

Tony Benn Brian Eno Danny Glover Richard Branson Jesse Jackson Ken Loach Damon Albarn Lindsey German Tariq Ali Noam Chomsky Medea Benjamin Ron Kovic Mark Rylance Hans Blix



A film by Amir Amirani

WE ARE MANY

"Rousing & moving, it's a film that should be seen by the many"



Radio Times

"A work of beautiful rage...provokes anger and goosebumps"



Empire

"Consistently intelligent and nuanced"

Variety

"The only film I've ever watched where the audience started clapping halfway through..."



Caroline Frost, Huffington Post



The largest protest in history that changed the world



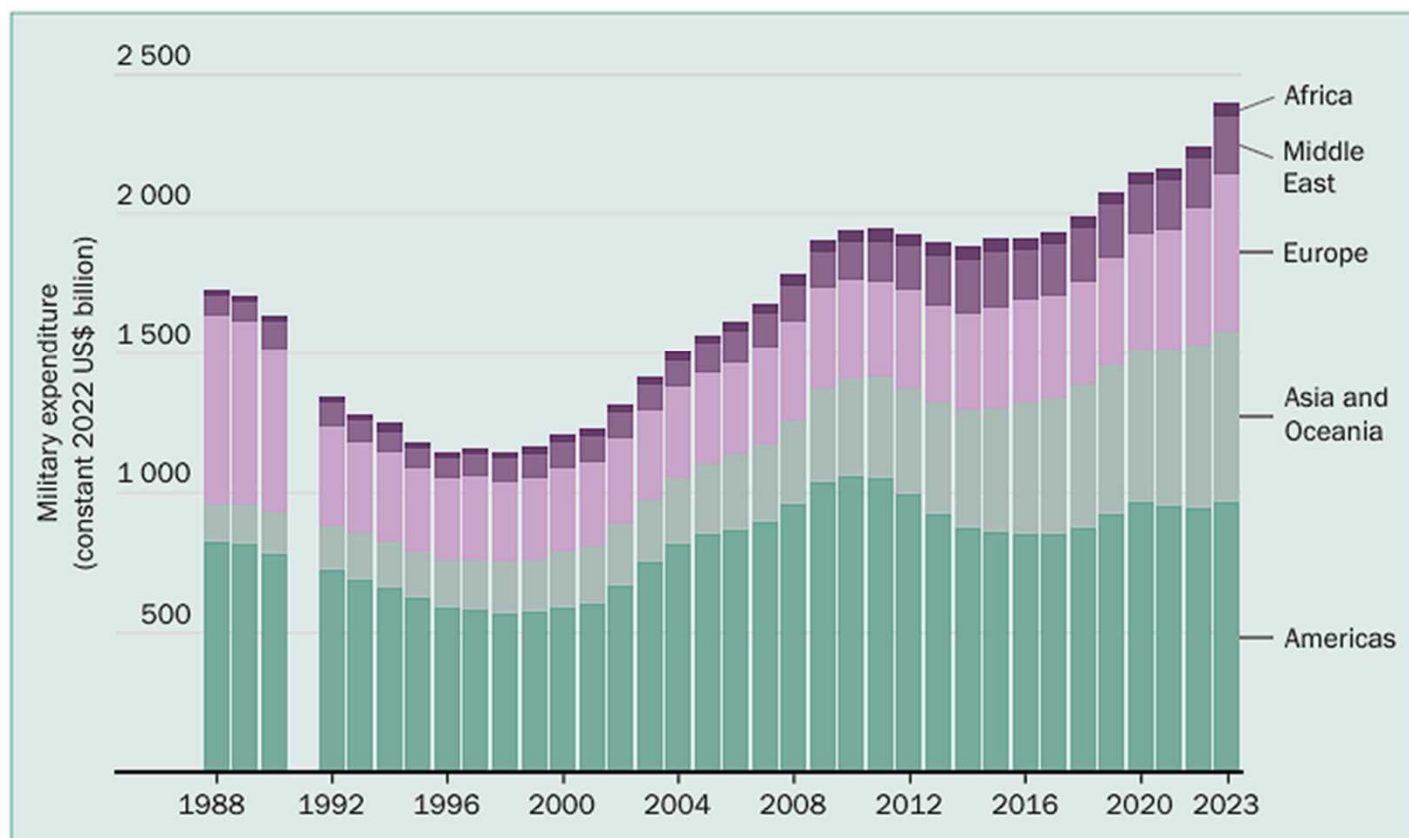
[WeAreManyMovie](#)

