Military Expenditure 2009 – 2013 (\$USD Million)

The increasing military expenditure by Kenya can be attributed to the following:

- [Increasing incidences of terror attacks like the recent Garissa University attacks Westgate siege and church attacks that have led to lose of lives.
- [‘Operation Linda Nchi’ that saw KDF invade Somalia in response to several cases of kidnappings some involving foreign nationals and in search of Al Shabaab who were blamed for such kidnappings.

Cumulatively, Uganda’s total military expenditure for the years 2009/2010 and 2010/2011 amounted to USD1, 202mn almost comparing to Kenya that spent USD1, 275mn during the same period. Lawmakers and Civil Society organizations in the East Africa region have continued to question the ballooning military expenditure especially as they have failed to get a link to improved security with such increasing expenditures. However the East African governments attribute such surge in military expenditure during the period to terror threat by the Al Shabaab and the war in Somalia.

4.2. Kenyan Military Expenditure in Comparison with other African States

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in 2013/2014, Kenya increased her military budget by 20% dwarfing continental mean rise which was at 8.3%. Kenya spent a total of USD861mn in 2013 in military related issues. In 2012/2013, Kenya ranked seventh in military expenditure. South Africa topped in Africa in terms of military expenditure spending over \$4,785 million over the same period. It was followed by Angola at \$3,827 million with Morocco, Libya and Nigeria occupying position three, four and five respectively.

Table 3: Select Africa Countries Comparative Military Expenditure with Kenya 2009 – 2012 (\$USD Million)

	South Africa	Angola	Morocco	Libya	Nigeria	Kenya
2009/2010	4,590	3,640	3,101		1,825	597
2010/2011	4,434	3,894	3,319		2,143	633
2011/2012	4,596	3,647	3,343		2,388	642
2012/2013	4,785	3,827	3,582	2,987	2,337	798
2013/2014	3,326	6,800 ¹⁴	3,800 ¹⁵		2,100 ¹⁶	861

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

¹⁴ Defence web, Angolan Military Expenditure to top USD13mn by 2019. Available from: <http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=37185:angolan-military-expenditure-to-top-13-billion-by-2019&catid=50:Land&Itemid=105>. [12 April 2015]

¹⁵ Defence Web, Moroccan defence spending to reach US\$4.5 billion by 2018. Available from: <http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=32894:moroccan-defence-spending-to-reach-us45-billion-by-2018&catid=7:Industry&Itemid=116>. [12 April 2015]

¹⁶ Defence Web, Nigeria to Cut Spending. Available from: <http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=33226:nigeria-to-cut-defence-spending&catid=54:Governance&Itemid=118>. [12 April 2015].

Figure 3 further illustrates the findings showing the trends of military spending for select African countries.

Figure 3: Select Africa Countries Comparative Military Expenditure with Kenya 2009 – 2012 (\$USD Million)

In 2013/2014, Kenya was ranked sixth after Libya was dropped from the continental ranking. During the same period Angola surpassed South Africa as the highest military spender in the Sub Saharan Africa region. The Angola military spending is expected to rise by 2019 due to increased demand for border security equipment, fighter jets, multi-role aircraft, helicopters, navy vessels and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). The increase in Morocco's military spending is attributed to arms race pitting Morocco and Algeria due to the Western Sahara region. Morocco believes that Algeria is arming the Polisario¹⁷ rebel group seeking autonomy of Western Sahara from Morocco.

5.0. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

¹⁷Sahara Press Service, Polisario Front reiterates its request to provide MINURSO human rights monitoring in Western Sahara. Available from:<<http://www.spsrasd.info/en/content/polisario-front-reiterates-its-request-provide-minurso-human-rights-monitoring-western-sahar>>. [12 April 2015]

In 2013/2014 Africa, Continent had the largest relative military than any other region in the world of 8.3% reaching a spending of USD44.9bn. While the continental military spending has continued to rise, questions have continued to be raised regarding the impact of such huge expenditure on the continental security. That the continent has continued to be faced by myriad insecurity problems, questions are now being asked regarding prudent use of such resources and whether such huge spending could be avenues for corruption and sleaze.

Most African countries classify military expenditure meaning that the public and the CSOs are not allowed to interrogate them, opening avenues for corruption. In Uganda for example, there is a fraction of the military expenditure categorized as “classified expenditure” therefore locking lawmakers and public from scrutinizing such expenditure. The same is the situation in Kenya where state security is always cited as the reason for locking public scrutiny on the military spending and in Nigeria; CSOs are not allowed to discuss military expenditure again due to state security.

Lawmakers and CSOs across the continent have however raised a red flag of possible corruption as for example in Uganda where the fraction of military expenditure under the classified expenditure almost tripled in 2013/2014 budget compared to the previous years.

5.2. Recommendations

This survey has several recommendations to different players.

5.2.1. Recommendations for the African Governments

The following are the recommendations to the African Governments:

- i. The African governments should declassify military spending so as to allow the public and CSOs to interrogate military expenditure.
- ii. Continental Anticorruption agencies should investigate military expenditure in the continent to ascertain whether such allocations are prudently used or they end up in people’s pockets

- iii. The African Governments should be more vocal at the Global Arena in pushing for world powers and states to move the money from military and invest more in Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation.
- iv. The African Governments should be more vocal at the Global Arena in pushing for world powers and states to move the money from military and invest more in public service delivery.
- v. The African Governments should be more vocal at the Global Arena in pushing for world powers and states to move the money from military and invest more in post 2015 development agenda.
- vi. The African Governments should be more vocal at the Global Arena in pushing for world powers and states to move the money from military and invest more in Peace process which are more popular with the masses.

5.2.1. Recommendations for the CSOs

For the CSOs it is recommended that:

- i. They need to be more vocal on matters relating to military expenditure
- ii. They need to mobilize public participation by organizing community forums to discuss military spending
- iii. They need to push for more allocations on issues of climate change, public service delivery, peace processes and post 2015 development agenda
- iv. To organize for a continental CSOs summit ahead of the Global Summit in September 2016 to build the Continental GCOMS structure
- v. To monitor use of resources allocated on issues relating to military

5.2.1. Recommendations for GCOMS Kenya

For the GCOMS Kenya chapter it is recommended that:

- i. GCOMS Kenya continues to mobilize more organizations to join the campaign for reduction of military spending in Kenya
- ii. GCOMS Kenya initiates local debates and public forums regarding military spending
- iii. GCOMS Kenya holds monthly meetings and also hold local meetings to coincide with other global military spending forums
- iv. GCOMS Kenya engages with other organizations dealing with issues of climate change locally like the Pan African Climate Justice Alliance¹⁸ (PACJA) based in Nairobi and others like Kenya Climate Change Working Group¹⁹ (KCCWG).
- v. GCOMS Kenya being the most active in Africa organizes GCOMS chapters in the East Africa region and Africa as a whole
- vi. GCOMS Kenya should plan to host GCOMS Africa during the GDAMS 2016 as a preparation to the Berlin Conference in September 2016.

¹⁸ Pan-African Climate Justice Alliance, *About PACJA*. Available from: <<http://www.pacja.org/index.php/en/about-us>>. [12 April 2015]

¹⁹ Green African Directory, *Kenya Climate Change Working Group*. Available from: <<http://www.greenafricadirectory.org/listing/kenya-climate-change-working-group/>>. [12 April 2015]

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