

Figure 2 charts military expenditures as a percentage of GNP against states' rankings on the UNDP Human Development Index for more than 150 states. The Human Development Index is a composite measure that combines indicators for life expectancy, education levels and income, and it provides a broad gauge of social welfare.²² Each bar represents a state, and they are arranged from the highest ranking on the left (which in 1994 was held by Canada), to the lowest for which data was available (Guinea). Again, the highest spending states have been labelled. The figure demonstrates (in a static way) that there is no obvious relationship between high levels of military spending and low levels of human development: if there were such a relationship, taller bars would be more prominent as one moved to the right of the table. Yet neither high nor low scoring states as a whole seem to spend a disproportionate percentage of GNP on defence.

More interesting findings appear to emerge in Figure 3, which charts states according to their relative levels of "freedom," ranked according to Freedom House data. The Freedom Index (which ranges from 1.0 for "free" to 7.0 for "not free"), is based upon a series of qualitative judgements concerning a state's relative level of political freedoms and civil liberties. Taken into account are such things as the existence and powers of representative institutions, military rule, protection of minorities, basic civil rights, free media, the rule of law, freedom of assembly and association.²³ This table, which groups states by score (with the number of states in each category indicated above the bar), measures the height of the corresponding line according to the average level of military expenditure (as percent of GNP) for the group. Again, a connection between military spending and levels of freedom would be indicated by a rising level of spending as one moved from the left to the right of the table (with less free states spending more on the military). The table does in fact appear to present such a pattern, as the average level of military expenditures does seem to increase as the level of freedom of a state diminishes. Without further and more detailed scrutiny, however, it is impossible to know if this is an accidental result, or if it is suggestive of some underlying relationship.

Despite the "blurriness" of this very general picture, a few things are clear from these three figures. Figure 1 has labelled those states that spent more than six percent of their GNP on defence. A quick glance at their identity suggests that levels of military spending are in part determined by the presence or historical

²² United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 90-101.

²³ For a comprehensive description of the index, see Freedom House, *Freedom in the World, 1993-1994* (New York: Freedom House, 1994), 671-676.