[WeAreMany.com](#)

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AN AMIRANI MEDIA PRODUCTION IN ASSOCIATION WITH HARBIC DREAM FILMS AND AMIR AMIRANI FILMS "WE ARE MANY" WRITTEN BY BRIAN ENO, DAMON ALBARN, JESSE JACKSON, LINDSEY GERMAN, TARIQ ALI, NOAM CHOMSKY, MEDEA BENJAMIN, RON KOVIC, MARK RYLANCE, HANS BLIX
PRODUCED BY CHRIS HAMPPEL, MARCO RUVOLO, ISAIAH PENTAPPE, PIERRE CHARLIER, BENJAMIN RICHARDS, ANNE ROBINSON
DIRECTED BY AMIR AMIRANI
CASTING BY TARA LEE, NIKOL BOSS, ANITA WATZ, KATHARINE, DAVID BLAU
EDITED BY TARA LEE, NIKOL BOSS, ANITA WATZ, KATHARINE, DAVID BLAU
MUSIC BY TARA LEE, NIKOL BOSS, ANITA WATZ, KATHARINE, DAVID BLAU
PRODUCTION DESIGNER: TARA LEE
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS: TARA LEE, NIKOL BOSS, ANITA WATZ, KATHARINE, DAVID BLAU
PRODUCED BY: TARA LEE, NIKOL BOSS, ANITA WATZ, KATHARINE, DAVID BLAU
WRITTEN BY: BRIAN ENO, DAMON ALBARN, JESSE JACKSON, LINDSEY GERMAN, TARIQ ALI, NOAM CHOMSKY, MEDEA BENJAMIN, RON KOVIC, MARK RYLANCE, HANS BLIX
DIRECTED BY: AMIR AMIRANI



World military expenditure, by region, 1988–2023

Note: The absence of data for the Soviet Union in 1991 means that no total can be calculated for that year.

Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, Apr. 2024.

CLIMATE CROSSFIRE

How NATO's 2% military spending targets contribute to climate breakdown

tni.org/climatecrossfire



Stop
Wapenhandel

TIPPING POINT
NORTH SOUTH



Stock prices 2020–2023

Source: msci.com



CLIMATE CROSSFIRE

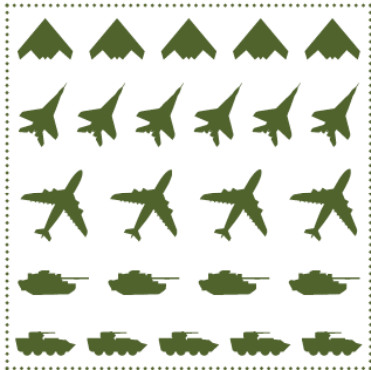
How NATO's 2% military spending targets contribute to climate breakdown

tni.org/climatecrossfire

What would NATO's 2% spending targets pay for by 2028?

