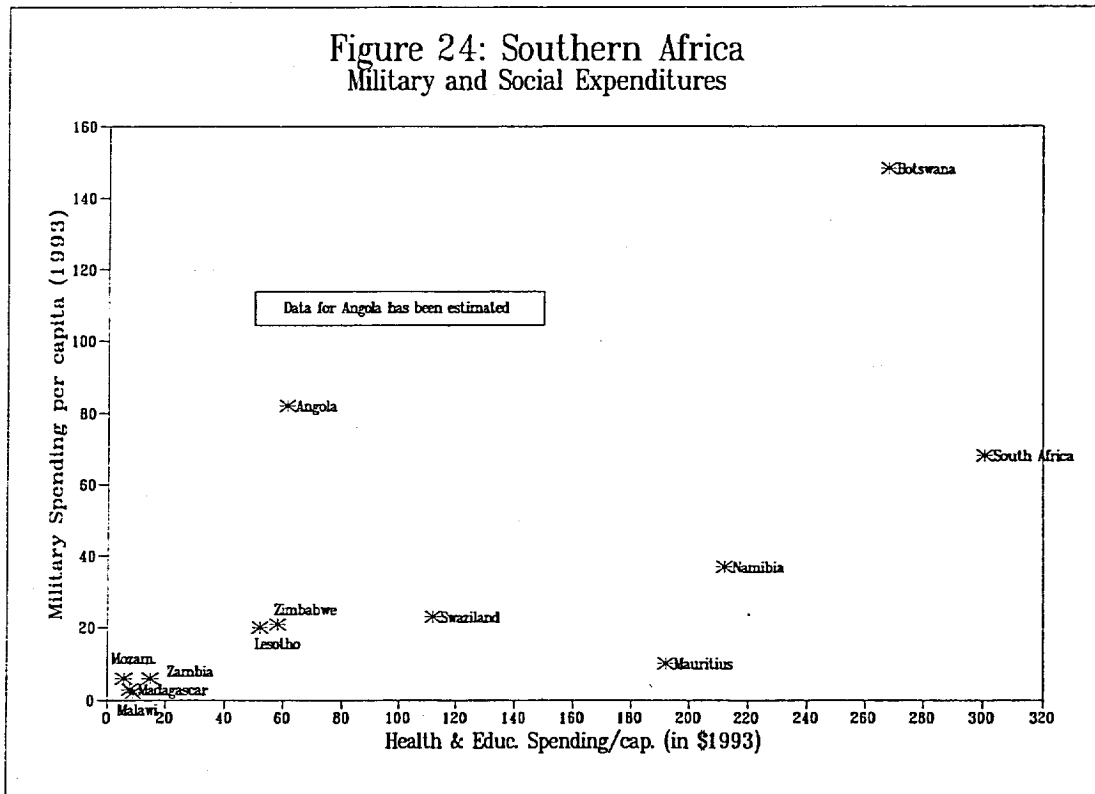


two, Zambia and Madagascar, have scores of 1:2.4 and 1:2.6 respectively.⁶ More wealthy states such as Namibia (with the best ratio, excluding Mauritius) represent a "best case" to which others could aspire, and states such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland could all potentially move in its direction. Again, Angola and Mozambique, together with Botswana, represent the regional states in which there appears to be the greatest room for a reallocation of resources to social welfare rather than to the military.



On the other hand, Figure 25 demonstrates that for Botswana at least, its relatively poor military/social expenditure ratio is paired with by far the region's highest growth rates over the past decade. Its GNP per capita of \$2,790 is the third highest in the region, behind only South Africa and Mauritius, which permits much higher absolute levels of social welfare spending while at the same time facilitating relatively high military expenditures (in terms of spending per capita, or as a percentage of GNP). Likewise, there is no clear pattern of "high military spending/low economic growth," with low spending states such as

⁶ Although their absolute levels of spending are so low that simple rounding of numbers could shift the ratios considerably.