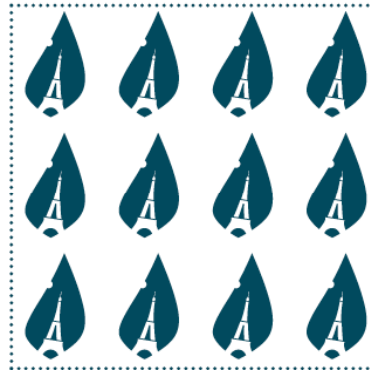
MILITARY SPENDING

8 YEARS OF MINIMUM 2% OF GDP NATO MILITARY SPENDING BY 2028 COULD PAY FOR...



Total expenditure if the 2% target was met by every NATO member

\$11.8 tn



Paris Agreement commitment of climate finance for

118 years



Required external climate finance for low- and middle-income countries for

11 years



African countries' costs for climate adaptation and mitigation for

42 years



Climate adaptation costs for low- and middle-income countries for

34 years

CLIMATE CROSSFIRE

How NATO's 2% military spending targets contribute to climate breakdown

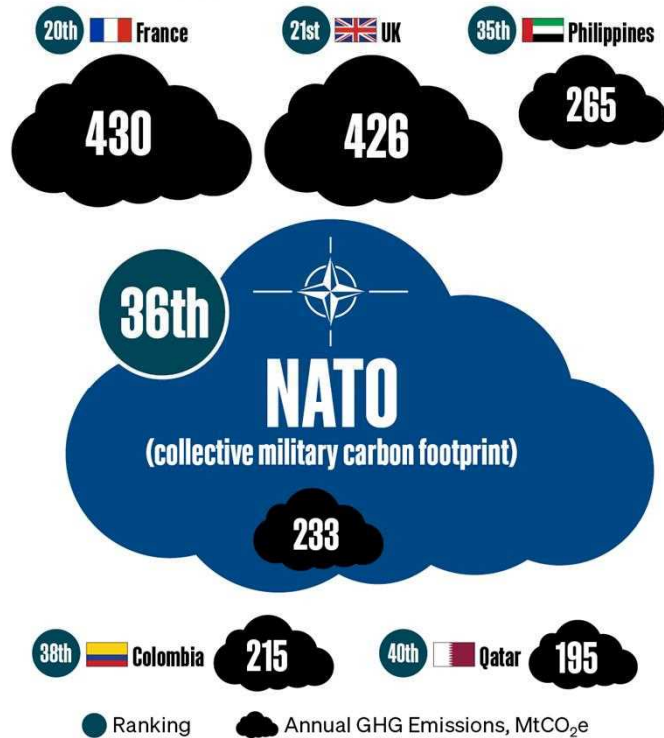
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Annex 1. The SIPRI Top 100 arms-producing and military services companies in the world, 2021

All sales figures are in millions of constant (2021) US dollars. Arms sales figures for 2021 are rounded to the nearest \$10 million.

Rank ^a		Company ^b	Country ^c	Arms sales, 2021	Arms sales, 2020 ^d	Change in arms sales, 2020–21 (%)	Total sales, 2021	Arms sales as a % of total sales, 2021
2021	2020							
1	1	Lockheed Martin Corp.	United States	60 340	60 704	−0.6	67 044	90
2	2	Raytheon Technologies	United States	41 850	38 356	9.1	64 388	65
3	3	Boeing	United States	33 420	34 143	−2.1	62 286	54
4	4	Northrop Grumman Corp.	United States	29 880	31 723	−5.8	35 667	84
5	5	General Dynamics Corp.	United States	26 390	26 947	−2.1	38 469	69
6	6	BAE Systems	United Kingdom	26 020	26 279	−1.0	26 851	97
7	7	NORINCO	China	21 570	19 480	11	81 607	26
8	8	AVIC	China	20 110	18 447	9.0	80 446	25
9	9	CASC ^e	China	19 100	18 339	4.2	43 408	44
10	10	CETC ^e	China	14 990	15 873	−5.6	55 443	27
11	13	CASIC ^e	China	14 520	12 896	13	46 093	31
12	14	Leonardo	Italy	13 870	11 802	18	16 716	83
13	11	L3Harris Technologies	United States	13 360	14 798	−9.7	17 814	75
14	15	CSSC ^{e,f}	China	11 130	10 180	9.3	53 208	21
15	12	Airbus	Trans-European ^g	10 850	12 739	−15	61 671	18
16	16	Thales	France	9 770	9 572	2.1	19 149	51
17	17	Huntington Ingalls Industries ^h	United States	8 570	8 593	−0.3	9 524	90
18	18	Leidos	United States	8 030	7 654	4.9	13 737	58
19	34	Dassault Aviation Group	France	6 250	3 934	59	8 554	73
20	22	CSGC	China	5 910	5 823	1.5	44 363	13

If NATO's militaries were a single country, it would rank as the world's **36th biggest carbon polluter** out of 196 nations.



Source: https://edgar.jrc.ec.europa.eu/report_2023

Table 1: Estimated Increase In NATO's Military Ghg Emissions 2022–2023
Military carbon footprint in tCO₂e

Country	2022	2023	%	Total emissions increase	Equivalence in US car emissions
Albania	53,828	86,503	61%	32,675	7,103
Belgium	850,353	931,045	9%	74,092	10,237
Bulgaria	248,505	433,465	74%	184,960	40,209
Canada	1,884,409	2,423,532	29%	539,123	117,201
Croatia	285,609	253,797	-11%	-31,812	-6,916
Czechia	661,262	836,146	26%	174,883	38,018
Denmark	630,984	664,329	5%	33,345	7,249
Estonia	119,226	222,733	87%	103,507	22,501
Finland	949,114	2,148,949	126%	1,199,835	260,834
France	9,241,493	10,267,403	11%	1,025,910	223,024
Germany	6,084,192	9,436,461	55%	3,352,269	728,754
Greece	2,512,086	2,023,687	-19%	-488,398	-106,174
Hungary	926,247	1,012,979	9%	86,732	18,855
Iceland	0	0	0%	0	0
Italy	5,009,591	4,736,496	-7%	-333,093	-72,412
Latvia	144,730	180,515	25%	35,785	7,779
Lithuania	417,765	355,660	-15%	-62,105	-13,501
Luxembourg	127,343	151,149	19%	23,806	5,175
Montenegro	19,963	23,182	16%	3,219	700
Netherlands	1,279,286	2,468,522	93%	1,189,237	258,530
North Macedonia	57,884	77,195	33%	19,311	4,198
Norway	1,436,532	1,428,576	-1%	-7,955	-1,729
Poland	3,536,776	10,068,264	185%	6,531,488	1,419,889
Portugal	455,427	609,652	34%	154,225	33,527
Romania	1,040,448	977,555	-6%	-62,892	-13,672
Slovakia	476,591	414,114	-13%	-62,477	-13,582
Slovenia	121,668	145,087	19%	23,419	5,091
Spain	2,852,472	4,110,281	44%	1,257,810	273,437
Türkiye	3,916,584	4,749,244	21%	832,660	181,013
United Kingdom	11,473,218	14,056,251	23%	2,583,033	561,529
United States	145,031,333	157,665,227	9%	12,633,894	2,746,499
Total	201,910,921	232,958,003	15%	31,047,082	6,749,366

Source: Estimates based on SIPRI & NATO (2024) figures.

Table 2: NATO Military expenditure in 2022 and 2023
In million \$US, current prices and exchange rates

Country	2022	2023	Difference	%
Albania	229	398	169	74%
Belgium	6,890	7,629	739	11%
Bulgaria	1,437	1,918	482	34%
Canada	25,568	27,222	1,654	6%
Croatia	1,282	1,439	157	12%
Czechia	4,005	5,056	1,051	26%
Denmark	5,475	8,145	2,670	49%
Estonia	818	1,189	371	45%
Finland	4,446	7,348	2,902	65%
France	53,639	61,301	7,663	14%
Germany	56,153	66,827	10,674	19%
Greece	8,745	7,730	-1,016	-12%
Hungary	3,257	4,355	1,099	34%
Iceland	0	0	0	0
Italy	34,692	35,529	837	2%
Latvia	856	1,045	189	22%
Lithuania	1,734	2,161	426	25%
Luxembourg	510	662	153	30%
Montenegro	98	115	17	17%
Netherlands	13,632	16,625	2,992	22%
North Macedonia	220	267	46	21%
Norway	8,698	8,669	-29	0%
Poland	15,341	31,650	16,309	106%
Portugal	3,567	4,223	657	18%
Romania	5,188	5,611	423	8%
Slovakia	2,086	2,663	577	28%
Slovenia	775	908	132	17%
Spain	20,307	23,699	3,393	17%
Türkiye	10,780	15,828	5,048	47%
United Kingdom	64,082	74,943	10,861	17%
United States	860,692	916,015	55,323	6%
Total	1215202.7	1341169	125,966	10%

Source: SIPRI (2024)

CLIMATE IN THE CROSSHAIRS

The planetary impact of NATO's spending increases

tni.org/climatecrosshairs

Working Notes

96: War and Peace - Exploring Irish Neutrality

Themes

Working Notes

Current Issue

Article Themes

Past Issues

Overtuning the Economics of War to Deliver a Co-operative Future and Peaceful Green Prosperity

Posted on September 19, 2024 by JCFJ - Economics Environment



Deborah Burton and Dr Ho-Chih Lin

<https://www.jcfj.ie/article/overtuning-the-economics-of-war-to-deliver-a-co-operative-future-and-peaceful-green-prosperity/>

- **Avoid (by consuming less);**
- **Shift (by substituting one for another);**
- **Improve (by greening the existing).**

Where is the money for climate finance?

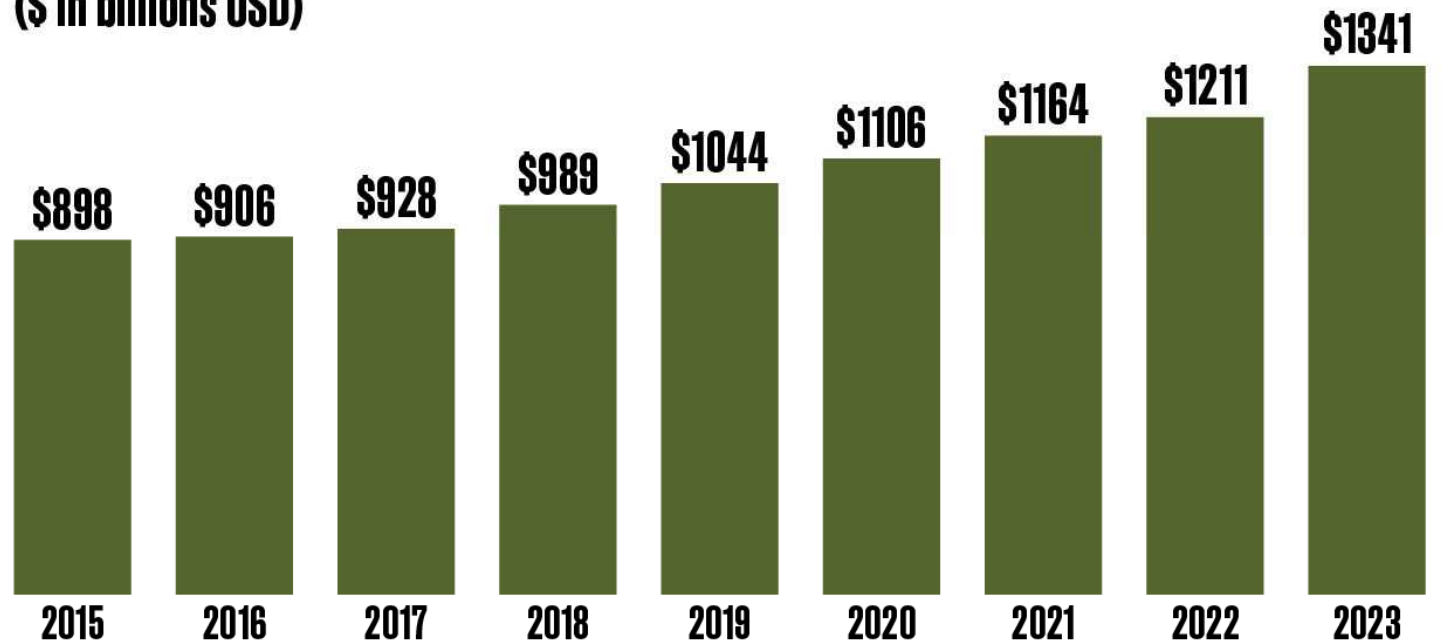
Climate Finance

**\$100 billion
promised
in 2015 and
yet to be
delivered**

\$100

NATO's Military Spending

(\$ in billions USD)



CLIMATE IN THE CROSSHAIRS

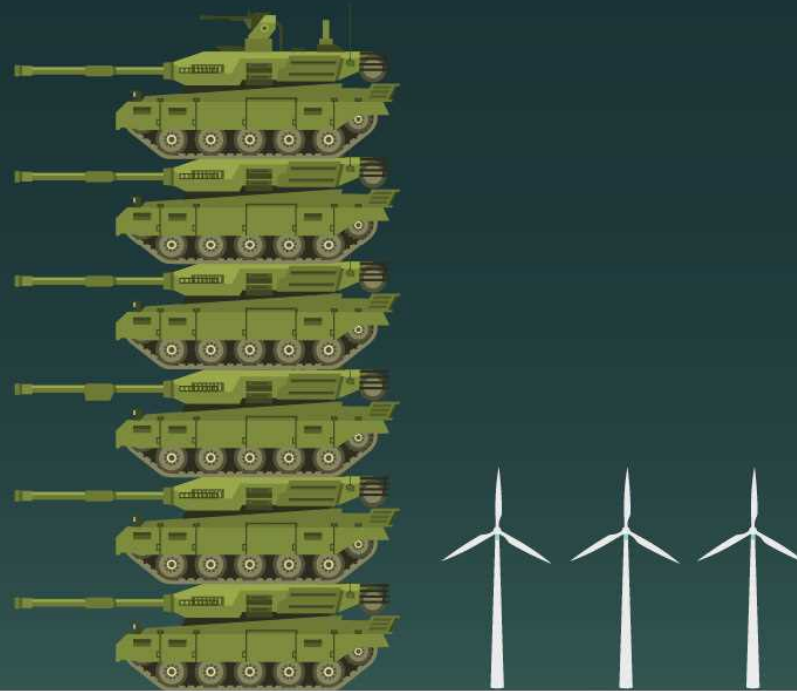
The planetary impact of NATO's spending increases

tni.org/climatecrosshairs

The estimated global total lifetime cost of F-35s would fund

- \$100bn per annum international climate finance for 20 years
- UN disaster response for the next 400 years
- UN disaster risk reduction for the next 4,000 years
- global biodiversity conservation at \$100bn per annum for the next 20 years
- WHO at \$2bn per annum for the next 1,000 years
- UN peacekeeping operations at current \$4.5bn per annum for the next 444 years
- proper funding for UN peacekeeping at \$15bn per annum for the next 133 years

The richest countries spend **30 times** as much on military spending as climate finance for the world's most vulnerable countries.



*Based on Annex II countries,
OECD, SIPRI, Oxfam International*

CLIMATE COLLATERAL How military spending accelerates
climate breakdown

www.tni.org/climatecollateral

Exporter	Share of global arms exports (%)		Per cent change from 2014–18 to 2019–23 ^a	Main recipients and their share of exporter's total exports (%), 2019–23					
	2019–23	2014–18		1st		2nd		3rd	
1 United States	42	34	17	Saudi Arabia	15	Japan	9.5	Qatar	8.2
2 France	11	7.2	47	India	29	Qatar	17	Egypt	6.4
3 Russia	11	21	–53	India	34	China	21	Egypt	7.5
4 China	5.8	5.9	–5.3	Pakistan	61	Bangladesh	11	Thailand	6.0
5 Germany	5.6	6.3	–14	Egypt	20	Ukraine	12	Israel	12
6 Italy	4.3	2.2	86	Qatar	27	Egypt	21	Kuwait	13
7 United Kingdom	3.7	4.1	–14	Qatar	23	USA	20	Ukraine	8.5
8 Spain	2.7	2.7	–3.3	Saudi Arabia	21	Australia	20	Türkiye	18

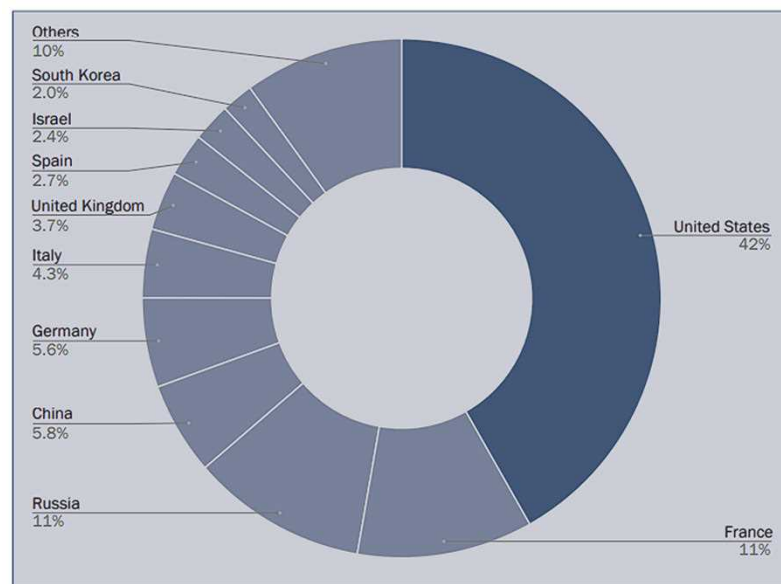


Figure 2. Global share of exports of major arms by the 10 largest exporters, 2019–23

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, Mar. 2024.

TIPPING POINT NORTH SOUTH

creative campaigning for global justice

www.tippingpointnorthsouth.org



www.transformdefence.org/publication